

Ex Anatolia Lux

Anatolian and Indo-European studies
in honor of

H. Craig Melchert

on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday

edited by

Ronald Kim

Norbert Oettinger

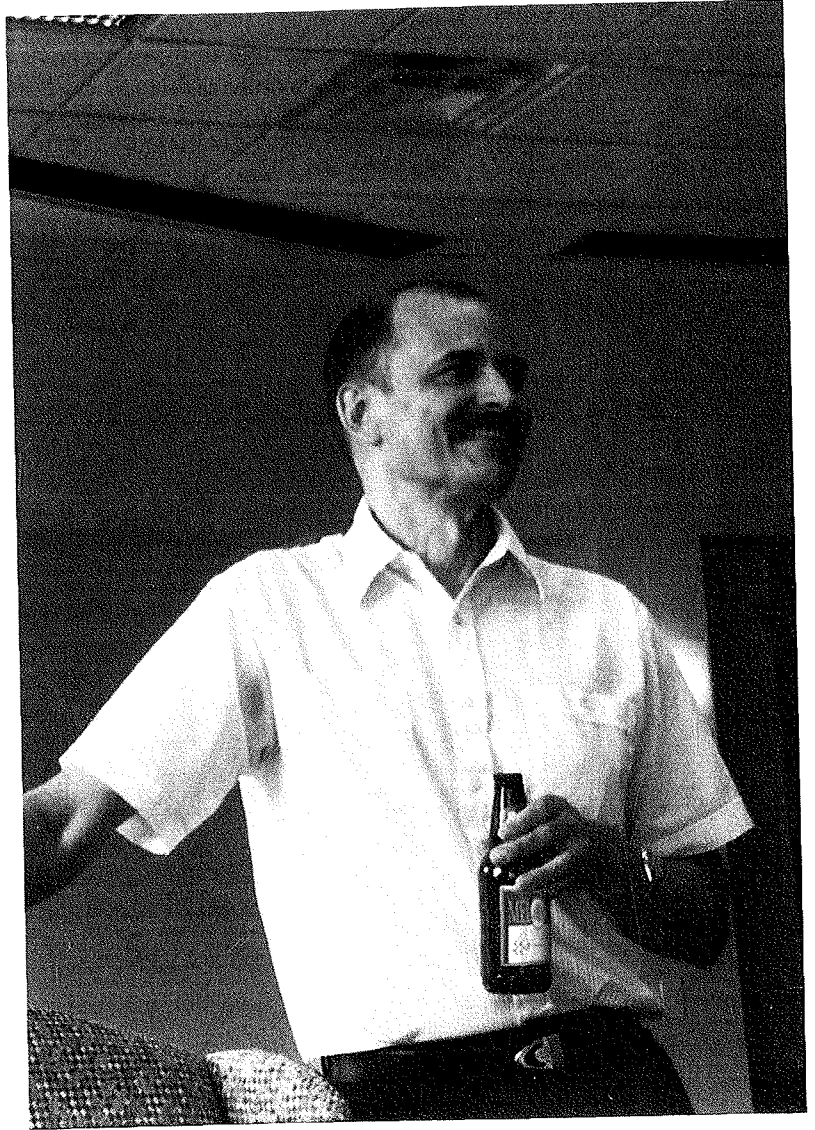
Elisabeth Rieken

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H. Gray Melcher

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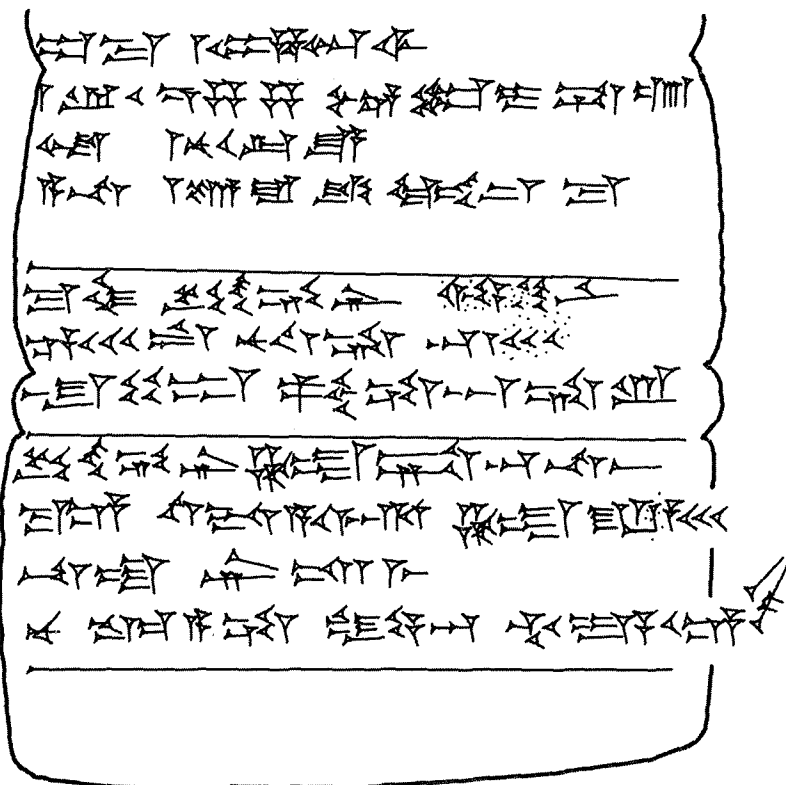


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Preface

When we think of Indo-Europeanists who have fundamentally changed the field, the names that may first come to mind are the giants of the 19th and 20th centuries. Nevertheless, a giant walks among us in the 21st century and his name is H. Craig Melchert.

There is no need to rehearse in detail Craig's many, many contributions to Anatolian and Indo-European linguistics—the dozens of sound laws, etymologies, morphological analyses, sensitive textual interpretations, codifications and rethinkings. His handbook of Anatolian historical phonology, his edited volume on Luvian, his Lydian sound law, his groundbreaking article on Palaic are some of the highlights of Craig's career, which are at the same time symbolic of the growth of Anatolian studies over the past decades. His article on the Luvian and Lycian reflexes of the three velar series—now modified in some details by Craig himself—is a classic, not just of Anatolian, but of Indo-European linguistics.

But what characterizes Craig's scholarship? Philological rigor, brilliant insight, theoretical openness, common sense, clarity and logic of presentation? All of these are found in abundance in Craig's work. If there is one feature, however, that can be singled out as especially impressive, it is his ability to give up dearly held views in the light of new evidence or argumentation. We have all heard Craig say "contrary to what I said then," or "as per so-and-so and contra Melchert." When one opens up so many paths in the wilderness one is bound to take a rare misstep. Craig's intellectual honesty, lack of scholarly vanity, and generosity are an example to us all.

We should say something about Craig as a colleague and teacher. How many times have we written an email beginning, "Hi Craig, What do you think about X?" and been answered at lightning speed with insight, detailed data and analysis? Those of us who have been lucky enough to be his colleagues know that he is ready to read more Hittite or Luvian anytime, anywhere. Craig has always taken an interest in the work of younger scholars, giving generously of his time and wisdom both to his own students and to anyone seriously devoted to the study of historical linguistics. Craig's wonderfully concise *samizdat* textbooks of Sanskrit and Hittite have taught generations of young Indo-Europeanists, and scholars far and wide have learned from his famous "Traveling Anatolian Road Show."

We are delighted to be able to pay homage to a great scholar with these contributions written by researchers from three continents, with different views on Indo-European, specializing in many subfields, but all united in the esteem and affection they have for H. Craig Melchert. *Nu ḫattantaš MU.ḪIA-šeš talugaeš palḫaeš ašandu!*

Preface

Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank Christina Fischer and Ricarda Scherschel for their work on the preliminary formatting, and Paul Widmer for his technical assistance. In addition, we would like to thank Ben Fortson and Steve Peter at Beech Stave Press for their exemplary stewardship of this volume from conception to production.

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On Lycian Genitives in *-h*, *-he*¹

Ignacio J. Adiego

“Lycian (A) displays the greatest number of ways of expressing possession among the Anatolian languages. First of all, for most appellatives it employs an adjective in *a/ehē/i-* (...). Some personal names appear with a zero ending (...). Personal names and place names do attest a genitive ending *-Vhe* or *-Vh*. Occasional accusative singulars in *-Vhñ* that precede(!) their modified noun are also merely secondarily inflected examples of the genitive ending *-Vh(e)*.”

(Melchert forthcoming)

This paragraph from Melchert’s still unpublished paper “Genitive case and possessive adjective in Anatolian” (Melchert forthcoming) accurately summarizes the synchronic situation of the genitive/possessive construction in Lycian. In principle, any person or place name can appear inflected in the genitive/possessive as *-h*, *-he* or $\emptyset$, and also in *-hñ* if the name depends on an accusative singular noun. In fact, Melchert’s description does not differ greatly from Neumann’s statement forty years ago (Neumann 1969), the resulting impression being that genitives in *-he*, *-h* and $\emptyset$ are in free distribution and are fully interchangeable.

However, a more detailed observation of the attestations of the different genitives shows the situation to be more complex. Here I will leave aside the genitives in $\emptyset$ (henceforth, “adesinential genitives”), which constitute a very small corpus² and only appear in the same context as *-h* genitives, described in §1 below, and will concentrate on the distribution of genitives in *-h* and *-he* (and also in *-hñ*). According to my analysis, the distribution of *-h* and *-he* should be described as complementary rather than free.³

1. When a name in the genitive is governed by a name in the nominative singular (a very frequent situation due to the formulaic character of most Lycian inscriptions, which have the name of the tomb’s constructor in the nominative followed

¹It gives me great pleasure to pay tribute to Craig Melchert by reassessing a question that has repeatedly been the object of our mail exchanges and respective papers: the Lycian genitives.

²According to Schürr (forthcoming), this corpus should be cut down even more.

³Note that in studying these characteristics we face the serious interpretive problems posed by some Lycian inscriptions, particularly the longer ones. In general, I follow Melchert’s interpretation of the texts in DLL (Melchert 2004).

by the formula Name (Genitive) + *tideimi* ‘son of’ or similar), the use of the *-h* genitive/possessive construction is overwhelmingly preponderant. There is only one clear example of the genitive in *-he* depending on a nominative singular: TL 118 [*ebēñ*] *nē: .tisēni: m-e-ti: prīnawātē: xuñnijēi: masasabe: tideimi* ... “This funerary construction (or the like), Xuñnijēi son of Masasa constructed it ...” Other probable, but less clear, instances of this construction are TL 48, TL 74c, and N303. Compare this with the 77 clear examples I have counted of the use of *-h* depending on a nominative singular. Therefore we can conclude that the use of *-he* genitives in this context is exceptional.

2. In the construction *ēne/ēti* Name (Genitive) *xñtawata* “under the rule of X”, where the genitive depends on a locative singular (*xñtawata*), the ending *-he* is used almost exclusively. Of ten examples of this construction, genitives in *-he* appear on nine occasions (TL 43, TL 61, TL 64, TL 67, TL 77, TL 103, TL 132, N 310, N 314a), and there is only one example of the use of the *-h* genitive (N315: *ēnē: xñtawwa[ta:] mizrpatah*).

3. When the name in the genitive depends on an accusative singular, three constructions are attested, *-h*, *-hñ*, and *-he*:

-h: TL 28 (*prijabuhāmah kbatru*), TL 78 (*maxah: xabhu*)

-hñ: TL 25 2× (*urtagijahñ: kbatru, prijenubehñ: tuheshñ*), TL 28 (*uwitahñ xabh*), TL 29 (*wazzisñ ... edrijeusehñ*), TL 44a 3× (*puwejeññ tupelijā, puwejeññ, tern tlahñ*),⁴ TL 90 2× (*ēn(i): lusātrahñ, [... lusāt]rahñ*), TL 103 2× (*lusāñtrahñ: ... neri: se xñtaburahñ*), N320 (*eseimiju: qñturahahñ: tideimi*).

-he: TL 32c (*zzalabe: ladā*), TL 104b (*se ñparahe: telēzijē*); very doubtful: TL 44b, 23 (*trijerē xerēhe*).⁵

Although the total number of examples is too modest for a statistical calculus, the tendency to use *-hñ* in these contexts is clear (12 examples compared with two certain instances of *-he* and two of *-h*).

4. The clear, i. e. analysable, examples of a genitive depending on nouns inflected in other cases are scarce, but in general one observes a slight predominance of *-he*:

- he*:
 - with Nom. Pl.: TL 6 (*purihimetehe pr[ñ]n[e]zijehi* “the householders of Purihimeti”), TL 74c (*trbbulehe: tuhēi* “the nephews of Trbbule”).
 - with Dat. Sg.: TL 36 (*mñneteidehe esedēññewi*), TL 44a 23 (*ñtemē: erb-binahe: tezi* “facing the monument (or sim.) of Erbbina,” where the preposition *ñtemē* takes the dative).
 - with Dat.-Loc. Pl.: TL 65 (*uhe xezixahe* “in the years of Xezixa”).

⁴*tla-hñ*, from *tla-* “Tlos”. I consider this analysis preferable to Melchert’s in DLL (Melchert 2004) (Acc. Sg. of *tla-* “Tloan”).

⁵The interpretation of *trijerē* as Acc. Sg. is not assured (cf. Neumann 2007, s.v., where it is analysed as Gen. Pl.).

- h: • with Dat. Sg.: TL 27 2× *atli: ebbi sxxulijah: tideimi: sa-ladi: ebbi: meri-mawaj[e] petēnēneh: tideimi* “to himself, son of Sxxulija, and to his wife Merimawa, daughter of Petēnēne”), TL 120 (*hrppi ladi: ebbi: uwiñte: xumetijeh: zzimazi* “for his wife Uwiñte, zzimaza (title or kinship term) of Xumetije”).

The distribution of *-h* and *-he* in coin legends has special features.⁶ When the genitive is a place name, the forms in *-he* are typical (*arñnabe, telebehihe, arñnabe xākbihe*, etc.), vs. an isolated *arñnaba*. Personal names in the genitive/possessive are much fewer in number, and here we find *-he* (*zaxababe artum̃parabe*), *-h* (*zagabab*), *-h*◇ (*zagab*◇) and even *-ha* (*zaxabaha*). It seems better not to include them in the present discussion: the elliptical character of these coin legends prevents us from elucidating the syntactic function of all these endings, and the scarcity of examples does not allow us to draw any clear conclusions.

The distributions noted in 1–4 above can be recognised *within the same inscription*:

1. Particularly noteworthy are the examples of genitive in *-he* + Loc. Sg. coexisting with *-h* or adesinential genitives + Nom. Sg:

TL 43 *ebēñnē: prñnawā: m-ē-ti prñnawatē: merehi: kudalah: xñtlah tideimi: trijatrbbahi: pñnutahi: uhabi: hrppi: prñnezi: ēñē: xñtawata: xer[i]xehe:*
 “This mausoleum, Merehi, son of Kudala Xñtla *trijatrbbahi pñnutahi uhabi*(?) constructed it for the household under Xerixa’s rule.”

TL 61 *ebē: prñnawā: me-ti: prñnawatē: sbikezijēi: mrexisa: tideimi ladi ebbi: se tideime: ēñē: xñtawata: wataprddatehe:*
 “This mausoleum, Sbikezijēi, son of Mrexisa, constructed it for his wife and sons under Autophradates’ rule.”

TL 77 *ebēñnē: prñnawā me-ti prñnawatē: ñturigaxā: θāi tideimi: hrppi: ladi: ebbi: se tideime: ebbiē ēñē: arpp#axuhe: xñtawata:*
 “This mausoleum, Ñturigaxā, son of θāi, constructed it for his wife and his sons under Harpagos’ rule.”

TL 132 [......] *e: xudrehila: kiruh: tideimi: ēñē: periklehe: [xñ]tawata*
 “[...] Xudrehila, son of Kiru [constructed it] under Pericles’ rule.”

N 310 *[ebēñnē: xup][ā m-]ēne: prñnawatē xlasitini: magabatab: tideimi xali: qe-hññite-ti: ebēñnē: ē[nē]: arppaxuhe: xñt[aw]ata*
 “This tomb, Xlasitini, son of Magabata, constructed it ... under Harpagos’ rule.”

N 314a *xupā ebēñni m-en-adē masauwēti mejereh [t]ideimi [ē]ti: xñtawata [p]eriklehe*
 “This tomb, Masauwēti, son of Mejere, made it under Pericles’ rule.”

⁶For coin legends in Lycian I follow Morkholm and Neumann 1978.

2. In TL 103, a threefold contrast between *-h* (+ Nom. Sg.), *-hñ* (+ Acc. Sg.) and *-he* (+ Loc. Sg.) is evident, despite the problems of interpretation:⁷

TL 103 *ebēñnē: xupā: m=ene: prñnawātē: tebursseli zzajaaḥ: ddedi: lusāñtrabñ: zeti: neri: se xñtaburahñ ēñē: periklebe: xñtawata*

3. In TL 6, two genitives in *-h* accompany two names in the nominative singular, and a genitive in *-he* refers to a nominative plural. The bilingual character of the inscription allows us to verify the analysis:

TL 6 (beginning) *ebēñnē ñtatā m=ene-prñnawātē pulenjda mullijeseḥ se=dapara pulenjdaḥ purihimeteḥ pr[ñ]n[e]zājehi . . .*

τοῦτο τὸ μνημα ἐργάσατο Ἀπολλωνίδης Μολλίσσιος καὶ Λαπάρας Ἀπολλ[ω]-νίδου Πυριμάτιος οἰκέοι

“This burial chamber, Pulenjda (son) of Mullijesi and Dapara (son) of Pulenjda, householders of Purihimeti, constructed it.”

4. In TL 36, we find two genitives in *-h* depending on two nominative singular nouns respectively, and one genitive in *-he* governed by a dative singular noun:

TL 36 *ebēñnē: prñnawā: m=ene prñnawātē ahqqadi: pizibideḥ: tideimi: se:hñmprāmeḥ: tubes (. . .) se pijetē: hrzzi: ñtatā: ladi: ebbi: se mñneteidebe esedēññewi . . .*

“This mausoleum, Ahqqadi, son of Pizibide and nephew of Hñprame constructed it (. . .), and gave the upper chamber to his wife and to Mñneteide’s offspring.”

Conversely, examples of inconsistency within the same inscription are, insofar as we can analyse the texts, practically nonexistent apart from the case of TL 28, where *prijabuhāmāḥ kbatru* coexists with *uwitahñ xabb[u]*.

To sum up, the distribution of *-h* and *-he* is not as random as would be expected if we were dealing with free variation of equivalent allomorphs:

- When the genitive is governed by a nominative singular, *-h* is clearly preferred.
- Conversely, when the genitive is governed by a locative singular, *-he* is almost always used.
- When governed by an accusative singular, the ending *-hñ* is predominantly used.

⁷See Melchert 2004, Appendix I, s.v. *Ddedi* for references. Melchert’s interpretation, deducible from his DLL, would be: “Tebursseli (son) of Zzajaa constructed this tomb (and) assigned a share to (?) Ddedi (Acc. Sg. Fem.), *neri* (relationship term) of Lusāñtre and Xñtabtura, under Perikles’ rule.”

- In other syntactic contexts, the distribution of *-he* and *-h* seems to be more balanced (but the scarcity of examples does not permit us to draw statistically reliable conclusions).

From a diachronic point of view, the genitives in *-h* pose serious problems. Whereas adesinential genitives and genitives in *-he* can be quite easily explained in the framework of Lycian and Anatolian historical grammar—an adesinential genitive can be the regular evolution of **-s*,⁸ and *-he* can come regularly from **-so*,⁹ as proposed in Adiego 1994, or even from **-so-s*, all these endings being imaginable as Anatolian protoforms—this means that an ending *-h* cannot come either from **-s* or from **-so(s)*, at least not without resorting to *ad hoc* explanations and therefore by assuming irregular developments. So Mittelberger (1966:104) and Neumann (1970:62) explained the *-h* forms as apocopated forms of *-he*, and Melchert (1994:325) proposed that *-h* was the result of a syncopated **^oheh*, from **^oso*s, the Nom. Sg. of a genitival adjective without *i*-motion. This latter explanation creates very serious difficulties,¹⁰ and it may be the reason why Melchert has returned to the apocope hypothesis in more recent work (see Melchert forthcoming).¹¹

However, the apocope hypothesis, in addition to its *ad hoc* character (no other clear cases of apocope are known in Lycian), now encounters a serious obstacle in the light of the analysis presented here: if *-h* were simply a free variant of *-he* resulting from an irregularly occurring apocope, how do we explain the clear distribution observed between *-h* and *-he* forms? This distribution points rather to a construction similar to genitival adjectives, where the form adopted by the governed noun shows agreement with the *nomen regens*.

A possible alternative solution is to return to the interpretation as a genitival adjective, but to consider it not as a form inherited from **-so*s (due to the above mentioned difficulties) but rather as an analogical creation. In this regard, the “semithematic” declension of *s*-stems offers a good model for imitation. Compare the paradigm of *s*-stems with the three predominant forms used respectively with Nom. Sg., Acc. Sg. and Loc. Sg. (cf. the following tables).

⁸Proto-Anatolian **s* is lost in absolute final position in Lycian (Melchert 1994:325). Cf. Nom. Sg. *-Ø < *s* (*tideimi-Ø < *^oi-s*).

⁹Proto-Anatolian **s > h* and **o > e* are regular changes in Lycian; see Melchert 1994:304 and 311, respectively.

¹⁰First of all, it requires placing the loss of final **s* (via an **-h* phase) *after* the change of **s* to *h*, which enters into conflict with the situation in Milyan, where final **s* was lost but **s* did not become *h*. It also obliges us to assume that an intermediate phase *-hh* existed, as the only way of explaining why *-h* did not suffer the same fate as the original *-h < *s* instances. And finally, the fact that the syncope did not take place in *i*-motion genitival adjectives (**^osi-s > ^ohi*) forces us to assume that syncope only affected *e*, not *i*. Taken in isolation, these problems are not necessarily insurmountable, but put together they make it very difficult to accept the syncope explanation.

¹¹In fact, not even in Melchert 2004 is there a consistent treatment of these forms: on p. xi the existence of “*b*-stems” is admitted (therefore *-h*, *-hñ* are analyzed respectively as “NSgC” and “ASgC” of genitival adjectives to personal names), but in the entries of Melchert 2004, *-h* forms are systematically presented as simple genitives (whereas *-hñ* forms are classified as Gen. Adj. in Acc.).

Genitive + Nom. Sg.:	<i>-h</i>
Genitive + Acc. Sg.:	<i>-hñ</i>
Genitive + Loc. Sg.:	<i>-he</i>

Nom. Sg.	<i>-s</i>	<i>Arñnas, arus, Trñmmis</i>
Acc. Sg.	<i>-sñ</i>	<i>arusñ, Ijanisñ, Trñmmisñ, Trusñ, waz(z)isñ</i>
Dat.-Loc. Sg.	<i>-se</i>	<i>Arñnase, azise, Trñmmilise, wazzisse</i>

Certainly, this solution transfers the problem of the origins of the *-h* forms to the *s*-stems, but at least the latter admit more convincing explanations from a diachronic perspective: for instance, the Nom. Sg. in *-s* can come from consonant stems, where **-C-s* regularly became *-s*, and later the *s* spread throughout the paradigm; also, the semithematic character can be explained as a result of the confluence of consonant and thematic formations, where the prethematic consonant *s* emerged from **-Cs-*, **-sC-*, **-k-* or other regular phonological ancestors of Lycian *s*, etc. Therefore, while it is true that a complete and satisfactory explanation for the emergence of Lycian semithematic *s*-stems is still lacking, the margin for seeking solutions and formulating hypotheses is much wider than in the case of the *-h* forms.

We can now suggest a hypothetical process leading to the analogical creation of this “semithematic” *h*-inflection on the basis of the *s*-stems. But before we do so, we must consider a complicating, though in my view not insurmountable, factor: the evidence of Milyan. In Milyan we also find a possessive in accusative *-zñ* that seems to match Lycian *-hñ* exactly. We can take two alternatives into account: that Lycian and Milyan shared in the creation of *-hñ/-zñ*, or that the two forms appeared in parallel. To choose one or other option requires us to situate the analogical appearance of “*-h* inflection” before or after the change *-s- > -h-*, which, as is well known, affected Lycian, but not Milyan. The scarce and almost impenetrable Milyan documentation does not argue in favour of either solution, so I will envisage both:

Possibility (a). Milyan *-zñ* and Lycian *-hñ* appeared independently.

1. We begin by assuming that Lycian inherited an **-s* genitive and a **-so* genitive, both used for personal names in free variation (Melchert forthcoming).
2. After the loss of **-s* in final position and the changes of **s* to *h* and **o* to *e*, these two endings became *-∅* and *-he*, respectively.
3. The starting point of the analogical creation of an *h*-inflection would have been the use of *-he* genitives wherever *-he* could be reinterpreted as an inflectional ending on the model of *s*-stems, i.e. Dat.-Loc. Sg. or Dat.-Loc. Pl. Thus, in a construction such as *ẽne xñtawata wataprddatehe* (TL 61), *wataprddatehe*, originally a proper genitive in *-he* (“of Wataprddata”), could be reinterpreted as a Dat.-Loc. Sg. of an *h*-inflected adjective (lit. “Wataprddatean”) in agree-

ment with Dat.-Loc. Sg. *xñtawata*, on the model of Dat.-Loc. Sg. -se of the *s*-declension.

4. From ambiguous forms like these, equally interpretable as genitives and as inflected adjectives, analogical forms were developed, particularly Nom. Sg. in -h and Acc. Sg. in -hñ, on the basis of -s, -sñ of the *s*-declension.
5. This process of analogical creation was not totally complete in historically documented Lycian, since we find adjectives in -h side by side with true genitives in -he in Lycian texts. The (very scarce) converse examples—i.e. the use of -h as a true genitive ending—can also be interpreted (if they are not simply errors) as a consequence of this situation of competition between two procedures for the expression of genitival relations.

Possibility (b). Milyan -zñ and Lycian -hñ appeared in a common phase ("Proto-Lyco-Milyan," henceforth PLM).

1. We begin by assuming that PLM inherited an *-s genitive and a *-so genitive, both used for personal names in free variation (Melchert forthcoming).
2. After the loss of *-s in final position and the change *o > e, these two endings became -Ø and -se respectively. These changes took place in PLM.
3. The starting point of the analogical creation is similar to that presented in possibility (a), the only difference being that we are dealing here with -se genitives in PLM, and so we must search for the model among stems in a sibilant different from *s* both from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view. This different sibilant must be assumed to explain the divergent evolution in Lycian, where *h* (from primary *s) and *s* (of secondary origin) appear side by side (cf. Melchert 1994:304); Milyan offers further evidence for this in contrasting -s (< *-s) with -z (< *-ns, *-nts in final position; Melchert 1994:323).
4. It is impossible to ascertain whether this analogical formation attained the same level of elaboration in Milyan as in Lycian: except for the existence of -zñ, no evidence can be found for a paradigm comparable to Lycian due to our very limited knowledge of this language.
5. Assuming that the analogical paradigm was already created in PLM, the subsequent evolution in Lycian is straightforward: the change *s* > *h* produced the forms -h, -he-, -hñ.

These two possibilities must be regarded as hypothetical, and many difficulties still remain, particularly those caused by the puzzling testimony of Milyan, which complicates rather than clarifies the problem. But I think that the synchronic analysis presented in the first part of this paper is persuasive regarding the distribution of -h and -he, which should be considered to be complementary rather than free. This complementary distribution raises serious doubts about purely phonological explanations, and rather supports analogical ones.

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Zur Korrelation der hethitischen Konjunktion *kuitman* mit dem Verbsuffix *-ške-*

Alexandra Daues

1. H. Craig Melchert hat mit seinem Aufsatz ‘Aspects of Verbal Aspect in Hittite’ die seit langem geführte und bis dato unabgeschlossene Diskussion um den hethitischen Verbalaspekt (Bechtel 1936, Dressler 1968) wieder aufgenommen und auf einen neuen Stand gebracht (verfeinert durch Hoffner und Melchert 2002). Seither hat sich die Existenz eines sekundären Aspektsystems im Hethitischen als *Communis opinio* etabliert: Vor allem das verbale Suffix *-ške-* entwickelte sich im Hethitischen zu einem Morphem, das den Ausdruck des imperfektiven Aspekts ermöglicht; vgl. u. a. Cambi 2007, Hoffner und Melchert 2008 und Kloekhorst 2008.

2. Zu der These eines sekundären hethitischen Verbalaspekts mittels *-ške-* passt eine Beobachtung, die im folgenden, H. Craig Melchert gewidmeten Beitrag ausgearbeitet werden soll.¹ Es wird versucht zu zeigen, dass das Distributionsprinzip der temporalen Konjunktion *kuitman* in ihrer gleichzeitigen Bedeutung ‘während, solange als’ einerseits und ihrer nachzeitigen Bedeutung ‘bis’ andererseits nicht – wie bisher vermutet – durch die Stellung des Nebensatzes zum Hauptsatz gesteuert wird, sondern vielmehr, dass die Bedeutung durch das Nebensatzverb gelenkt wird: Wenn *kuitman* mit einem mit *-ške-* suffigierten Verb verbunden ist (oder mit einem durch seinen durativen Verbalcharakter² funktionsgleichen Verb), drückt es in der Bedeutung ‘während, solange als’ Gleichzeitigkeit zum Hauptsatz aus, wenn *kuitman* hingegen ohne *-ške-* (bzw. ohne vergleichbare Verben) konstruiert ist, hat es die Bedeutung ‘bis’ und steht in einem Verhältnis der Nachzeitigkeit zum Hauptsatz. Diese These wurde auf der Grundlage eines Korpus von 1278 althethitischen, 1793 mittelhethiti-

¹Die Vorarbeit zu diesem Beitrag geht auf das von der DFG geförderte Teilprojekt ‘Die Funktion der Verbalaffixe im Hethitischen’ (2003–2006) im Rahmen des Projekts ‘Verbalcharakter, Suppletivismus und morphologische Aktionsart’ (GA 641/2) unter der Leitung von José Luis García Ramón an der Universität zu Köln zurück. Ganz herzlich danke ich Antje Casaretto (Köln/Würzburg), Paola Dardano (Siena), José Luis García Ramón (Köln), Heinrich Hettrich, Elisabeth Rieken (Marburg) und Sabine Ziegler (Jena/Salzburg) für konstruktive Kritik und kluge Ratschläge sowie den Herausgebern für die Einladung zu dieser Festschrift.

²Vgl. Isačenko 1962 und García Ramón 2002.

schen und 5500 junghethitischen Syntagmen untersucht.³ Das entspricht einer Untersuchung von 46 *kuitman*-Sätzen in ihrem Kontext.⁴

3. Die bisher gängige Meinung zum Bedeutungsspektrum von *kuitman* und seiner Konditionierung, noch von Hoffner und Melchert (2008) vertreten, geht von der Bedeutung der Stellung des *kuitman*-Satzes im Verhältnis zum Hauptsatz aus. Dort heißt es:

„‘Until’ clauses follow the main clause asyndetically: [...]. ‘While’ clauses usually precede the main clause.“ (Hoffner und Melchert 2008:416)

Diese Konditionierung der Konjunktionsbedeutung durch die relative Stellung zum Hauptsatz findet sich insgesamt bestätigt,⁵ wie die folgenden Beispiele (ebenfalls aus Hoffner und Melchert 2008:416) zeigen:

- (1) NS vorangestellt mit *kuitman*-Bedeutung ‘während, solange als’:

KUB 1.1 i 12 (CTH 81.A, NH/NS)

NS

nu-za kuitman nūma DUMU-aš ešun

„While I was still a child, ...

HS

ŠA^{KU}KA.TAB.ANŠE-za ešun

I was a bridle-holder.“

- (2) NS nachgestellt mit *kuitman*-Bedeutung ‘bis’:

KBo 6.2 i 17–8 (CTH 291.I.A, OS)

HS

nu É-ri-šši anniškezzi

„And he shall work on his estate ...

NS

kuitmān-aš lāzziatta

until (the injured man) recovers.“

³Die zugrunde gelegten Daten, bei denen es sich ausschließlich um Originale handelt (d. h. OH/OS, MH/MS und NH/NS), verdanke ich einer von H. Craig Melchert zusammengestellten und bearbeiteten Datei. Ohne diese umfangreiche Textgrundlage wäre eine derartige syntaktische Untersuchung nicht möglich gewesen. Bei den untersuchten Texten handelt es sich um folgende:

Althethitisch: CTH 1.A, 2.2, 3.A, 8.D, 9.1, 9.5, 25, 291.I.A, 292.I, 416.1.A, 416.1.B, 416.2, 416.3, 416.4, 416.5, 416.6, 631.1.B, 631.9.

Mittelthethitisch: CTH 28, 138.1, 138.2, 139.A, 146, 147, Mašat Briefe (HKM 1–22, 24–7, 30, 31, 34–8, 42–4, 46–8, 51–8, 60, 63–6, 68, 70–4, 81, 86b, 88, 89, 96).

Junghethitisch: CTH 40.II.D, 40.II.E, 40.II.F, 40.II.G, 40.IV.A, 40.IV.E.3, 40.V.31, 61.I.A, 61.II.1, 61.II.2.A, 61.II.2.B, 61.II.5.B, 61.II.7.A, 61.II.8.a, 61.II.9.A, 61.II.10, 61.III.2.A, 62.II.A, 63.A, 67, 68.A, 68.B, 68.C, 68.E, 76.A, 76.B, 76.C.2, 76.D, 76.E, 81.A, 81.B, 85.1.A, 85.2, 86.1.A, 87, 88, 89.A, 105.A, 106, 123, 124.A, 171, 176, 178.1.A, 178.2.a, 178.2.b, 181, 182, 378.1.A, 378.2.A, 378.2.B, 378.2.C, 378.3, 378.4.A, 381.A, 382, 383, 384, 486.B, 486.C, 566, 569.1, 569.2, Bo 86/299.

⁴Die Belege, in denen *kuitman* als Adverb verwendet ist, bleiben unberücksichtigt, da sie zur Argumentation nichts beisteuern.

⁵Allerdings muss angemerkt werden, dass das Kriterium der Vor- bzw. Nachstellung des Nebensatzes im jeweiligen Kontext nicht immer eine klare Beurteilungsgröße darstellt.

Bei allen zehn⁶ nachgestellten *kuitman*-Sätzen fügt sich die *kuitman*-Bedeutung ‘bis’ sehr gut in den Kontext ein. Auch ein Großteil der 29 Belege mit vorangestelltem *kuitman*-Satz passt gut ins Bild.⁷

4. Für zwei dieser vorangestellten *kuitman*-Belege (Beispiel 3 und 4) lohnt es sich dennoch, den Kontext genauer anzusehen. Hier scheint eine Übersetzung mit ‘bis’ trotz Voranstellung des NS besser zu passen:

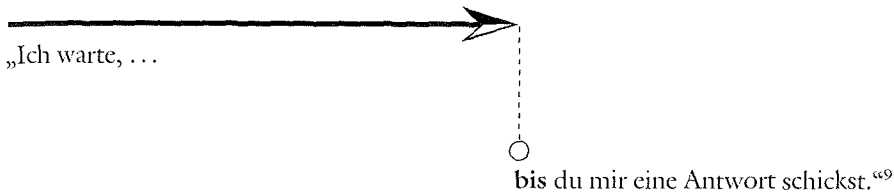
- (3) HKM 10 Vs. 24–8 (MH/MS)

NS: *kuitman*-*ua-mu* ^dUTU^š *kī* ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{URU} *Gašga takšulaš uttar* *ḫatrāši*

HS: *ammug-a-ua memian INA KUR* ^{URU}*Išḫupitt[a]* *ḫuškemi*

„Bis du, Majestät, mir über diese Friedensangelegenheit der Kaška-Leute schreibst, werde ich im Lande Išḫupitta (deine) Antwort abwarten.“⁸

In diesem Beispiel wird durch den Charakter der zugrunde liegenden Sachverhalte deutlich, dass das punktuelle Eintreffen des Briefes (nichts anderes ist mit ‘schreiben’ hier gemeint, vgl. nhd. „Schreib’ mir doch eine Postkarte aus dem Urlaub!“) die durative Verbalhandlung des Wartens beenden soll. Eine Skizze könnte folgendermaßen aussehen:



Auch im zweiten Beispiel mit vorangestelltem NS erscheint eine Parallelordnung der Syntagmen mit ‘während’ nicht optimal. Eine (zumindest partielle) Aufeinanderfolge der Ereignisse fügt sich dagegen logisch in den Kontext ein:

- (4) KBo 5.6 iii 26–7 (CTH 40.IV.A, NH/NS)

NS: *nu kuitman* ^{m.GIŠ}GIDRU.LÚ-*iš* IŠTU KUR ^{URU}*Mizri* EGIR-*pa* *uit*

HS: EGIR-*az-ma-za* ABU-*IA* ^{URU}*Kargamiš* URU-*an tarahṭa*

„Bis Ḫattušaziti aus Ägypten zurückkam, hatte mein Vater die Stadt Karkemiš (bereits) erobert.“¹⁰

⁶Die Stellenangaben sind am Ende des Beitrags aufgelistet.

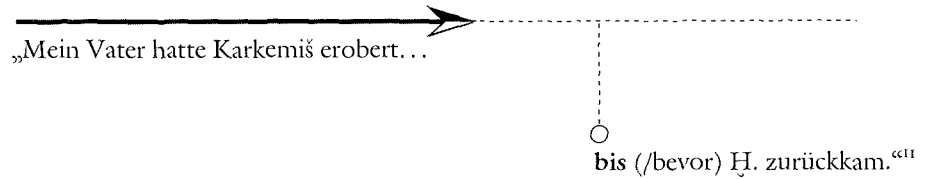
⁷Da allerdings im Hethitischen (wie im Indogermanischen) der NS defaultmäßig dem HS vorangeht, verwundert diese Mengenverteilung nicht, vgl. u. a. Held 1957.

⁸Hoffner und Melchert (2008:416–7) übersetzen nach Grammatik mit „While you, Your Majesty, send me this word about making peace with the Kaška people, I am awaiting word in the country of Išḫupitta.“

⁹*Ḫatrine-mi* ‘schreiben’ hat in den Briefen die Bedeutung ‘einen Brief schreiben’. Die Verbalhandlung umfasst kein duratives ‘Schreiben’ (dem Schreiber wurden die Briefe vom Verfasser diktiert), vielmehr ist der Akt des Briefeintreffens gemeint (momentativer Sachverhalt), wie in Beispiel (3).

¹⁰Hoffner und Melchert (2008:317) interpretieren das nicht suffigiierte Verb allerdings imperfektiv und übersetzen ohne Kontextangabe: „While Ḫattušaziti was coming back from the land of Egypt“.

Das momentative Verb EGIR-*pa uye-mi* ‘zurückkommen’, das den Endpunkt der Verbalhandlung fokussiert, hebt die verspätete Ankunft des Ḫattušaziti hervor. Eine Interpretation von *kuitman* in der Bedeutung ‘bis’ trifft diese Fokussierung des Sachverhalts:



Die Beobachtung, dass *kuitman* in Verbindung mit Verben momentativen Verbalcharakters die Bedeutung ‘bis’ annimmt, ist auch für die zehn Beispiele mit nachgestelltem NS verifizierbar, auch wenn eine gewisse Grauzone der Bedeutungen ‘während’ und ‘bis’ (und damit eine eventuelle partielle Überlappung der Ereignisse) nicht grundsätzlich ausgeschlossen werden kann.

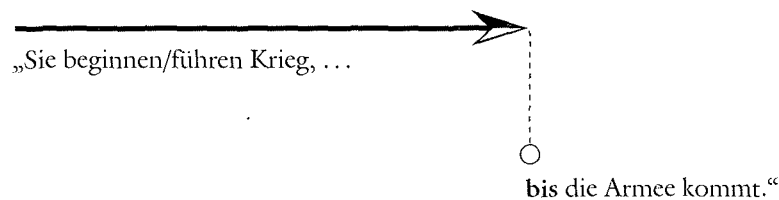
5. Die bisher erarbeitete These zur Korrelation von Verbalcharakter und Konjunktionsbedeutung trifft auch für die Beispiele zu, bei denen die Satzfolge nach traditionellem Erklärungsmuster zur Konjunktionsbedeutung passt. So liegt mit dem folgenden *kuitman*-Beispiel ebenfalls ein Inzidenzschema vor, denn das momentative Verb *ār-bbi* ‘ankommen’ beendet den im HS genannten Krieg durch das Eintreffen der verstärkenden und siegreichen Armee:

(5) KUB 23.72 + Vs. 25–6 (CTH 146, MH/MS) dazu:

mān LÚMEŠ URU Paḫḫuṣa=ma kē uddār ŪL ienzi n=a[n] ANA BELUTIM zam-murānzi nu kurur appanzi nu kuitman tuzziš ari

„Wenn die Einwohner von Paḫḫuṣa diese Dinge nicht tun (= sich nicht so verhalten), [...] beleidigen sie die Herrschaft. Sie treten in Feindschaft, bis die Armee eintrifft.“

Grafisch lässt sich das Ende des Kriegszustands durch das Eintreffen der (siegreichen) Armee wie folgt darstellen:



¹¹Das Verb *uye-mi* bezeichnet im Hethitischen die punktuelle Verbalhandlung ‘ankommen’. Es ist nicht der lange Rückmarsch aus Ägypten gemeint (anders Hoffner und Melchert 2008:317).

Ein komplementärer Typ liegt hingegen vor, wenn die Konjunktion *kuitman* mit Verben durativen Verbalcharakters konstruiert ist (vgl. *eš-mi* 'sein' in Beispiel 1). Hier erhält die Konjunktion die Lesart 'während'.

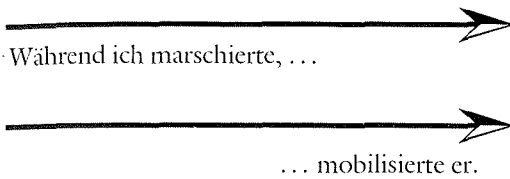
So auch im folgenden Beispiel mit durativem *iie-ta* 'gehen, marschieren', in dem NS-Handlung und HS-Handlung parallel verlaufen:

- (6) KBo 5.8 i 31-2 (CTH 61.II.7.A, NH/NS)

nu-kan kuitman KUR URUİstalubba istarna arba iiaḫḫat LUKUR
URU[Ka]ppubba=ma KUR.KURMEŠ URUGašga=ia ḫumanda niniktat

„Während ich durch das Land İstaluppa marschierte, mobilisierte der Feind von Kabbubba alle Kaskäer-Länder.“

Mittels Grafik lassen sich die Beispiele, in denen *kuitman* die Gleichzeitigkeit der Verbalhandlungen von NS und HS ausdrückt, folgendermaßen darstellen:



Somit weisen die bisher ausgeführten Beispiele auf eine Abhängigkeit der Bedeutung der Konjunktion vom Verbalcharakter des Verbs: Während momentative Verben wie EGIR-*pa uue-mi* 'zurückkommen' (Beispiel 4) und *ār-bhi* 'ankommen' (Beispiel 5) der Konjunktion *kuitman* eine nachzeitige Interpretation anbieten (Übersetzung mit 'bis'), bewirken durative Verben wie *eš-mi* 'sein' (Beispiel 1) und *iie-ta* 'gehen' (Beispiel 6) eine gleichzeitige Lesart der Konjunktion (Übersetzung mit 'während'). Die Tendenz zur Nachordnung der Nebensätze (vgl. Beispiel 1 und 5) ist aus dieser Perspektive lediglich als eine Folge der Chronologie der Sachverhalte zu verstehen (vgl. Beispiel 3 und 4).

6. Wenn diese Beobachtung zutrifft und zudem nach Melchert 1998 und Hoffner und Melchert 2002 das Verbsuffix -ške- zur sekundären Imperfektivierung verwendet werden konnte, kann angenommen werden, dass die Konjunktion *kuitman* bei -ške-Verben an die Bedeutung 'während' gebunden ist. Dies veranschaulichen exemplarisch die Beispiele (7) und (8):

- (7) KBo 5.8 ii 8-11 (CTH 61.II.7.A, NH/NS)

namma ABU-IA kuit INA KUR URUHurri eša nu kuitman KUR.
KUR.MEŠ URUHurri zaḫḫiškēt n-aš ištantait EGIR-az=ma URUGašgaz kuru-
rī^{HLA} mekki niniktat

„Da mein Vater sich im Lande Hurri aufhielt – während er im Lande Hurri kämpfte, verweilte er dort (die ganze Zeit) – erhoben sich aber hinter seinem Rücken viele Feinde aus Kaška.“

- (8) KBo 5.8 ii 34–8 (CTH 61.II.7.A, NH/NS)

[*mahḫa*]an-ma-za-kan ammuk ANA [^{GIŠG}U.ZAABI-IA [*ešḫ*]at nu kururi^{HI.A}
kuit meggaja [*nini*]inkan ešta n-at kuitman zahḫiškenun kuitman-at-kan
[*k*]u^uaškenunn-at taninnun

„Als ich mich auf den Thron meines Vaters gesetzt hatte, welche Feinde sich da in Vielzahl erhoben – **während** (/indem) ich sie bekämpfte, **während** (/indem) ich sie tötete, ordnete ich sie (ins Reich) ein.“

Besonders interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang eine Textstelle, die beide Lesarten von *kuitman* kontrastiert. Diese teilweise korrupte und bisher unterschiedlich interpretierte Textstelle¹² gliedert sich in drei Sinnabschnitte,¹³ in denen Teil drei den ersten Teil wieder aufgreift und weiter ausführt:

- (9) KBo II.1 i 24–7 (CTH 382, NH/NS)

(A) kinun-a-za *kuitman* KUR^{TAM} ašešanuškemi nu-kan ANA
DUMU.LÚ.[U₁₀.LU NUMU]N-za ḫašatti¹⁴ A.ŠĀ A.GĀR=ma-kan
{KIRI₆} GEŠTIN mišatar nejari¹⁵ nu *kuitman* KUR^{TAM} annalli
EGIR-pa tiāzi (B) DINGIR^{ME.EŠ} KUR^{TI}-m[a? ann]išan mahḫan eššer nu-
šmaš pēdan QATAMMA EGIR-pa appanzi (A') *kuitman*=ma KUR-e ašešanu-
škemi *kuitman*=at meššāi¹⁶ Š[A DINGIR^{ME.EŠ}]Š-ma iḫiul EGIR-anda *kuit* ue-
miškemi n-at eššahḫi-pat

„(A) **Während** (/indem) ich jetzt das Land besiedle, wird den Men[sch(en) Nachkommensch]aft geboren. Auf dem Feld, in der Flur und im Weingarten wird Fruchtbarkeit Einzug halten, **bis** das Land wieder in seinen alten Zustand tritt. (B) Wie die Götter früher handelten, so werden sie sich den Ort (auch jetzt) wieder nehmen. (A') **Während** (/indem) ich aber das Land besiedle, **bis** es gedeiht, welchen Vertrag der Götter ich da finde, den werde ich ausführen.“

Hier gewinnt eine unsichere Textstelle durch Analysemöglichkeit der Konjunktionsbedeutungen anhand des Verbalcharakters eine klare Interpretation. Zudem zeigen die Beispiele (7)–(9), wie problematisch die Voranstellung bzw. Nachstellung des NS als Rationale bei der Frage nach der Konjunktionsbedeutung im Kontext sein kann.

¹²Singer (2002:83) übersetzt hier: „And now, while I resettle the land and you open up(?) to the population, in the fallow land wine and fertility will result. And while the land returns to its former state, the gods of the land will regain their position just as they were before. While I am resettling the land, and until it recovers(?), I shall indeed perform the protocol of the gods which I am rediscovering, and it shall be henceforth carried out.“

¹³In Text und Übersetzung vom Verfasser als (A), (B) und (A') gekennzeichnet.

¹⁴Ergänzung und Interpretation (*ḫa-ša-a-at-ti* als Fehler für *ḫa-ša-at-ta-ri*) nach HW², 392a.

¹⁵Ergänzung und Interpretation nach CHD, 363a.

¹⁶Ich danke Paola Dardano für die Hilfe bei der Lesung KUR-ša-a-i als MEŠ-ša-a-i zu meš(š)a- 'wachsen, gedeihen'.

7. Eine interessante Beobachtung kann letztlich noch hinzugefügt werden, denn die Belege von *kuitman nāui* 'solange noch nicht' runden das Bild ab: Bei der Verwendung der Konjunktion in der negierten Variante steht bei keinem der untersuchten Belege eine -ške-Form. Exemplarisch sind hier je ein mittel- und ein junghethitisches Beispiel ausgewählt:

- (10) KBo 16.47 i 16–7 (CTH 28, MH/MS)

*kuitman-ua hannesšar arha nāui ariāueni nu-ua dUTUŠI tuel KUR-i [ŪL]
parahzi zig=[a]-u[a] ŠA dUTUŠI KUR-i lē parahši*

„Solange wir noch kein (Gottes-)Urteil vom Orakel erfahren, wird meine Majestät dein Land [nicht] angreifen! Greife auch du das Land meiner Majestät nicht an!“

- (11) KBo 3.4 i 3–4 (CTH 61.IA, NH/NS)

*kuitman=za=kan ANA GIŠGU.ZA ABI:IA nāui ēšhat nu=mu arahzenaš KUR.
KUR^{MEŠ} LÚKÚR humantes kururiāhher*

„Solange ich mich noch nicht auf den Thron meines Vaters gesetzt hatte, hatten alle umliegenden Feindesländer (bereits) Krieg mit mir angefangen.“

Beide NS-Verben haben einen momentativen Verbalcharakter und sind nicht durch ein imperfektivierendes Suffix erweitert. Wie bei den Belegen mit *kuitman* 'bis' ist die Handlung des HS durch die NS-Handlung begrenzt.

8. Daraus ergibt sich für alle zeitlichen Schichten des Hethitischen ein einheitliches Bild,¹⁷ das in Tabelle 1 grob zusammengefasst ist (s. folgende Seite).

Die Steuerung der Bedeutung von temporalen Konjunktionen durch den Verbalcharakter ist dabei nicht auf das Hethitische beschränkt. Delbrück beschreibt dieses Phänomen bereits in seiner vergleichenden Syntax (1900:333ff.) für das Altindische, Avestische, Altpersische und Altgriechische. Die folgenden Beispiele für das Homerische (Beispiel 12 und 13) sind dort entnommen:

- (12) Ilias T 41–2: εἴως mit Imperfekt in der Bedeutung 'während'

*εἴως μὲν ῥ' ἀπάνευθε θεοὶ θνητῶν ἔσαν ἀνδρῶν
τέως Ἀχαιοὶ μὲν μέγ' ἐκύδανον ...*

„Während die Götter fernab der sterblichen Menschen waren, solange waren die Achaier sehr siegessicher.“

¹⁷Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass die Homogenität des Datenmaterials auf seine Begrenztheit zurückzuführen ist: Es existiert lediglich ein althethitischer Beleg (KBo 6.2 i 18) und auch die Anzahl mittelhethitischer Belege ist sehr begrenzt (5×).

(gesamt: 46×)	durativer Verbal- charakter bzw. mit -ške-	punktuellder Verbal- charakter bzw. ohne -ške-	Bedeutung
<i>kuitman</i>	–	12 ¹⁸	‘bis’
<i>kuitman</i>	27 ¹⁹	–	‘während’
<i>kuitman nāui</i>	–	7 ²⁰	‘bevor’

Tabelle 1

- (13) Ilias Λ 487–8: εἴως mit Aorist in der Bedeutung ‘bis’

ἥτοι τὸν Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος ἔξαγ’ ὀμίλου
χειρὸς ἔχων, εἴως θεράπων σχεδὸν ἤλασεν ἵππους·

„Freilich, den trieb der streitbare Menelaos aus der Menge heraus, wobei er ihn am Arm hielt, bis der Gefolgsmann die Pferde fast ganz herangeführt hatte.“

Abgesehen von Eigenheiten im einzelsprachlichen Gebrauch (vgl. auch Crespo 1984: 135ff. zu ὄφρα) findet sich die für das Hethitische erarbeitete Verteilung der Konjunktionsbedeutung anhand des Verbalaspekts bestätigt.

9. Zusammenfassend kann somit festgestellt werden, dass die hethitische Konjunktion *kuitman* einer sauberen semantischen Verteilung folgt: (1) Steht *kuitman* mit einem mit -ške- suffigierten Verb bzw. mit einem Verb durativen Verbalcharakters (*eš-mi* ‘sein’, *iie-ta* ‘gehen’), hat es die Bedeutung ‘während’ (Gleichzeitigkeit; unbegrenzt), (2) ist das Verb des Syntagmas ohne -ške- gebildet bzw. hat das betreffende Verb einen punktuellen Verbalcharakter, hat die Konjunktion die Bedeutung ‘bis’ (Nachzeitigkeit; begrenzt). (3) Auch in den Beispielen mit *kuitman nāui* ‘solange noch nicht,

¹⁸Die Belege von *kuitman* ‘bis’ im Einzelnen: KBo 6.2 i 18 (CTH 291.IA, OS), HBM 10 Vs. 24–8 (MH/MS), KUB 23.72 + Vs. 25–6 (CTH 146, MH/MS), KUB 14.1 + KBo 19.38 ii 46–7 (CTH 147, MH/MS), KBo 5.6 iii 26–7 (CTH 40.IV.A, NH/NS), KUB 14.3 ii 75 (CTH 181, NH/NS), KUB 14.3 ii 76 (CTH 181, NH/NS), KBo 11.1 i 25 (CTH 382, NH/NS), KBo 11.1 i 26 (CTH 382, NH/NS), KUB 21.27 iv 39–40 (CTH 384, NH/NS), KUB 21.27 iv 40–2 (CTH 384, NH/NS), KUB 12.31 i 24–6 (CTH 486.B, NH/NS). Davon mit vorangestelltem NS: HBM 10 Vs. 24–8 (MH/MS) und KBo 5.6 iii 26–7 (CTH 40.IV.A, NH/NS).

¹⁹Die Belege von *kuitman* ‘während, solange als’ im Einzelnen: mit -ške- (9×): HBM 47 Rs. 49–50 (MH/MS), KBo 5.6 i 3 (CTH 40.IV.A, NH/NS), KBo 5.6 i 31 (CTH 40.IV.A, NH/NS), KBo 5.8 ii 9 (CTH 61.II.7.A, NH/NS), KBo 5.8 ii 36–7 (CTH 61.II.7.A, NH/NS), KBo 5.8 ii 37–8 (CTH 61.II.7.A, NH/NS), KUB 14.8 Rs. 38–9 (CTH 378.2.A ii? oder Vo, NH/NS), KBo 11.1 i 24 (CTH 382, NH/NS), KBo 11.1 i 26 (CTH 382, NH/NS); mit *eš-mi* (16×): HBM 17 Vs. 5–6 (MH/MS), KUB 19.11 iv 24 (CTH 40.II.D, NH/NS), KUB 19.10 i 15–6 (CTH 40.II.E, NH/NS), KBo 5.6 iii 1–2 (CTH 40.IV.A, NH/NS), KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 iii 50 (CTH 61.IA, NH/NS), KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 iii 70–1 (CTH 61.IA, NH/NS), KBo 3.4 + KUB 23.125 iii 97–8 (CTH 61.IA, NH/NS), KBo 3.3 ii 13–4 (CTH 63.A, NH/NS), KUB 1.1 i 12 (CTH 81.A, NH/NS), KUB 1.1 i 73 (CTH 81.A, NH/NS), KUB 26.32 i 9 (CTH 124.A, NH/NS), KUB 21.19 i 15–6 (CTH 383, NH/NS), KUB 18.51 ii 38 (CTH 569.1, NH/NS), KUB 18.51 ii 44 (CTH 569.1, NH/NS), KUB 18.51 ii 51 (CTH 569.1, NH/NS), KUB 18.51 iii 4–5 (CTH 569.1, NH/NS); mit *iie-ta* (2×): KBo 5.8 i 31–2 (CTH 61.II.7.A, NH/NS), KBo 19.76 i 29 (CTH 61.III.2.A, NH/NS).

²⁰Die Belege von *kuitman nāui* ‘bevor’ im Einzelnen: KBo 16.47 i 16–7 (CTH 28, MH/MS), KBo 3.4 i 3 (CTH 61.IA i 3, NH/NS), KBo 3.4 i 20–1 (CTH 61.IA, NH/NS), KBo 2.5 iv 11 (CTH 61.II.10, NH/NS), KBo 3.3 i 26–7 (CTH 63.A, NH/NS), KUB 22.70 Vs. 15–6 (CTH 566, NH/NS), Bo 86/299 ii 31 (NH/NS).

bevor' liegt eine natürliche Begrenzung des Sachverhalts vor; hier werden Verben mit punktuelltem Verbalcharakter bzw. Verbalformen ohne das Suffix *-ške-* verwendet. Demnach ist die Tendenz zur Vor- bzw. Nachstellung des Nebensatzes zum Hauptsatz lediglich das Resultat der chronologischen Aufeinanderfolge der Sachverhalte.

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The IE *s*-Aorist As an Athematic Denominative

George Dunkel

1. The Late IE *s*-aorist has inspired numerous attempts at a historical reconstruction of its origin.¹ The major difficulties in explaining forms like the third singular indicative active **e-rēḡ-s-t* (plural **e-rēḡ-s-nt*), indicative mediopassive **e-rēḡ-s-to* and subjunctive active **rēḡ-s-e-t(i)* are the lack of ablaut in both suffix and root² and the frequent, though not universal, radical long-grade in the indicative active.³ These features are fundamentally at odds with all known principles of athematic verbal inflection, as shown by Meillet (1908).

Influential among historical interpretations remains Watkins's derivation of the non-ablauting suffix ultimately from predicatively used roots extended in **-s*;⁴ in a pre-inflexional period these would have been metanalyzed as verb-forms containing either a suffix **-s-* plus a preterital ending **-Ø* (later replaced by secondary **-t*) or a preterital ending **-s*⁵ (1962:99–102, 105–6; 1969:53–4). Finally, Watkins suggested that the predicatal extended roots might themselves have arisen from animate nominative root-nouns, as in e.g. **preks* 'asking (occurred)', and **Hneks* 'unnatural death

¹Szemerényi's introduction to the problems and previous scholarship (1996:281–4) puts those of Beekes 1995:235–7, Sihler 1995:510–1, 559, Meier-Brügger 2000:161, and Fortson 2004:92 to shame.

²I.e. the lack of ablaut in the root within the active indicative.

³To Szemerényi's examples of long-grades preserved in Greek (1996:282) should be added *μῆδομαι* : *ἐμήσατο*. Szemerényi explains the long-grade by a protolinguistic compensatory lengthening, e.g. 3. sing. **b^her-s-t* > **b^hēr* (cf. **-ers* > **-ēr* in the animate nom. sg.), then recharacterized to **b^hēr-s-t* (1996:118; already in the first edition of 1970:111). Insler (1972) connects the long-grade with the accentual acrostasis, Narten-style; for (Kurylowicz 1956:161) and Strunk (1985) the long-grade is due to an analogical "upgrading". For Beekes it arose through lengthening in monosyllabic second and third singular injunctives (Beekes 1990:42–3). However, the reality of monosyllabic lengthening is questionable inasmuch as it rests largely on the evidence of particles which aptotology shows can and should be otherwise explained.

⁴E.g. Hitt. *paš-* beside Ved. *pā-* 'swallow', Hitt. *ganeš-* beside Gr. *ἐγνων* 'recognise', Hitt. *manš-* 'fall' beside Lat. *moveō*; *s*-aorists beside extended roots in e.g. Gr. *ἐκερσα* : Hitt. *karš-* 'cut'; Gr. *ἐκάλεσα* : Hitt. *kalles-* 'call'; Gr. *ἐδάμασα* 'tamed' : Hitt. *tameš-* 'press'. According to Watkins, the root-extension **-s-* 'had at the outset no functional value. It was simply a phonetic component' (Watkins 1962:100).

⁵As in Hitt. *dāš* 'took' and Ved. *apriṣ* 'filled', *apās* 'swallowed' (Watkins 1969:54). But aside from *apriṣ* the Vedic evidence is weak (*apās* could be a form of the extended root as in Hittite, see the last fn.), and Hittite *-š* might instead continue aoristic **-s-t* (as Jasanoff admits, 2003:174–5) or be analogic to the second singular (Kurylowicz 1964:157).

Unrelated is the 3. sing. active preterital ending of Hitt. *daiš* 'he put' and Phryg. *εδαεζ* 'he made', both from a resultative phrase **d^heh₁-Ø éš* 'he placed, made' containing the same IE resultative particle **éš* which, when preposed, led to both the IE augment and the IE *s*-mobile (**pek-je-ti* : resultative **éš pek-je-t* > imperfect **éšpek-je-t*); see Dunkel 2004a.

(occurred)' (1962:106). He saw the odd long-grade of the indicative active as a parallel innovation of Aryan, Italic and Slavic (1962:18–52).

More recent attempts have had less success. Simple but implausible is Bammesberger's suggestion of hypercorrection in the second singular, whereby root-aorists such as **e-deĩk-s* and **e-deĩk-so* would have been inversely metanalyzed as **e-deĩk-s-s* and **e-deĩk-s-so*, reversing (without a model) the usual simplification of IE **-ss-* to **-s-* (Bammesberger 1985:74–8). Though he did not mention the long-grade, it could in fact be explained within this hypothesis.⁶ However, the hypercorrection is completely unmotivated, and the second person is far-fetched as the origin of an indicative mode.⁷ My own earlier derivation from the resultative particle **és* (Dunkel 2004a:122–3) also left the long-grade unexplained. Analyses which presume (rather than reconstruct) hypothetical pre-categories⁸ will not be pursued here.

2. Since neither the invariant suffix nor the fixed long-grade of the root in the indicative active makes sense in terms of IE verbal morphology, one is led to ask whether both might not be due to a relatively recent analogic origin. Let us begin from an IE utterance with a radical agent-noun as predicate, such as 'he is the leader':

**réĝs h₁esti* or **so réĝs⁹*

(we could equally well begin from **uég^hs* 'driver' or others). How could this be put into the past tense? A continuous preterite 'he used to be leader' could be expressed either by the root imperfect of **h₁es-* or by an iterative with the suffix **-skō-*:

**(so) réĝs eh₁est* or **(so) réĝs eh₁sket*.

For a non-continuous, abstract preteritality 'he was leader'¹⁰ one could of course turn to the suppletive aorist of the verbum existentiae:

**(so) réĝs eb^huHt*.

Another alternative, I suggest, might have been to verbally inflect (hypostasize) the nominal predicate. The prefixation of the augment¹¹ and the addition of the secondary personal ending to **réĝs* would have produced a form which is identical to the regular third singular *s*-aorist:

**(so) e-réĝs-t*.

⁶By applying Szemerényi's rules (fn. 3) before his own to roots in final resonant: second singular root-aorist **e-b^her-s* > **eb^hēr-s* > recharacterised **eb^hēr-s* > hypercorrect **eb^hēr-s-s*, whence **eb^hēr-s-t* etc.

⁷As opposed to the imperative, where the second person is fundamental; thus the IE serial verb construction with the root **h₁éi-*, in the protolanguage limited to the second personal **h₁éi-Ø* or **h₁éi-te* before verb, spread to the other persons, moods and tenses in Hittite and to a lesser extent in Vedic, while in Greek little beyond Homer's *ei δ' ἄγε* remains (Dunkel 1985:47–79).

⁸Such as an "s-present", see Kurylowicz 1956:160; Jasanoff 1988:232–9; Szemerényi 1996:282 with references; Jasanoff 2003:174–9.

⁹The verb and the pronoun both being facultative, either the bare predicate **réĝs* or a hyper-explicit contamination **so-Ø réĝs h₁esti* would have done as well.

¹⁰In a context like 'back then' or 'when no one else dared'.

¹¹Once it had arisen (fn. 5 at the end) and become productive.

Historically, then, IE **erēǵst* 'he ruled' and **emēǵst* 'he drove' et al. would be simply athematic denominatives, a formation familiar from Ved. *bhiṣakti* 'heals' and the Aeolic Greek type *τίμαμι* 'respect'.¹² The same sort of hypostasis, i.e. direct verbal inflection of nominal case-forms, underlies the IE statives in **-eh₁-*, thought to have arisen from adverbs in modal **-h₁* (Jasanoff 1978:124–5). For the subsequent creation of a full paradigm on the basis of a third singular indicative see Watkins 1962:97ff. Although genetically unrelated (i.e. due entirely to the formation's nominal origin), the lack of an ablaut-boundary within the s-aorist active matches the inherited verbal ablaut of the IE root-aorist and the Hittite *mi*-preterite.¹³

Typologically, the development of a preterite from a predicative nominal form is well known in human languages around the world; the Slavic *l*-preterite and Persian 3. sg. pret. *kard* come to mind; neither ever developed a corresponding present.

Verbal government would have been introduced into the s-aorist from the present, thus **tóm emēǵst* 'he drove him' (replacing the nominal sentence **tósio emēǵs* '(he is) his driver')¹⁴ after the present **tóm meǵeti*.

While *bhiṣakti* and *τίμαμι* can theoretically have been derived either from the nominative or the stem of their underlying nouns, the present derivation of the s-aorist starts crucially from the nominative, whose morphology is precisely what accounts for both the frequent long-grade and for the lack of ablaut in both root and suffix. Another instance of a nominative being extended by further endings may be seen in the IE pronominal oblique plurals (instrumental **tói-bʰis*, locative **tói-su* etc.)¹⁵ which are based on the fully inflected nominative **tói*.

3. Formally defensible perhaps, but is there any positive lexical evidence for this hypothesis? To get a rough-and-ready idea,¹⁶ the 177 roots listed as having formed s-aorists in Rix 2001:719–20 were checked against Pokorny 1959 and Scarlata 1999 for the existence of corresponding root-nouns and root-compounds.¹⁷ From the ca. 50 "hits" were removed most cases in which the s-aorist and the root-noun occurred only

¹²Cf. Homeric *-αἶδαμι* 'speak' (προσωνδήτην occurs twice in the *Iliad*) or *-σάλαμι* 'despoil' (σολήτην occurs *Il.* 13.202 and *σολαιη* in an Elean inscription, Schwyzer 1923:415.6).

¹³On which see Hart 1980 and Malzahn 2004.

¹⁴A trace of the parallel **tóisōm rēǵs* '(he was) their leader/ruler' might live on in the idiomatic 'objective' genitive of many dialectal verbs of ruling (Vedic *kṣi-*, Greek *ἀνάσσω*, etc.). Rather than partitive in origin, as is usually said, the genitive may have originated with the s-aorist of the root **rēǵ-* 'lead' in the technical meaning 'rule over, govern'. Here **tóisōm erēǵst* 'he ruled over them' (in contrast to **tóns erēǵst* 'he led them') would have preserved, for differentiatial purposes, the construction of the possessive nominal sentence **tóisōm rēǵs* '(he was) their leader/ruler'. From this inherited base the idiom would then have spread to its dialectal synonyms.

¹⁵According to Scarlata (personal communication), the genitive plural **tóisōm* is to be analyzed as **tói-so om*, with the oldest pronominal genitive singular ending (as in **te-so*, **kʷē-so*) added to the nominative plural **tói*; **om* is the emphatic particle of **eg(H) om* 'I' etc. (Dunkel 2002:94–8).

¹⁶This survey is naturally subject to the various peculiarities of the reference works involved. E.g., since LIV² (Rix 2001) took the agreement between Ved. *pakṣat* (subj.), Gr. *ἔπειθα* and Lat. *caxi* as secondary, it excluded **pekʷ-* from its index of s-aorists; since Pokorny (1959) did not cite Lat. *praeceax*, this possible instance could easily have escaped notice.

¹⁷Not all second elements of root-compounds necessarily also existed as free forms, see Wackernagel 1905:87–8, 174, 185–7; Schwyzer 1939:424–5, and Scarlata 1999:756–7; differently Leumann 1977:265. Since it

in the same IE dialect,¹⁸ as well as those in which the reality of the *s*-aorist or of the entire comparison were overly uncertain.¹⁹ Then, all pairs where the root-noun had *o*- or zero-grade vocalism were removed. The following material can be cited as evidence for the idea that the IE *s*-aorist arose as an athematic denominative to agentive root-nouns:

* <i>med</i> - ‘devise’	OAv. <i>masatā</i> (subj.), Gr. ἐμήσατο, LIV ² 423	synthetic Av. <i>vī-mad</i> - ‘healer’ Lat. <i>med-icus</i> , <i>med-itor</i>
* <i>pek</i> ^w - ‘cook’	Ved. <i>paksat</i> (subj.), Gr. ἔπεψα, Lat. <i>coxī</i> , LIV ² 468	synthetic Skr. <i>śva-pac</i> - (Manu), Lat. <i>prae-cox</i> , <i>olli-cox</i>
* <i>prek</i> - ‘ask’	Ved. <i>apraṭ</i> , Toch. B <i>preksa</i> , LIV ² 490–1	Ved. <i>prās</i> - ‘question’, Lat. <i>prec</i> - ‘prayer’
* <i>reġ</i> - ‘lead’ ²⁰	Gr. ὤρεξα, Lat. <i>rēxī</i> , Toch. B <i>reksa</i> , LIV ² 304	Ved. <i>rāj</i> -, Lat. <i>rēx</i> , OIr. <i>rí</i>
* <i>spek</i> - ‘spy’	Ved. <i>aspaṣṭa</i> , Gr. ἐσκέψατο, Lat. <i>spexī</i> , LIV ² 575–6	Ved. <i>spās</i> -, <i>vi-spās</i> -, synthetic Lat. <i>au</i> -, <i>exti</i> -, <i>haru-spex</i> ; OHG denom. <i>spehōn</i>
* <i>ueg</i> ^h - ‘drive’	Ved. <i>avāt</i> , Gr. Cypr. ἐφεξε, Lat. <i>vēxī</i> etc., LIV ² 661	synthetic Ved. <i>anaḍ</i> -, <i>indra</i> -, <i>dakṣina-vāb</i> -; Goth. <i>wigs</i> ‘way, road’

4. This table also explains the full-grades outside of the active indicative (and outside of Aryan, even there). To state that the *s*-aorist is acrostatic of the **é/é* variety²¹ describes, but does not explain, the origin of this inflectional type.

As is known, not all animate stop-stems had a long-grade in the nominative: in the above table the root-nouns **méd*-, **pék*^w- and **spék*- seem to have been of this type. In fact, the full-grades of IE **spéks*, **sed*s, **ént*s, Gr. φλέψ ‘vein’, Lat. *nex* ‘killing’, and so on continue the original state of affairs, while the long-grades of section 2 are historically more recent. Long-grade nominatives arose phonologically among the resonant-stems in compensation for the assimilation of the animate ending **-s* to the stem (see above fn. 3). Though no such assimilation took place in the stop-stems, the lengthening was lexically diffused to some of them already in the protolanguage, where it served to hypercharacterize the case, leaving the full-grade nominatives as relics. Other full-grade nominatives may of course have arisen through leveling by the

is unclear whether these “synthetica” are relics or analogic creations, their evidence will be valued less highly than actually attested simplices.

¹⁸E.g. Ved. *atāpsīt* ‘heated’ beside *agnī-tāp*- ‘hot like fire’ etc.; *āsvār* ‘called’ beside *abhi-svar* ‘invocation’; *bhāḱ* ‘distributed’, *ābhakṣi* ‘I received’ beside *ratna-bhāj*- ‘distributing wealth’, *go-bhāj*- ‘distributing cattle’ etc.; or Greek ἔκρεξα ‘hit’ beside κρόξ ‘thread’, λέψαι ‘peel’ beside λώψ ‘cloak’, etc.

¹⁹E.g. Toch. A *plāksāt* ‘asked permission’ beside Lat. **plāx*, the presumable base of *plācāre* ‘conciliate, attempt to satisfy’; or Osc. *upsed* beside Lat. *ops*. LIV² (Rix 2001) itself considers 99 of its 177 reconstructed *s*-aorist stems to be uncertain (20).

²⁰The Greek initial *ō*- continues not the first consonant of the root but rather the preverb 1.**h*₂0 ‘to; by’. Ionic Gr. ὀρηγών ‘helper’ contains **sm*-, cf. Ved. *samrāj*- ‘overlord’.

²¹So LIV² (Rix 2001:20–1) without mentioning Insler 1972; see also the works cited in fn. 3.

oblique allomorph. In either case, the full-grades of *s*-aorist forms like **e-préks-t* ‘he asked’ and **e-spéks-to* ‘he watched (for himself)’²² can also have arisen by the verbal hypostasis of agent-noun nominatives, this time of ones with the full-grade.

In fact, the full-grade of the *s*-aorist was probably polygenetic, since middles like **reġ-tor* might have been created analogically to long-grade actives like **reġ-ti* after the nominal allomorphy **réġ-s* : **reġ-és*. And dialectally, Osthoff’s Law and paradigmatic leveling led to ever more full-grade allomorphs. Here as elsewhere, the methodological presupposition that one single explanation must be right to the exclusion of all others tends to block linguistic progress (Dunkel 2004b:26–7).

5. The above six cases probably comprise more specific, actual evidence than has ever been presented for a hypothesis on the origin of the *s*-aorist. Further material for the denominative interpretation is less certain because either the reality of the *s*-aorist is suspect, the noun is “only” synthetic (fn. 17), or one side occurs only in a single dialect:

<i>*b^her-</i> ‘carry’	?Ved. <i>abhār</i> , OIr. <i>birt</i> , <i>-bert</i> , LIV ² 76	synthetic Hitt. <i>ka-pirt-</i> ‘mouse’ ²³
<i>*d^heb₁(i)-</i> ‘suck’	Gr. <i>θήσατο</i> ‘sucked; suckled’, LIV ² 138	synthetic Ved. <i>go-</i> , <i>payo-</i> , <i>su-dhā-</i>
<i>*ġneh₃-</i> ‘recognise’	Hitt. <i>ganešš-</i> , Ved. <i>ajñāsam</i> , Toch. A <i>kñāsāst</i> , LIV ² 168–9	synthetic Ved. <i>ṛta-</i> , <i>pada-jñā-</i> , NIL 154
<i>*ġ^huer-</i> ‘lurch’	Ved. <i>mā hvār</i> ‘don’t limp’, LIV ² 182	Gr. <i>θήρ/Φήρες</i> , OCS <i>zvěř</i> ‘monster, beast’
<i>*ie_h3s-</i> ‘gird’	Gr. <i>ἕζωσα</i> , LIV ² 311	YAv. <i>yāb-</i> ‘belt’, synthetic Ved. <i>a-yās-</i> ‘unleashed’, NIL 391–2
<i>*pe_h3-</i> ‘swallow’	Hitt. <i>pāsi</i> (imperative), Ved. <i>āpās</i> , LIV ² 462–3	synthetic Ved. <i>agre-pā-</i> , <i>madhu-pā-</i> etc.
<i>*ple_h1-</i> ‘fill’	Ved. <i>aprās</i> , Gr. <i>ἐπλησσα</i> , LIV ² 482–3	synthetic Ved. <i>antarikṣa-</i> , <i>ratha-prā-</i> etc.; Ved. <i>pūr-</i> , Lith. <i>pilis</i>
<i>*sed-</i> ‘sit’	Gr. <i>ἕσσω</i> , Umbr. <i>-sesust</i> , LIV ² 513–5	synthetic Ved. <i>apsu-sad-</i> etc.; Lat. <i>prae-</i> , <i>re-</i> , <i>dē-ses</i> ; OIr. <i>deid</i>

²²Medial full-grades are considered to be particularly old by Watkins (1962:52–74, 97–8) and Narten (1964:28).

²³If from 1. **ko-b^hēr-t-* and not to ‘bore’ (Lat. *forāre*), see Wodtko et al. 2008:21 n. 21.

²⁴From **d-ġ^{wh}er-*, i. e. ‘heat up’ plus **ġ^{wh}er-* ‘get warm’ (Rix 2001:219–20); on IE thorn from compounds with the zero-grade of **ād* ‘toward’, see Dunkel 2007:53–4.

²⁵For “*ῥήρ*”? cf. *χεῖρ*, *θήρ*.

²⁶This comparison is limited to a single IE dialect.

Even less certain, though still thought-provoking, are the following comparanda:

* <i>g^mper</i> - ‘melt, disappear’ ²⁴	Ved. <i>akṣār</i> ‘flowed’, Gr. ἔφθειρα ‘destroyed’, LIV ² 213	Gr. φθείρ ‘louse’ ²⁵
* <i>d^hreg^h</i> - ‘drag, draw’	Gr. ἔρρεξα ‘ran’, LIV ² 154	Ved. <i>dhṛáj-</i> ‘speed, strength’ (for * <i>dhṛájh-</i> ?)
* <i>Hiaġ-</i> ‘honor’	Ved. <i>ayāt</i> , LIV ² 224	synthetic Ved. <i>divi-yáj-</i> ²⁶
* <i>leġ-</i> ‘gather’	Gr. ἔλεξα, ἔεκτο, LIV ² 397	Lat. <i>lēx</i> ‘law’

6. In sum, both the invariable vocalism of the root in the singular active and the non-ablauting suffix follow naturally from the hypothesis that the IE *s*-aorist arose in the third singular through the athematic preteritization,²⁷ active or medial, of the nominative of predicative, *e*-colored, agentive root-nouns, with or without a lengthened grade. The (in itself banal) scenario of an analogic spread from a specific starting-point renders the assumption of any intermediate stages between the animate nominative and the *s*-aorist superfluous.

Let the simplicity of the present proposal not be held against it. It rests on uncontroversial, generally accepted forms, not on presumed (rather than comparatively reconstructable) antecedents, exotically precooked so as to come out right. It entails no revision of previous philology; Narten’s and Watkins’s descriptions and analyses of the Late IE and dialectal *s*-aorists retain all their validity. But it does offer a concrete, typologically and morphologically plausible starting-point for this category, whose characteristic and long-baffling long-grade root and ablautlessness make perfect sense once the forms are seen as conjugated nominatives. Ultimately, the IE *s*-aorist was denominative in two senses: it was derived both from nouns, and from the nominative.

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²⁷ Compare Greek ἔχθες beside the historically earlier χθές.

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On the (Non-)Antiquity of Clause-Internal *-kan* in Hittite

Benjamin W. Fortson IV

1. As is well known, the Anatolian languages have a family of clitics called local particles that normally occur in the last slot in the clause-initial clitic chain. As a group they reinforce locative, dimensional, and aspectual content elsewhere in the clause, frequently co-occurring with locational adverbial expressions. Of the five such particles in the early stages of Hittite (*-an*, *-(a)pa*, *-(a)šta*, *-kan*, and *-šan*), ultimately *-kan* became the commonest; a typical clause containing this particle is as follows:

- (1) KUB 29.8 iv 38–9, from Tjerckstra 1999:5

ANA ^dUTU^{ŠI}ya-at=*kan* INA ^{URU}Zithara INA BURU₁₄ KA×U-az *parā*
aniyawen

“And from His Majesty’s mouth we wrote it down in Zithara at harvest-time.”

2. As is perhaps a little less well known, *-kan* sometimes appears not in the clause-initial clitic chain but clause-internally, typically attached to a noun in the dative-locative followed by a locational adverb, as in the following:

- (2) KBo 13.217 v 16’–18’, from Neu 1993:145

n-an ANA PANI ^dGulšaš ZAG.GAR.RA-*ni* ḫalḫaltūmari=*kan* anda lāḫūwāi

“And he pours it (*sc.* the rhyton) before the Fates into the corner of the altar.”

In the context of one of its more widely accepted etymologies—derivation from PIE **kom*, whence also Latin *cum* and congeners¹—some years ago Eichner (1980:212) suggested that clause-internal placement of *-kan* was a relic of the same Indo-European construction seen in Umbrian *asa-ku* ‘at the altar’ and, more distantly, the type Lat. *mē-cum* ‘with me’. This observation was cited approvingly by Puhvel (1991:s.v. *-kan*), who called the similarity between the Hittite and Italic constructions “striking”.

It is attractive to make this comparison for several reasons. First of all, we are predisposed to view synchronic exceptions as archaisms, and clause-internal *-kan* is comparatively rare. Secondly, we assume that the local particles were once fully fledged locational adverbs that underwent semantic bleaching and grammaticalization,

¹The competing etymology is PIE **kem* (Gk. *κέ(ν)*). Dunkel (1990) considers it possible that both **kem* and **kom* merged in Hitt. *-kan*.

ultimately winding up as Wackernagel clitics in the clitic chain.² We might also recall the Indo-Iranian phenomena discussed by Hale (1987), where certain second-position clitics are occasionally found in their original, more archaic position lower down the syntactic tree, attached to the head of the constituent of origin (NP or VP).³ And lastly, if *-kan* continues **kom*, which looks like it could be an old accusative, we would expect that it too was once VP-internal.

3. Now *-kan* is not the only local particle in Hittite that behaves this way; all the others can also appear clause-internally on occasion, as in this example:

- (3) KBo 10.23 v 11'–13', from Neu 1993:149
 EGIR-ŠU=ma^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR^{HLA} HURSAG^{HLA}=š^{an} kuwapi š[e]r arantari
 “But subsequently the spears were brought somewhere up into the mountains.”

And sometimes a clause-internal particle co-occurs with another one that appears in the regular position:

- (4) KBo 21.33 + rev. iv 20'–1', from Neu 1993:138
 n=ašta parā šulhi-š^{an} sarā DINGIR.LÚ^{MES}-aš pēdai
 “And he brings (the cup) out and up onto the roof for the male gods.”

Essentially all theoretically possible combinations, including repetition of the same particle, are found. All of this means we cannot consider clause-internal *-kan* in isolation. These phenomena were studied extensively by Neu (1993), who showed that clause-internal positioning of local particles serves a clarifying or disambiguating function when the clause contains more than one local expression or is so long and involved that one might not be certain what part of the sentence the particle is meant

²Luraghi (2001) provides some details on how the transformation from local adverb to second-position particle might have taken place.

³Hale 1987:123, 156, and Ch. 3 passim. To be sure, there is no guarantee that cliticization to the head of an NP or VP is always more archaic (see further below); I should add that in a recent conversation, Hale informs me that he no longer subscribes to this analysis of the Indo-Iranian facts, but that is not to deny its possible validity for other data.

It is uncertain whether any diachronic conclusions can be drawn from the order of the elements within the Anatolian clitic chain and from the fact that the local particles are the last ones in it. That is to say, one could claim that they are last because they are the most recently captured additions to the chain, and that we might therefore expect to find some archaic leftovers still marginally hanging on outside the clitic chain clause-internally; but there is no guarantee that such a claim is justified even a priori. This is a much more complicated question than can be adequately addressed here, as both synchronic and diachronic factors are responsible for the ordering of clitics, factors varying widely from language to language. (For a recent book-length treatment see Anderson 2005.) Luraghi (2001:51) interprets the ordering of clitics as reflective of relative differences in scope: those clitics having the greatest scope (connectives like *-ma*) precede pronominal clitics, which have scope over the VP, which in turn precede the local particles, which have scope over a single constituent or the verb. This may be true *grosso modo* (though not accounting for how the various pronominal clitics are ordered with respect to each other), but further research is needed to determine whether differences in scope are a driving force behind the order, or are merely a synchronic or diachronic epiphenomenon.

to go with (cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008:365). The internal placement is thus in service of a clear synchronic purpose. The possibility should therefore be considered that, rather than being an archaic retention, clause-internal placement of *-kan* and other local particles arose later as a strategy to clarify certain types of unusual clausal complexity. Posing another difficulty for the archaism claim is the fact that clause-internal local particles are not found in early texts—though to be sure that absence could be accidental, since complex clauses of the relevant type are rarer in earlier texts than in later ones.

Luraghi (2001:52–3) concluded that clause-internal placement of local particles was a recent inner-Hittite development because of the cross-linguistic fact that once an element becomes a second-position clitic, it is not consigned to that role forevermore, but can subsequently be attracted out of second position. The claim in this form is a mere stipulation: just because a second-position clitic *can* migrate to other positions does not mean the Hittite facts must be so explained, and she offered no evidence or arguments to bolster this claim.

4. My purpose here is simple: to offer one such piece of evidence, one that I believe delivers the final nail in the coffin of the claim that clause-internal *-kan* is an archaism. The comparison between clause-internal *-kan* and Latin/Umbrian *mēcum/asaku* cannot stand on independent grounds. In a recent study (Fortson 2010) I believe I have shown that the Latin *mēcum* and Umbrian *asaku* constructions, frequently considered to be cognate with one another and to be archaic retentions of a putatively more widespread postpositionalism in early Italic, are in fact neither. For the full arguments see that study, but in brief my conclusions were that the synchronic analyses of the Latin and Umbrian constructions are different; that the diachronic paths by which they arose are different as well; and that the available evidence suggests that they arose independently within their respective post-Common-Italic traditions. If my conclusion is correct that Latin *mēcum* and Umbrian *asaku* are innovatory, then that removes the existing extra-Anatolian buttress for claiming that clause-internal *-kan* is archaic.

The lesson is familiar: what appears at first glance to be an archaic retention can turn out to be an innovation instead.⁺

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⁺Unaware (hopefully) of the destination of this study, the honorand himself was of great help in its inception and elaboration, and to him above all are due thanks for originally calling my attention to clause-internal *-kan*, for clarification of the issues, and for several of the references.

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The Age of the Albanian Admirative: A Problem in Historical Semantics

Victor A. Friedman

Albanian gives us precious evidence for the reconstruction of Indo-European (see now especially Hamp 2007). At the same time, the lateness of uncontested attestation (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries) leaves a host of questions unanswered. Here I shall turn to a problem that resides at the cusp of Albanian attestation—the age and origin of the admirative mood, which in modern Albanian is a marked nonconfirmative used for expressing surprise, doubt, sarcasm, inference, and explicitly noncommittal reporting. The modern Albanian admirative occurs in four tenses: present, perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect. The first two have their origins in the inverted active perfect and pluperfect (present/imperfect ‘have’ + participle > short participle + present/imperfect ‘have’ [reduced in the imperfect]) and the latter two use the present/imperfect admirative of the auxiliary ‘have’ (active) or ‘be’ (mediopassive) plus the participle.¹

	Nonadmirative	Admirative
Present	kam	paskam
Perfect	kam pasur	paskam pasur
Imperfect	kisha	paskësha
Pluperfect (impf.)	kisha pasur	paskësha pasur
Double Perfect	kam pasë pasur	paskam pasë pasur
Double Pluperfect	kisha pasë pasur	paskësha pasë pasur
Aorist	pata	—
2nd Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasur	—
2nd Double Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasë pasur	—

Table 1: Albanian 1 sg. ‘have’ Nonadmirative and Admirative

While the shape of the Albanian set of admirative paradigms is already approximately modern in the earliest documents, its usages in those texts differ significantly enough from current usages that its semantic development constitutes an historical problem. In his discussion of the age of the admirative, Demiraj (1971) argues convincingly that the admirative paradigms developed from an inverted perfect and not, as Jokl had suggested, from an inverted future, and he even uses two admiratives in part of the argument:

¹Secondary formations using the perfect and pluperfect as auxiliaries also exist. These are given in Table 1 for the sake of completeness, but do not concern us here. See Friedmann 1981 and Friedmann 2003 for further discussion. The modern 1 sg. admirative of ‘have’ is given here as an illustration.

Po të pranonim që shqipja **paska pasur** dikur një të ardhme të tipit *qenë kam*, gjurmët e së cilës **paskan mbetur** vetëm tek format e habitores së tashme, atëherë ky tip i së ardhmes duhet të jetë zhdukur në një kohë relativisht shumë të vjetër, shumë shekuj para shkrimit të shqipes. (Demiraj 1971:35)

'If we accept that Albanian **has** [supposedly] **had** at some time a future of the type *qenë kam* 'been I.have' the traces of which [supposedly] **have remained** only in the forms of the present admirative, such a future must have disappeared at a relatively very old period, many centuries before the writing of Albanian.

He also notes that such a future would have become confused with a true inverted perfect, which is attested in both older and modern documents.

An argument that has been used in favor of the relative antiquity of the admirative is that, unlike, for example, the future using invariant *do* ('want/will'), the admirative is shared by all contiguous Geg and Tosk dialects. At issue, then, is not the form of the admirative, which in principle could have preceded the Geg/Tosk split,² but rather the timing of the development of its semantics. On the basis of the oldest Albanian texts (Buzuku, Bogdani, and Buda), Demiraj (1971:47) argues that the admirative in its entirety predates the Turkish conquest. Here I wish to argue, contrary to Demiraj's view, that the semantic evidence in the oldest text actually favors the Ottoman period as the time when the Albanian admirative consolidated the meanings that we find in the standard language today, and, moreover, the path of the development of those meanings does bear the marks of Turkish influence, although in certain respects the development is entirely specific to Albanian itself. Thus, while I agree with Demiraj when he states that there are important differences between the Turkish *miş*-past and the Albanian admirative, I shall argue here that those differences do not preclude the Ottoman period and Turkish influence as responsible for the current state of affairs, and, moreover, the timing and distribution argue strongly for such influence. As we shall see later, the Albanian dialectological evidence from Gegëri, Ukraine, and FOPOG also support this conclusion.³

The oldest extended Albanian text we have is the 1555 *Meshari* 'Missal' of Gjon Buzuku (critical edition Çabej 1968). The next oldest extant Albanian author, Pjetër Budi, was born eleven years after the date of the *Meshari*, and the third oldest author, Pjetër Bogdani, dates from the seventeenth century. All were from northern Geg-speaking regions in what was then the Ottoman Empire. Although Demiraj (1971) bases his arguments on all three authors, here I shall examine only the *Meshari*, which, as a text that is older than subsequent texts by a generation or more, is the best indicator we have of sixteenth-century Albanian usage. Demiraj (1971:41–5) has identified all of the admiratives in the *Meshari*, and the types alone give us reason for pause. Of 28 occurrences, only three are indicative. The remainder are all conditional, a context in which the admirative almost never occurs today, but did occur in Arvanitika (Liosis

²The split occurred sometime after contact with Latin (e. g. Geg *varfën* Tosk *varfër* 'poor' from Latin *orphanus*), but its timing vis-à-vis the arrival of Slavic-speakers is problematic owing to contradictory evidence.

³I follow Fine (2006:4) in using this designation for the Former Ottoman Provinces of Greece.

forthcoming). Of these modal forms, 15 are subordinated to the modal (subjunctive) marker *të* and 10 occur in modal constructions subordinated to *në* in the meaning 'if'.

Examples (1)–(6) are illustrative of typical "admirative" usage in Buzuku. In each case (as well as in subsequent examples), I have supplied three modern Albanian Gospel translations.⁴ The first, by Kristiforidi (1872), a native of Elbasan, is in Geg, the second, by Kyrias and Sinas (1930), published in Korça, is in Tosk, and the third, by Filipaj (1980), published in Kosovo, is in the modern Tosk-based unified Albanian standard.⁵ The English is my own wording. The examples from Buzuku were all published in Demiraj 1971:41–3, which I follow here, but I have checked them against Çabej's edition. I have not supplied interlinear translations, but I have bold-faced Buzuku's admirative forms along with relevant modal and negative markers and their correspondences in the other works.⁶ Of the 25 modal admiratives in Buzuku, 24 have *mutatis mutandis* the form of the modern imperfect admirative, i.e. synthetic participle + (reduced) imperfect of 'have', and one, given here as (6), is a mediopassive pluperfect admirative, i.e. the imperfect admirative of 'be' plus participle. None of the translations use admiratives, and, moreover, they use variously the imperfect, pluperfect, imperfect anterior future, and pluperfect anterior future, where Buzuku has what is formally a modal imperfect admirative. The specifics of the correspondences in the various translations need not concern us here. The point is simply to show the variety of modern correspondences to Buzuku's usage, none of which is admirative.

- (1) E kÿ në mos ish ɳ Sinëzot, **nukë të mujtëke** me bām as ɳdonjë kafshë
(Buzuku LVII)
Nde mos ishte kÿi prei Perëndisë **nukë munde** me bāe asgā. (Kristiforidi)
Ndë mos ishte ky nga Perëndia, **nukë dotë muntte** të bënte asgjë.
(Kyrias & Sinas)
Po të mos ishte ky njeri prej Hyjut, **s'do të mund** të bënte asgjë! (Filipaj)
'If this man were not from God, he **would not be able** to do anything.'
(John 9:33)
- (2) Zot, ti në ishnjë klenë këtu, em vëllā **të mos vdekunëkë** (Buzuku LXXXIX)
Zot, nde kišie kënunë këtu em-vëlā **s'kište për me vdëkunë** (Kristiforidi)
Zot, t'ishnje këtu im vëlla **nukë dotë vdiste** (Kyrias & Sinas)
Zotëri, të kishe qenë ti këtu, im vëlla **nuk do të kishte vdekur** (Filipaj)
'Lord, if you had been here my brother **would not have died**.' (John 11:21)

⁴All translations were from the Greek.

⁵Filipaj 1980 is in standard Albanian orthography, and Kyrias and Sinas 1930 uses the modern alphabet albeit with pre-standard Tosk spelling. The orthography in Kristiforidi 1872 is specific to that text, and I have reproduced it exactly.

⁶Albanian can express the protasis of a conditional period by means of a present or past subjunctive (i.e. the particle *të* plus the appropriate verb form) or by means of a particle or phrase meaning 'if' followed by a plain indicative, whereas the apodosis can be a present or an anterior future. The anterior future in Tosk and southern Geg is formed by means of the invariant future marker *do* and the subjunctive (*të* plus the subjunctive imperfect, perfect or pluperfect), whereas in most of Gegëri it is formed with the imperfect of *kam* 'have' plus the infinitive (*me* plus the short participle).

- (3) Ju në klenëkishte të shekullit, shekulli tu dashke porsì të vetë (Buzuku LXXXII)
 Nde yëni prej bōtēsē, bota dotë donte tē vëtinē (Kristiforidi)
 Të ishitë prej botēsē, bota dotë donte të-sajnē; (Kyrias & Sinas)
 Po të ishit të botēs, bota do t'i donte të vetët (Filipaj)
 'If you were of the world, the world would love its own' (John 15:19)
- (4) e ju në njihnitë muo, Atënë tem të njohkishtë (Buzuku LIX)
 Nde mē dišitē muc, kışinē me ditun' edhe t'em Ātē (Kristiforidi)
 po të mē dinitë mua, dotë dinit' edhe t' im Atē (Kyrias & Sinas)
 Po të mē njihshit mua, do ta njihshit edhe Atin tim! (Filipaj)
 'If you knew me you would also know my Father' (John 8:19)
- (5) Në njohkishtë muo, Atënë tem për të vërtetë të njohkishtë (Buzuku LXXXV)
 Nde kışitē ngōfunē muc, dotē kışitē ngōfun' edhe t'em Ātē (Kristiforidi)
 Ndë qoftë se mē njihnitë mua, dotë njihnitë edhe t'im Atē (Kyrias & Sinas)
 Nësē mē njohët mua, do ta njihni edhe Atin tim! (Filipaj)
 'If you knew/had known me, you would also know/have known my Father' (John 14:7)
- (6) ma mirë të klenëk të të mos klenëk lënë. (Buzuku LXVI)
 ište mirē për atë nieri, mos me pāsunē lēmē (Kristiforidi)
 ishte mirë për atë njeri të mos kishte lindurē (Kyrias & Sinas)
 Më mirë do të kishte qenë për të të mos kishte lindur aspak! (Filipaj)
 'It would be better for that [one/man] if he had not been born.' (Matthew 26:24)

Aside from the fact that not one of Buzuku's modal admiratives corresponds to an admirative in modern Albanian, there are other factors suggesting that Buzuku's usage differs substantially from the modern admirative. First, not one of these examples involves a present or perfect, and only a single example is analytic. In modern Albanian the present occurs far more frequently than the other admiratives, and the perfect is much more frequent than the imperfect or pluperfect (Demiraj 1971:33). Second, as noted above, 90% of Buzuku's admiratives are modal, but in modern Albanian modal admiratives are extremely rare in both the written and spoken language, and, according to Demiraj (1976:281), they are basically synonymous with their non-admirative equivalents. Buchholz and Fiedler (1987:158) observe that they are limited to a few authors such as Naim Frashëri and Jakov Xoxa, who are the sources for (7)–(9), which illustrate the types of contexts, all of them counterfactual, like the examples in Buzuku:

- (7) ... ca re të vogla, të zeza pis, sikur të qenkëshin tym prej dymanit
 '... a few small clouds, pitch black, as if they actually were dynamite smoke'
 (J. Xoxa, cited in Demiraj 1976:282 and Newmark 1982:86)
- (8) Sikur e gjyshja të mos paskësh nxjerrë kokën nga qerrja e të mos e paskësh thirrur, kushedi sa gjatë do të kishte mbetur ashtu, më këmbë në mes të shiut, që ishte shtruar mbi fushë

'If his grandmother **had not actually** stuck her head out of the cart and **had actually called** him, who knows how long he would have remained like that, standing (in the midst of) the rain that had settled over the plain.' (Xoxa, cited in Demiraj 1976:282, Newmark 1982:86)

- (9) **Të paskështa** vrap'n e veriut, të kishnja krahë pëllumbi (N. Frashëri, cited in Demiraj 1971:39 and Buchholz and Fiedler 1987:159)

'If I **had** the speed of the north wind, if I had the wings of a dove ...'

Of these three modern modal admiratives, (9) is the closest to the Arvanitika type cited by Liosis (forthcoming), to be discussed below.

Let us now turn to Buzuku's three indicative examples. In formal terms, there is one present admirative, one imperfect, and one perfect. The first example comes from the feast at Cana, where Jesus turns water into wine. The master of the feast, having tasted the miraculous wine, calls the bridegroom over and says to him: "Every man brings out the good wine first, and when people are drunk he brings out the inferior wine:

- (10) e ti **ruojtëkë** venënë e mirë djerie tash. (Buzuku XXXVIII)
por ti **kë rucitunë** vënë e mirë kuš taštë (Kristiforidi)
po ti **ke ruajturë** verën e mirë gjer ndashti. (Kyrias & Sinas)
Ti e **paske ruajtur** verën e mirë deri tani! (Filipaj)

'but you **have kept** the good wine until now.' (John 2:10)

Demiraj argues that Buzuku's admirative could be interpreted as having a present meaning, but, aside from the fact that both Latin (*servasti*) and Greek (*τετήρητας*), as well as Kristiforidi and also Kyrias and Sinas all have perfects, the most telling evidence is Filipaj's translation. Filipaj had access to Buzuku, and it would appear that here he was influenced by Buzuku's language in choosing an admirative. If the "present" admirative had already shifted to a true present meaning, we would expect Filipaj to have preserved it. The fact that he uses a perfect admirative indicates that Buzuku's *ruojtëkë* was still a marked perfect, albeit one that shows evidence of modern admirative meaning of surprise from direct observation.

In the one indicative imperfect admirative, Mary Magdalene goes to Jesus' tomb and finds the stone removed (and the body gone) and goes running to the disciples and says:

- (11) **Marrëkishnë** Tenëzonë i vorit ... (Buzuku LXVI/2)
Ngritnë Zōtinë prei vōrit ... (Kristiforidi)
E **ngritnë** Zōtinë nga varri ... (Kyrias & Sinas)
E **kanë marrë** Zōtërinë prej varrit ... (Filipaj)

'They **have taken** away the Lord out of the tomb [and we don't know where they (have) laid him]' (John 20:2)

Here the Latin is perfect (*tulerunt*) and the Greek is aorist (*ἔρραν*). Kristiforidi and Kyrias and Sinas follow the Greek and Filipaj the Latin. The sense of surprise at a discovery is certainly present, but an imperfect is clearly not called for. Demiraj interprets

songs collected by Albert Lord in 1937 all over northern Albania, now housed in the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature at the Harvard University Library). The Geg narrative epic admirative appears to be a foregrounding device, but this is in need of further study.

Although certain similarities between the Albanian admirative and the nonconfirmative uses of the inherited perfect in Bulgarian and Macedonian have been observed since Weigand (1923, 1925), as I have demonstrated (Friedmann 1981, 2005), the two phenomena are related but significantly different. In the case of Balkan Slavic, an unmarked past of perfect origin has developed nonconfirmative uses in opposition to a marked confirmative past, and all instances of apparent present meaning require reference to a previous state of affairs. The same is basically true of the Turkish *miş*-past. In Albanian, an inverted perfect has developed into a marked nonconfirmative with true present meaning. Thus, for example, in the Albanian translation of Aleko Konstantinov's Bulgarian novel *Bai Ganyo* (Sofia, 1895), out of 59 Albanian present admiratives, only 6 corresponded to admirative usage of the *l*-past in the Bulgarian original and 7 to the *miş*-past in the Turkish translation, and in every case it was a matter of the discovery of a previously existing state of affairs.

What we see in Albanian, therefore, is a combination of language-internal and contact-induced change. The use of the inverted pluperfect as a marked ontological counterfactual appears to have been the original usage out of which the admirative grew, and this usage could have preceded the Geg/Tosk split, although we cannot be sure. The spread of inversion to the perfect and the subsequent shift of the inverted perfect to a true present (and the probably concomitant shift of the inverted pluperfect to an imperfect and creation of analytic admirative paradigms) appears to have taken place in such a way that the core of the innovation actually straddles the river Shkumbî (the division between Geg and Tosk). The innovation did not spread to southern Tosk, nor had it been completed at the time that northern Tosk dialects migrated to Thrace and then northward along the Black Sea, hence the nonconfirmative past meaning of eastern diaspora Tosk "present" admiratives, and, at least sometimes, also in northern Gegëri. At the same time, nonconfirmative admirative usage, i. e. the shift from ontological counterfactual to speaker-oriented counterfactual, took place precisely in the context of intensive contact with Turkish, and, in the case of the eastern Tosk diaspora, Balkan Slavic. Moreover, the apparent core of innovation in central Albania would have been the region with the most Turkish influence. Thus, the evidence of the oldest texts combined with the various dialectal developments supports the notion that the Albanian admirative is a specifically Albanian development that was also influenced by Balkan linguistic contact.

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On Hittite Verbs of the Type *mimma*-^{bhi} ‘refuse’: *Aktionsart* and Aspect in Indo-European Reconstruction

José Luis García Ramón

1. The Hittite verbs of the *hi*-conjugation with *-i*-reduplication and zero-grade of the root (type *Ci-CC-(a)-bhi*) constitute a special group, which includes at least *lilly(u)u(a)-bhi* ‘to pour’ (MH+), *pippa-bhi* ‘to overthrow’, *titha-bhi* ‘to thunder’ (both OH+) and **tith(a)-bhi* (not attested, but surely underlying *tittia-mi* and *titt(a)nu-mi* ‘to install, set up, appoint’, both OH+).¹ In addition, *išhi(a)-bhi* ‘to bind’, *išh(u)u(a)-bhi* ‘to sprinkle, scatter’ (both OH+) and *šišha-* (attested once, and indirectly by *šēšha-bhi* ‘to order, arrange, determine’ MH+) have been assumed to belong to the group.²

These verbs (in what follows: verbs of the *mimma*-type) have been the subject of an insightful account by Craig Melchert,³ in which the essential points have been definitively established. First, the *-i*-reduplication is surely old (OH+): in some of the verbs it has been replaced by *-e*-reduplication (*memma-*, *tetha-*, probably *šēšha-*), which is recent and secondary.⁴ Secondly, the assumed “thematization” of these verbs (originally athematic, as all *hi*-verbs) has its starting point in the 3pl. (e.g. *mimm-anzi*, *pipp-anzi* from **-nti*).⁵ Finally, these verbs do not allow the recognition of a unitary function: some of them have iterative or intensive value, but in other cases the reduplicated verb may simply reflect the lexicalization of a PIE present stem proper.

In fact, the *hi*-verbs of the *mimma*-type also occupy a special position from the point of view of reconstruction. On the one hand, their structure *Ci-CC-(a)-bhi* is basically the same as that of the reduplicated thematic presents of other languages (type **Ci-CC-o/e-*), such as Ved. *pībati* : Lat. *bibit* : OIr. *ibid* (**pī-ph₃-o/e-* ‘to drink’) or

¹A first version of this paper was presented as a lecture at the University of Los Angeles (UCLA, Program in Indo-European Studies), October 27th 2009. The final version has been enriched by the inestimable remarks of Craig Melchert, who was obviously not aware of where this paper would appear, both after the lecture and by mail. In fact much of my work has benefited from his generous advice over the last years, and it is a pleasant duty to express my gratitude. My thanks also go to Jay Jasanoff (Harvard University) for kindly sending me his forthcoming paper on Lycian *stati*. Final responsibility remains my own. Thanks are due to Ben Cartlidge (Cologne) for kindly anglicizing my English, and to Lena Wolberg (Cologne) for her invaluable help in the material preparation of the manuscript.

²Verbs of the type *šišiia-bhi* (to *šai-bhi* ‘to press as a creditor’), in which the *-i*-reduplication coincides with the vowel of the root, could also belong to the *mimma*-type (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:173).

³Melchert 1984:99f. Cf. also Jasanoff 2003:128ff.

⁴This reflects the lowering of OH /i/ to NH /e/ (Melchert 1984:145f., 153f. with n. 125).

⁵The same may be assumed for former *-i*-presents (e.g. 3pl. *iš-anzi*, *tī-anzi*), probably on the model of derivative PIE **-iō/e-* presents, which are well attested in Hittite (type *parkiia-* ‘to lift’), or denominatives such as *lanuija-* ‘to name’, thus 3sg. **CēC/H-iē-ei*, 3pl. **CC/H-i-ēnti* > **Cāi/Ciianzi* with leveling → *C-ija-* (Melchert 1984:99, 100 nn. 52, 54).

Ved. *tisthathi* : YAv. *hišta-* : Lat. *sistō* (**stí-sth₂-o/e-* ‘to stand up, take one’s place’). Hitt. *mimma*-^{bbi} and Hom. *μῖμνο/ε-* constitute a perfect formal equation, which points to an inherited **mi-mn-e* (3sg.). This obviously speaks in favor of a close relation between the Hittite *hi*-conjugation (3sg. *-e*) and the thematic conjugation (3sg. *-e*), and, more precisely, in favor of a common origin, whatever it may be (proto-thematic conjugation, Jasanoff’s *h₂e*-conjugation). This is particularly remarkable in the case of the *mimma*-type, since, as stressed by Jasanoff,⁶ all thematic or thematized reduplicated presents have *-i*-reduplication. On the other hand, as in the case of other reduplicated types in Hittite, the verbs of the *mimma*-type defy reduction to a unitary function.

The aim of the present paper is to propose an explanation of the semantics of all the *hi*-verbs of the *mimma*-type and to propose a rationale integrating the recognizable functions of the different verbs.

2. The *-i*-reduplicated verbs which certainly belong to the *mimma*-type (quoted in what follows without indication of *hi*-conjugation) may be classified into two groups:

- (1) Verbs without correspondents outside Anatolian. They may or may not have a non-reduplicated counterpart of the same lexeme within the Hittite corpus: *lilḫ(u)u(a)-* (MH+) beside *lāḫuu(a)-* ‘to pour out’, *ši/ešḫa-* ‘to order, determine’ beside *išḫi(a)-* ‘to bind’, *titha-* ‘to thunder’ (§4).
- (2) Verbs which constitute word equations or *aequabilia* with verbs attested in other IE languages. This is the case for *mimma-* ‘to refuse’ (: Hom. *μῖμνω*, §5), *pippa-* ‘to overthrow’ (Ved. *°pipīte* §§6–7), which have no non-reduplicated counterpart, and *tittia*-^{mi} and *titt(a)nu*-^{mi} ‘to install, set up, appoint’ (OH+), which reflect *-i*-reduplicated formations corresponding to both *dai*-^{bbi} ‘to put’ (**d^heh₁-*) and *tija*-^{mi} ‘to take one’s place’ (**steh₂-*) (§§8–9).

3. Two other verbs, *išḫ(u)u(a)-* ‘to sprinkle’ and *išḫi(a)-* ‘to bind’, which are usually assumed to belong to the *mimma*-type, are not in fact sure examples of *i*-reduplication.

Hitt. *išḫ(u)u(a)-* (OH+) ‘to sprinkle, scatter’ has been traced back to **h₂tí-sh₂u-e-* as against *šubḫ(a)-* ‘to pour out (solids, grain)’⁷ (< **séh₂u-* < **sh₂eu-* with laryngeal metathesis /CHwC/ > /CuHC/).⁸ The assumed reduplicated present should express iterative *Aktionsart* (*‘to pour out repeatedly’), cf. KUB 9.25 rev. 2f. [*nu-ššan ANA DUG LIŠ.GAL SA₅ ḫ*] *ulliš šubḫai* [*šer-a-ššan ḫalkin*] *karaš išḫuuai* ‘he pours pine cones into a red platter and on them he sprinkles barley and wheat’.⁹ However, the assumption that initial *h-* in a hypothetical **h₂tí-sh₂u-* is dropped by dissimilation is not cogent and is not supported by clear evidence.¹⁰ As pointed out by Melchert, it is possible to assume the existence of a single verb **séh₂u-/sh₂u-* ‘to sprinkle, pour’ (: *išḫ(u)u(a)-*).

⁶Jasanoff 2003:129.

⁷The restriction of *išḫ(u)u(a)-* and *šubḫ(a)-* to solid objects as against *lilḫ(u)u(a)-* and *lāḫuu(a)-* (only liquid objects) is an Anatolian innovation (García Ramón 2008:164ff.).

⁸Melchert 1994:58, 169.

⁹Melchert 1984:99 n. 49.

¹⁰Hitt *uallḫ-* ‘strike’ does not go back to **h₂uelh₂-* (pace Oettinger 2002:264, Melchert 1994:169). On Hitt. *išḫiia-* ‘bind’ vs. CLuw. *hišḫiia-* see below.

‘to sprinkle over something else’) followed by a “Paradigmenspaltung” triggered by laryngeal metathesis, whence *šubh(a)-* ‘to pour’.¹¹

Hitt. *išhi(a)-* (OH+) ‘to bind’ has been often interpreted as a reduplicated stem of PIE **seh₂i-/sh₂ei-*, namely as **(sh₂)i-sh₂ie-*, exclusively on the basis of CLuw. *hišhiia-*.¹² This view is not cogent: *-i*-reduplication is very productive in Luwian (as well as in Hittite itself), and there is no compelling reason to assume that Hitt. *i-* is not simply a regular spelling for rendering the initial cluster /šh-/. In any case, the texts do not display an iterative *Aktionsart*, e.g. KBo 6.29 ii 35 *n-an išhiat n-an-mu parā pešta* ‘she bound him and handed him over to me’. An alternative interpretation has been proposed by Melchert, namely **seh₂i-h₂ei/*seh₂i-ei/*sh₂i-énti > *šahh₂hi/*šāi/*šhianzi*,¹³ whence ultimately **sh₂i-e-*. In any case, a non-reduplicated stem **sh₂ie-* (Hitt. *išhi(a)-*) finds support in Ved. (*āva-*, *vī-*)*syā-ti* ‘unbind’, which allows us to assume the existence of a simplex **syā-ti* ‘bind’. In fact, an *-i*-reduplicated stem of **seh₂i-/sh₂ei-* is attested in Hittite (*šišha-*, §4.2).

4. The verbs which have no counterpart outside Anatolian may be understood as Hittite innovations, where occasionally the expression of intensity (*Aktionsart*) and/or plurality can be felt.

1. Hitt. *lilḫ(u)u(a)-bbi* (MH+, also *lelḫ(u)u(a)-*) ‘to pour over and over again’ is obviously a reduplicated variant of *lāḫuu(a)-* ‘pour out’ (CLuw. *liluua-* beside *luua-*),¹⁴ cf. KBo 15.37 v 8ff. ^{LÚ}SANGA=ma-kan IŠTU GÌR.GÁN KÙ. BABBAR GEŠTIN *hāniškizzi-pat n-a(n)-ššan katta damēdaš ANA GAL.ḪI.A lelḫuuai* ‘the priest draws wine from a silver bowl and pours it out further into other cups’; ibid. iv 48f. *n-ašta ... takšan hāni n-a(n)-ššan ANA GAL LUGAL lāḫuuai* ‘he jointly draws wine and pours (it) into the king’s cup’. The impv. *lāḫ* ‘pour!’ allows us to assume that *lāḫuu(a)-* is a *-u*-present,¹⁵ the function of which remains uncertain. In spite of the probably momentative character of the lexeme (like PIE **ǵʰeu-* ‘pour’, which *lāḫuu(a)-* has ousted in Anatolian),¹⁶ the reduplication of *lilḫu(a)-* points to a distributive-iterative *Aktionsart* within the framework of plurality.¹⁷
2. Hitt. *šišha-bbi* (only 1×, mostly *šēšha-* MH+) ‘to order, determine, ascribe’ allows the assumption of the existence of a **si-sh₂e-* to PIE **seh₂-* ‘bind’.¹⁸ The meaning of *šī/ešha-* may be explained as the result of a semantic shift ‘bind’ →

¹¹ Melchert 1994:169 (**seh₂u-mi/*sh₂u-uēni/*sh₂u-énti*, whence 1sg. **šahh₂umi/1pl. *šuh₂ueni/*(by metathesis >) **šh(u)uanzi*, and split into *šubh(a)-* and *(i)šhu(u)a-*).

¹² Melchert 1994:99 n: 49. Aliter Oettinger 2002:xxivf. (**(sh₂ē)sh₂oi-e/(sh₂ē)sh₂i-iti* ‘er bindet immer wieder/intensiv’, whence ‘hält gebunden’).

¹³ Melchert 1994:168f. (as a parallel to Hitt. *teḫhi/dāi/t(i)ianzi*).

¹⁴ Melchert 1988:217.

¹⁵ Jasanoff 2003:143.

¹⁶ García Ramón 2008:163ff. In Indo-Iranian the exact continuants in meaning and constructions of PIE **ǵʰeu-* are Ved. *sec/sic* and Av. *haec/hic*.

¹⁷ Melchert 1984:99; Melchert 1988:217f.

¹⁸ PIE **seh₂-* is the unenlarged form of **seh₂i-/sh₂ei-* (Hitt. *išhi(a)-*), whereas Ved. (*āva-*, *vī-*)*syāti* ‘(un)bind’ may belong to either.

‘to make binding, determine’, e.g. KBo 32.14 ii 36f. (Hurrian-Hittite bilingual, MH/MS) *nu-za apedani LÚ-ni DINGIR.MEŠ šēr ḫattatar šišḫir* ‘upon that man the gods bestowed (*attached) intelligence’. The stem **si-sh₂-e-* could *a priori* be assumed to be an alternative inherited present stem to **si-neh₂-* (Ved. *sināti*) and to **sh₂-io/e-* or **sh₂ie-* (Hitt. *išḫi(a)-*, Ved. *°syá-ti* ‘bind’). But since the latter is reflected in Hittite, **si-sh₂-e-* may rather be understood as a specifically Hittite creation, the *Aktionsart* of which is not recognizable, which has been secondarily lexicalized.

3. Hitt. *titha*-^{bhi} ‘to thunder’¹⁹ (**ti-th₂-*, with /h/ preserved in a secondary obstruent cluster) may be considered as a *Ci-CC(a)*-present of **teh₂-*, this being a variant of **(s)ten-* ‘id.’, like **dreh₂-*/**drem-* ‘run’, **g^heh₂-* ‘step’/**g^hem-* ‘come’.²⁰ It is also *a priori* possible that *titha*-^{bhi} belongs with **(s)tenh₂-* (Ved. *tani*) and goes back ultimately to **ti-tonh₂-o/e-* (Hitt. **titahha-*, whence /titha-/ by a less than strictly phonetic shift).²¹

Within Hittite, *titha*-^{bhi} may be understood as momentative (the reduplication is in fact felt as part of the lexeme, cf. OHitt. *tethesšar* ‘tempest, thunder’, *tethesnant-* ‘thunder’), whereas the *-šk-* verb *tethišš^{mi}* (also middle, both personal and impersonal) may express its iterative: KUB 12.2 iv 3’f. GIM-an *tethai nu-kan* ^{DUG}*ḫaršiyalli ḫesanzi* (4’) *nu-šši EZEN₄ ippiāš iāanzi* ‘when/if there is thunder, they open the *ḫaršiyalli*-vessel and celebrate the *ippiya*-festival ...’; VBoT 73 rev. iv 2 *mān=k[an* ^{DU}*U-āš*] KALA.GA *tetheski[zzī]* *nu LÚ* ^{DU}*kišan iā[zi]* ‘when the storm-god thunders violently again and again, the priest of the storm-god makes/acts as follows.’ In any case, if **teh₂-* is a variant of **(s)tenh₂-*, one can assume that the lexeme is momentative, as is **(s)tenh₂-* (cf. root aorist Ved. impv. *stanibi*, inj. *stan* and characterized present Ved. *standāya-*: Lat. *tonāre* < **(s)tonh₂-éio/e-*).²² One can conclude that *titha*-^{bhi} reflects the lexicalization of an intensive stem, which was first created within Hittite on the basis of a non-reduplicated verb (**teh₂-*) that has left no trace.

5. Let us turn to the group of reduplicated verbs for which no non-reduplicated verb is attested in Hittite. Hitt. *mimma*-^{bhi} (OH+ with consistent *i* spelling²³) ‘to reject’ (acc.), ‘to refuse’ (to do: inf.) may surely be traced back to **mi-mn(a)-*, to **men-* ‘stand, stay’ (stative lexeme!), as was first recognized by Edgar H. Sturtevant:²⁴

¹⁹ An *e*-reduplicated *tētha-/tētha-* can be ruled out, because the OH spelling is consistently <ti-it-ḫa>, not <te-et-ḫa>, as stressed by Melchert (1984:100). In later texts, *e*-reduplication (active 3. sg. pres. *tethai*) is very often attested.

²⁰ As per Melchert 1984:100.

²¹ Eichner (1988:149 n. 76) and Oettinger (2002:514 n. 1) assume that **tethat* has been syncopated from **tetahhat* (**te-tonh₂-o-t*: Ved. *tātana* of *tani* < PIE **(s)tenh₂-*, on which cf. Narten 1993:324 n. 29, 339). In any case, *titha*-^{bhi} and Ved. aor. *ātatanat* do not make a sure equation.

²² Cf. Narten 1993:324 (“einen Donnerschlag tun”). Cf. also Ved. *tānyati*: τένει στένει, βούγεται Hsch.

²³ Melchert 1984:100 n. 53. Luw. *mimma-* ‘look at, favor’ (**mi-mn-*) belongs with **men-* ‘think’ (Melchert 1988:218ff.).

²⁴ Sturtevant 1933:133.

KUB 17.10 i 8–9 (Telipinu myth, OH/MS)

UDU-*uṣ=za* SILA₄-*šU mimmaš* GU₄-*ma* AMAR-*šU mimmaš*

‘The ewe rejected her lamb, the cow rejected her calf.’

KUB 14.1 obv. 18 (MH/MS)

^m*Madduwattaš-a=za* KUR ^{HUR.SAG}*Hārijati ašānma mimmaš*

‘Madduwatta refused to settle in the Mt. Hārijati district.’

The fact that a simplex *men-* is not attested in Hittite makes it impossible to assert whether reduplicated *mimma-* expresses a specific *Aktionsart*, at least within Hittite itself.

Hitt. *mimma-* obviously matches Hom. *μῦνω* ‘to stand fast, tarry’, also ‘stay, wait’: both forms reflect PIE **mi-mn-o/e-* (or **mi-mn-e-*), for which an intensive reading ‘resist’ may be assumed. The question remains whether PIE **mi-mn-e-* was an inherited *aspectual* present or an intensive formation (*Aktionsart*). Comparison with Homeric Greek, the only language in which a reduplicated (*μῦνω*) and a non-reduplicated stem (*μένω*) of PIE **men-* occur together, can help at this point. Although in many instances *μῦνω* and *μένω* seem to be synonymous, an intensive reading of *μῦνω* ‘resist’ as against *μένω* ‘stay’ may be assumed in some cases, especially in

Il. 17.721

μῦνομεν ὅζυν Ἀρηα παρ’ ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες

‘who in times past have stood fast beside each other awaiting the bitter war god’ (‘standhielten . . . ausharrend beieinander’ Schadewaldt).²⁵

That *μένω* was the present proper as against intensive *μῦνω* is strongly suggested by the fact that the AcI construction, which has no connotation of resistance, occurs exclusively with *μένω*, e.g. *Il.* 4.247 ὥς ὑμεῖς ἔσσητε τεθηπότες οὐδὲ μάχεσθε / ἢ μένετε Τρῶας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἐνθά τε νῆες ‘thus are you standing still bewildered and not fighting? Or are you waiting for the Trojans to come close . . . ?’

As against the durative present stem, aor. *ἔμεινε* may be realized as [ingressive]²⁶ ‘he came to a halt’ (i.e. ‘he began to stay’, ‘he got into the state of staying’), as can be seen in *Il.* 14.286 ἐνθ’ ὕπνος μὲν ἔμεινε πάρος Διὸς ὅσσε ιδέσθαι ‘there Sleep came to a halt before the eyes of Zeus caught sight of him’ (i.e. ‘began to be quiet’).²⁷ The interpretation suggested for *μῦνω/μένω* finds some support in the very scanty Greek evidence for pairs of the same type, namely the pair *ῥαχῶ* ‘retain, hold with strength’/ *ἔχω* ‘have, hold’, the lexeme of which is stative-durative in Greek (‘have in one’s hand’): *ῥαχῶ* seems to display an intensive *Aktionsart* (expressed iconically) as against the simplex

²⁵The assumption that *μῦνω* with acc. of person is intensive (or more intensive than *μένω* with the same construction) remains a matter of intuition, cf. *Il.* 5.525 Δαναοὶ Τρῶας μένον ἔμπεδον οὐδὲ φέβοντο.

²⁶As shown by Ruipérez (1954:80ff.) the aorists of stative lexemes actually express the ingressive realization one expects for the aoristic stems of durative statives, namely the entry into a state (type *ἐβασίλευσε* ‘he became king [began to be king]’: *βασιλεύω* ‘to be king’).

²⁷*Pace* Barton (1990–1:44), who uses this example in support of his view that **men-* was a punctual and telic root with the meaning ‘comes to a halt, does not continue, gets left’.

ἔχω in such pairs as *δέος μ' ἵσχει* ‘fear holds fast/keeps me back’ (*Il.* 5.812 ἧ γὰρ σέ που δέος μ' ἵσχει) and *σέβας μ' ἔχει* ‘wonder holds/seizes me’ (*Od.* 3.123). A different case is that of *νίσσασθαι/νέσθαι* (PIE **nes-* ‘get in contact (with the desired goal)’²⁸), which are actually synonymous.²⁹

One may safely assume that the Greek evidence for stative³⁰ **men-* does in fact reflect the inherited situation: Gk. μένω represents the expected root present PIE **mén-o/e-*, as against the -s-aorist *μεῖνα-* (**men-s-*, cf. also Lat. *māns-ī*, with *a*-vocalism from the present). The reduplicated stem **mi-mn(o/e)-*, which is also inherited (Hitt. *mimma-* : Hom. μῖμνω), was simply an intensive formation (i.e. *Aktionsart*). Other suffixed present stems may be interpreted as innovations of the daughter languages: Toch. BA *māsk-* ‘to be; to become’ (**mṃ-sk-o/e-*), OP *mānaya-* : OAv. *mānaitia-*, YAv. *manīia-* ‘to remain, dwell; to wait for’ (**mon-ēio/e-*),³¹ Lat. *manēre* (**man-ē-īo/e-* < **mṃ-eh₁-*),³² Arm. *mmam* ‘remain’ (denom. **mēneh₂-īo/e-* or remodeled from **mṃ-eh₁-*).³³

To sum up, Hitt. *mimma-* ‘to reject, refuse’ reflects the lexicalization of the transitive reading of an intensive stem **mī-mn-e-* (: Hom. μῖμνω) of the stative lexeme **men-* ‘to stay, stand’, namely ‘resist, stand fast’. It is a PIE *Aktionsart* formation. The aspectual stem proper was the root-pres. **mén-o/e-*, which only survives as such in Greek and has left no trace in Hittite.

6. Hitt. *pippa*-^{bhi}, mid. *pippa*-tm (OH+) is well attested as (a) ‘to overthrow, tear up, pull down’ (an altar, a building, a town, also with *arḫa* ‘away’), and (b) in the expression (^{TÜG})*šeknum/-uš šarā* (: UGU) *pipp(a)-* ‘to turn up the robe’ (also with *šarā* ‘upward’), i.e. ‘to show one’s genitals as a cursing expression’, as recognized by Melchert:³⁴

(a) KBo 22.6 iv 23 (OH/LS)

[^(URU)Pu-)]*rušḫandaš BĀD-eššar KĀ.GAL ḫanti pippandu*

‘Let them break down the wall (and) the gate of Puruḫanda separately.’

²⁸The lexeme PIE **nes-* is momentative ‘get in contact (with the desired goal)’ with root aorist **n̥s-to* (García Ramón 2004) or ‘to approach/get near in joyful anticipation’ with aor. *n̥s-to* (Malzahn 2007:238ff. on PToch. **nes-sko/e-*: B *nāsk-* ‘to desire’).

²⁹Cf. García Ramón 2004:40. The situation is different in Vedic, where pres. *nās-a-te* ‘come close, approach’ (“displexive”: the duration of the ‘getting in contact’) stands in contrast with *n̥n̥s(a)-te* ‘touches repeatedly’ (iterative) (Gotō 1987:200f.; Kulikov 2005:444; García Ramón forthcoming).

³⁰On the basis of what I consider a wrong assumption (“μένω and μῖμνω has no counterpart elsewhere and need not be old”), Barton (1990–1:44ff.) assumes that the paradigm of **men-* had a root aorist (replaced in Greek by sigmatic **men-s-*) and a perfect **me-mon-* which, being homonymous with **mémon-e* ‘has in mind’ (: *men-ī* ‘think’), was formally replaced by Gk. *μεμένηκα* (and Ved. *maman-*), built up from stative **mn-eh₁-*, which in fact underlies Lat. *manēre* ‘remains’ and Arm. *mmam* ‘id.’.

³¹Aliter: **(d)mān* as per Cheung 2007:73ff. (coalescence of **man-* ‘to remain, wait’ and **dmānaja-*, denominative to **dmāna-* ‘house, dwelling’).

³²The stative suffix **-eh₁-* (**-ē-īo/e-*) obviously adds nothing to the meaning of the lexeme. On the vocalism of *man-* as against **men-/mon-*, cf. *carō* ‘flesh’, *carpō* to **ker-* ‘cur’.

³³As per Klingenschmitt 1982:91f. Aliter Barton 1990–1:45 (**mēn-b₁īē-*).

³⁴Melchert 1983. Further relevant instances of (a) and (b) in García Ramón 2009:138f.

KUB 31.124 ii 10–12

*nu kētaš ANA KUR.KUR.ḪI.A šumenzan ŠA <DINGIR.MEŠ> É.ḪI.A
DINGIR.MEŠ-KUNU kue ēšta n=at LÚ.MEŠ URU Gašga arḫa pippēr*

‘The Kasceans have destroyed what temples of you <O gods> were in these lands.’

KUB 34.22 i 8–9 (animal omen, LH/LS)

nu apāt. GIŠŠÚ.A [...] arḫa pippattari

‘That throne will be overthrown.’

(b) KUB 41.3 rev. 35 (LH)

našma=aš-kan apēdani UN-šī¹ (text: -aš) TUGŠek[nuš] <kuiški> UGU pippai

‘... or someone turns [up] his šeknu-garment against this person.’

This verb has been associated since Karl Hoffmann³⁵ with Ved. *ut-pipīte* ‘rises’ (TS 3.2. 10.2) and traced back to *pā*³ ‘move’, as convincingly established by Thomas Burrow (1973).³⁶ The Vedic material fits well into this pattern: *pā*³ is attested as middle (practically without exception) and with preverbs (3sg. *ud-pipīte* ‘rises’, *vi-pipīte* ‘separates himself’ or ‘for himself’ Br. [**pi-pH-toi*], 3pl. *°pipāte* [**pi-pH-ṇtoi*]). Whether the *hapax* impv. 3sg. *pāsta* (AV) belongs with the aorist of *pā*³ must remain open.³⁷ This leads to the reconstruction of a PIE root **peH-* ‘move’: the direction of the movement is expressed by means of preverbs, whence the diversity of meanings both in Vedic and in Hittite.

PIE **peH-* ‘move (violently)’ and the commonly assumed root **(s)peh₂-* ‘to draw, pull violently’ (Gk. *σπάω*, Arm. *hanem*) may be subsumed under a single root PIE **(s)peh₂-* ‘to put in motion, draw’, mid. ‘to get in motion’, as I have tried to show.³⁸ Hitt. *pippa-* may be traced back to **pi-ph₂-e-*, reanalyzed from 3pl. **pi-ph₂-énti* of athematic **pi-peh₂-/*pi-ph₂-*, which matches Ved. *°pipīte* (**pi-ph₂-toi*) without difficulty. This is strongly supported by precise agreement in the constructions that these verbs enter into.³⁹

In fact, Hitt. *pipp(a)-* (a) ‘to tear up, pull down’ with objects like doors, temples, or walls shows a clear parallel with Gk. *σπάω* (with *ἀνα*^o, *ἀπο*^o, *δια*^o), cf. for instance Thuc 6.100.3 *τήν τε ὑποτείχισιν καθεῖλον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα ἀνέσπασαν* ‘they pulled down the counter-wall, and tore up the stockade’, or Hdt. 3.159 *τοῦτο μὲν σφῆων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε* ‘this wall of them (sc. the Babylonians) he pulled down

³⁵ Hoffmann *apud* Oettinger 2002:498 (with reference to aor. 3sg. *pās-ta* AV).

³⁶ Burrow (1973) offers a very fine analysis of the Vedic facts. Let us just stress (*pace* Burrow 1973:92ff.) that there is no root pres. *pā³* belonging to this root: forms of this type belong to *pā*² ‘protect’.

³⁷ Cf. AV XII 3.43b *kravyāt piśācā iḥā mā prā pāsta* ‘... and may the flesh-eating *piśāca* not come here’ (Burrow 1973), but *prā pāsta* of *pā*¹ ‘drink’ is also possible (‘let the flesh-eating *Piśācā* not have a draught here,’ Whitney and Lanman 1905).

³⁸ García Ramón 2009, especially 140ff.

³⁹ At least two other readings (and constructions), which do not occur in Hittite, are common to Ved. *pā*³, Gk. *σπάω* and Arm. *hanem*, namely ‘to rise up’ and ‘to draw a liquid’ (García Ramón 2009:144ff., with a sample of passages).

and tore out all the doors’; id. 7.119 *τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τὴν τε σκηνὴν ἀνασπάσαντες* ‘on the next day, having rent the pavilion from the ground . . .’ As to the meaning ‘to overthrow’ (with animate object) in Ved. *pā* (*prāti-ud*⁴⁰), cf. TS 1.6.10.1 *yá eváinam pratyutpípīte tām upāsyate* ‘verily he overthrows him who rises against him.’

To sum up, Hitt. *pippa-hhi* reflects the lexicalization of an inherited aspectual present **pi-ph₂-e* (in origin most probably athematic **pi-peh₂-/*pi-ph₂-*) of the momentative lexeme PIE **(s)peh₂-* ‘move (violently)’, which is also reflected by Ved. **pipīte* (**pi-ph₂-toi*). Pres. **pi-ph₂-e* stands in *aspectual* opposition to a root aorist PIE **(s)peh₂-t*, mid. **(s)ph₂-tō*. The inherited present stem has been remodeled in Greek (*σπάω* from **sph₂-éiō/e-*, or formed on aor. *σπασ[σ]α-*) and in Armenian (*hanē-*: *-ne*-present on aor. **hā-*); the aorist stem has been remodeled in Armenian (*ehan*), in Greek (*σπασ[σ]α-*) and perhaps in Vedic (*pās-*?).

7. It is a pleasant duty to mention at this point Melchert’s⁴⁰ new interpretation of CLuw. *u-up-pa-* /o:ppa-/ ‘to carry (off), take (off)’ as a compounded verb **au-(s)ph₂-* (**au*^o as in Lat. *au-ferō* ‘carry off’; on **(s)peh₂-* cf. §6), whatever the inflectional type of this stem may be.⁴¹ According to Melchert, the sense ‘move (violently)’ would have shifted to ‘carry off’ and then just ‘carry’. These are in fact the senses attested, cf. e.g. KBo 13.260 iii 13–15 (NS) *a-tta adduwanza pariian adduwalīian uattaniian uppan-nandu* ‘Let them carry the evils over to an evil land,’⁴² and in Hieroglyphic Luwian (KARKAMIŠ A 11b+c §13) **a-ua/i=ta* (SCALPRUM.CAPERE₂) *upanizi ata* (CAPERE) *upaha*. Melchert’s translation as ‘and I captured trophies’ (or ‘I carried off’)⁴³ is fairly cogent: ‘spoils are not inherently things that one brings; they are things that one takes away, typically by violence . . . this explains the use of the determinative in (CAPERE) *upa-* ‘take, carry off’, since one must first seize the spoils before carrying them off.’

Let us stress that Melchert’s brilliant interpretation is supported by a nice parallel in Arm. *hanem* ‘to take someone away’ (: *“ἀνάγω, ἀναφέρω”*): Mt. 17:1 (= Mk. 9:2) *ew hanē znosa i leaṛn mi barjr aṛanjin* “καὶ ἀναφέρει αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν”, Lk. 22:66 *hanin acin zna y-atean-n* “ἀπὸ γαλῶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν” ‘they took him to the synedrion’ *et al.*⁴⁴ The Armenian use as ‘to take, carry off’ confirms Melchert’s explanation, since it shows that the nuance of violent removal could become attenuated, and significantly enlarges the dossier of PIE **(s)peh₂-*.

⁴⁰ *Per litteras electronicas* 23.1.2010. In Melchert’s view, the Luwian form must be separated from Hittite *uppa/i-* ‘to send’ (as first assumed by Klockhorst 2008:922) “with no directional implications (I to you as well as you to me).” As Melchert stresses, “‘send’ means precisely that one does not ‘carry’ or ‘bring’ the object oneself.” Hitt. *uppa/i-* has been convincingly explained by Melchert (2009) as a deadverbial verb built on **upo* (Skr. *úpā*), not as a compound with *au*^o (Germ. *her*^o), as shown by the fact that it never shows plene spelling <u-up> or <ú-up>.

⁴¹ As per Melchert, the sequence **au-(s)ph₂-* would account for the lack of lenition of /p/.

⁴² Yakubovich 2010:237, text 133.

⁴³ *Aliter* Melchert 2004:372 (‘and I brought in the spoils’).

⁴⁴ García Ramón 2009:143. Cf. also Lk. 4:5 *ew haneal zna i leaṛn* . . . “Καὶ ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν . . .”. The component of violence is still present in Soph. *El.* 561–2 ὥς οὐ δικῇ γ’ ἔκτεινας, ἀλλὰ σ’ ἔσπασεν / πειθὸν κακοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρός ᾧ τῶνδ’ ἔξυει ‘as you did not kill it in justice, on the contrary, it is your obeisance to the evil man, with whom you are together which led you (violently) to this’.

8. Hitt. *tittia*^{-bhi} (OH/LS: ptc. *tittiant*-; only two personal forms attested: 3sg. *tittai*, 3. pl. *tittianz(i)* and *tittanu*-/titnu^{-mi} (OH+) are attested with the same meaning ‘to install, set up, appoint’ and in the same constructions. It is possible that *tittia*- has been replaced by *titt(a)nu*-, given the productivity of the *-nu*-verbs. But, in fact, both forms may have different origins and have merged secondarily: *tittia*- may reflect a reduplicated form both of *dai*- and of *tia*-, and *titt(a)nu*- reflect the *-nu*-causative of **tith(a)*- (**sti-sth₂-e*-). I shall try to show that *tittia*-, *titt(a)nu*- reflect the merger of (the present stems of) two different lexemes, both well attested in Hittite, namely

- (a) **d^heh₁*- ‘to put’ (: Hitt. *dai*-, the remodeled continuant⁴⁵ of aor. *d^heh₁*:- Ved. *dā-dhāt*). The PIE pres. stem **d^he/i-d^heh₁*- (Ved. *dādhāti*, Gk. *τίθημι*) may be reflected both by Hitt. **tith(a)*- without any formal difficulty and by *tittia*-, remodeled within Hittite on the basis of *dai*- (with 3pl. *tittianzi* as the starting point).
- (b) **(s)teb₂*- ‘to step, take one’s place’ (: Hitt. *tia*.-^{mi}, created on the basis of a remodeling of **tāi/tittianzi*) is surely a specifically Anatolian development on the basis of aor. **steb₂-t* (Ved. *ástthāt*, Gk. *ἔστα*). The PIE present **stī-sth₂-o/e*- (Lat. *sistō*, also transitive Ved. *tīṣṭhati*) is also reflected by Hitt. **tith(a)*-, as well as by Lyc. *stati* ‘stands’ as per Jasanoff.⁴⁶ It is also possible to reconstruct at least a causative *-n*-present with different variants, e.g. Hitt. *titt(a)nu*- and Gk. Cret. *σταύω* (**-nu*-), Lat. *dēstinō* (**-nh₂o/e*-), also Arm. *stanam* (mid.) ‘to acquire’, Hitt. *ištanh*.-^{mi} ‘to taste’.⁴⁷

A formal merger of Hitt. *dai*- and *tia*-(which have forms in common, especially 3pl. *tittianzi*) is easily conceivable, cf. impv. 2sg. *tia* for **dai* in the formula *tia-mmu tia* ‘put on me, put’ (sc. ‘clothes of Nešas’) in Bo TU 14a i 13 (OH/OS), as shown by Watkins.⁴⁸ The semantic merger needs to be argued for, as, according to a widespread opinion,⁴⁹ Hitt. *titt(a)nu*- ‘to install’ as the causative of **titt(a)*- ‘to move into position’ belongs exclusively to **(s)teb₂*-, not to **d^heh₁*-. This applies obviously to ‘to cause to stand’ (people, an assembly, a building), in which only appurtenance to **(s)teb₂*- is possible. However, the sense ‘to put in order, arrange’, attested for *tittia*-, finds support only in reflexes of **d^heh₁*-,⁵⁰ cf. KBo 3.1 i 12 (Telipinu) [(*nu*)] URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A GAL.GAL-TIM [(*t*)]itittiantes (dupl. *-anta*) *cšir* ‘the great towns were arranged/put in order’ and Gk. *οἶκον εὖ θέσθαι* (Hsd. *Op.* 23 τὰ οἰκεῖα εὖ θέμενος, also Plat. *Rep.* 443d).

On the other hand, although *titt(a)nu*- ‘to set up’ and *dai*-/tia- ‘to lay down’ are not interchangeable in some contexts, there are clear instances of interchangeability

⁴⁵Whether Hitt. *dai*- is enlarged by *-i*- (PIE **d^heh₁(i)*-) or an *-i*-present (Jasanoff 2003:92ff.) is irrelevant at this point.

⁴⁶In strictly phonetic terms, Hitt. *titt(a)*-, *titt(a)nu*- cannot be traced back directly to **stist(b₂)*-, which would have yielded Hitt. **stist(a)*- (Morpurgo Davies 1987:220f.). Jasanoff (forthcoming) proposes a remodeling of **stist(b₂)*- to **tist(b₂)*-, whence **titt(a)*- (with replacement of **st* by **t* in this very verb).

⁴⁷From **stnh₂*- ‘den Geschmack feststellen’ (Eichner 1988:143). Sure traces of causative **stoh₂-ēje/o*- are only attested in YAv. *°stāiia*, OP *°astāyām* ‘I make stand’.

⁴⁸Watkins 1969:239; Oettinger 2002:482.

⁴⁹Melchert 1984:100; Jasanoff 2003 and Jasanoff forthcoming; Hoffner and Melchert 2008:181.

⁵⁰Watkins 1975:376, Eichner 1973:99; Oettinger 2002:347, 350.

of *tittia-*, *titt(a)nu-* with Hitt. *dai-* and/or with reflexes of PIE **d^heh₁-*.⁵¹ As a matter of fact, the overlap, at least in part, between intransitive ‘to put oneself’ and ‘to step, take one’s place’ and between transitive ‘to put’ and ‘to erect’ poses no difficulty. In fact, both *dai-* / *tittia-* in their intransitive readings are suppletive in the construction with “supine” *-uuan*.⁵² Furthermore, the overlap of both verbs to express one and the same state of affairs is evident in the collocations ‘to put/to install something’, ‘to found a ceremony’, ‘to set someone somewhere’ or ‘to appoint someone as X’ (cf. §9).

In what follows, an attempt will be made to set forth the syntactic constructions and collocations attested for *tittia-*, *titt(a)nu-* and to compare them with those of the reflexes of (a) **d^heh₁-* ‘to put’ and (b) **(s)teh₂-* ‘to take one’s place’ (caus. ‘to cause to stand’) in other old IE languages. From this will follow that they are basically equivalent in some contexts with the collocations both of **d^heh₁-* and of **(s)teh₂-*.

9. The following constructions of Hitt. *tittia-*, *titt(a)nu-* are of interest for our purposes (comparanda with the reflexes of both (a) and (b) in other IE languages will be mentioned at the end of each item).

- (A) ‘to set up, install something’ (acc.), with or without indication of where (loc.).
- (A 1) With a stele as object: KBo 33.216 obv. i 7’ III ^{NA}+ZI.KIN *tittanum[i]* ‘I shall erect three steles’. With such objects as steles and stools, it is not clear whether they are ‘placed’ or ‘caused to stand’. Steles could be conceived of as standing, since they are vertical objects, and in fact Lyc. 3.sg. *stati* occurs with *stala* ‘stele’ as the object: TL 44c, 4–7 (Xanthos Stele): *se/utāna: stati: stala: ēti: ... / ... se xbiḍe / stati mē: stala: ēti:* ‘both in Hytenna a stele will be down ... and in Kaunos as well a stele will be set up.’
- (a) Gk. *στήλην ἀνατίθεναι*, cf. Pind. *Nem.* 4.81 *στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν* ‘to set up a stele whiter than Parian stone’.
- (b) *στήλην* (°) *ίστάναι*, cf. *Il.* 17.433–4 *ὥς τε στήλη μένει ἔμπεδον, ἥ τ’ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ / ἀνέρος ἔστηκε τεθνήγτος* ‘but still as stands a stele which is set/stays over the tomb of a dead man’, also 13.437 *στήλην ... ἐσταότα*, Hdt. 2. 102 *στήλας ἐνίστη*.
- (A 2) ‘to install/put something’ (e.g. a piece of wood): KBo 19.162 iv 12’ *mān ... [GIŠ^hattalimas]* GIŠ-*ru tittai* ‘when he installs the wood of the door lock’.
- (a) *Od.* 8.65 *τῷ δ’ ἄρα Ποντόνοος θῆκε θρόνον ἀργυρόηλον* ‘Pontonoo set a silver-studded chair out for him’.
- (b) *Od.* 19.573–4 *τοὺς πελέκεας ... / ἴσταισιν* ‘those axes ... he used to set up in a row’; RV X 101.11cd *vānaspātini vāna āsthāpayadlhanam nī śū dadbidhnam ākhananta ūtsam* ‘make stand the tree on the wood, establish a spring without digging’ (note the cooccurrence of causat. *ā-sthāpayā-* ‘to make stand’ and *nī-dhā* ‘to put down’).

⁵¹ On the representation of both roots in Luwian and Lycian, cf. Morpurgo Davies 1987.

⁵² The “supine” in *-uuan* is actually an endless locative of a stem in **-uuan/n-*, which matches the fact that the locative is one of the productive complements of both *dai-* and *tittia-*, as I have tried to show (García Ramón 2007).

- (A 3) ‘to set up; to found’ (*‘place, cause to stand’, e.g. a ceremony, festival, or agon): KUB 17.21 i 21–4 *nu=šmaš UD-aš ITU-aš MU-ti meīanīiaš SÍŠKUR. HI.A EZEN.HI.A kiššan šarā UL kuiški tittanunian harta* ‘no one had set up for you in this way the rituals and festivals of the day, month, and course of the year.’⁵³
- (a) Aesch. *Ag.* 844–5 ... τὰ δ’ ἄλλα κοινούς ἀγῶνας θέντες ‘as regards other matters, holding public assemblies’, Pind. *Ol.* 3.21 μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἀγρὰν κρίσιν καὶ πενταετηρίδ’ ἀμῶ θῆκε ‘and he had established the holy judging of the great games together with their four-year festival.’
- (b) Pind. *Ol.* 10.57ff. ... πενταετηρίδ’ ὅπως ἄρα ἔστασε ἑορτὰν σὺν Ὀλυμπιάδι ‘... how he then founded the quadrennial festival with the first Olympiad...’ (also *HHAp.* 149–50 ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα).
- (B 1) ‘to set someone (acc.) in X (loc.)’ (loc.: situation or state, expressed by means of an abstract): KUB 1.1+ iv 64f. *n-an apiia pi[(di) LUGAL-i]znani tittanun* ‘and there I appointed him in the kingship (sc. as king)’, KUB 23.68 rev. 26 *ked]ani linkija tittanuten* ‘put (her) under this oath.’
- (a) RV V 55.4c *utó asmām amṛtatvé dadhātana* ‘and (the Maruts) put us in deathlessness (i.e. life)’; I 81.3de *kām vásau dadho śmām indra vásau dadhah* ‘whom will you put in wealth, Indra, you will put us in wealth’; Y. 28.2c *āiīaptā aṣāt bacā yāiś + rapantō daidūt x”athrē* ‘in accord with truth, through which one might place its supporters in well being’; Il. 4.410 τὼ μὲ μοι πατέρας ποθ’ ὁμοίῃ ἐνθεο τιμῇ ‘so don’t put our fathers in the same sort of honor as us.’⁵⁴
- (b) Tac. *Hist.* 2.9 *is ... ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent orabat* ‘he ... begged them to land him in Syria or Egypt’, Pl. *Rud.* 1049 *ego uos saluas sistam* ‘don’t worry, I’ll set up your salvation!’
- (B 2) ‘to depose; to put someone away’ with preverb (also intransitive): Bronze Tablet I 8 *n-an LUGAL-iznanni arha tittanut* ‘he deposed him from the royal sovereignty’; *ibid.* rev. 43 *apiūnn-a parranda tit(ta)nut* ‘and made him also an outcast’ (: ‘put him outside’).⁵⁴ The collocation points to (b), cf. Gk. ἀφιστάναι τινὰ (ἀπὸ) τινός (Hdt. 1.76 ἐπειρᾶτο στέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι ‘he was trying to draw them away from Croesus’).⁵⁵
- (C) ‘to appoint someone (acc.) as X (acc.)’ (type *Ciceronem consulem facere*), in which X is a common appellative, as an indication of the title given to the person instated, or an adjective: KUB 36.114 21’f. [*t]itian-pat ēšdu nu māhhan DU[MU³]* ... LUGAL LUGAL-*uizn(an)i tittianz[i* ‘he must be set up, if ... they instate him as the king in the royal sovereignty’. The same construction is expressed by means of *iā-bbi* ‘make’, cf. KBo 22.38 + 4.7 + 1.23 et al. §4 *namma-an INA KUR* ^{URU}*Mira* EN-an *iānun* (§4) *annīšan-ma kuṃapi*

⁵³ Passages taken from the insightful study by Cardona (1978:209–24).

⁵⁴ Cf. also KUB 14.1 rev. 40f. ^{URU}*Pitašša-ia lingannušk[it n-uš parranta]* / *titnut* ‘he (Maduwatta) took the oldest of the Pitassa as an oath [and] put [them aside].’

⁵⁵ Cf. also ἀνασπάτους ποιεῖν/τιθέναι ‘to make someone driven from his house’ (Hdt. 1. 176 +).

^m*Mašḫuiluwan ANA KUR URU*Mira *AŠŠUM BELUTIM tittanunum* ‘then I made him a lord in the land of Mira. (§4) But at that time, as I set Mašḫuiluwa on the power of the land of Mira ...’.⁵⁶

- (a) RV VII 17.6ab *tvām u té dadbhre havyavābham devāsah* ‘you, Agni, did the gods establish as transporter of oblation for themselves’; I 45.7 *nī tvā hótāram ṛtvījam dadbhre* ... *agne dñiṣṭiṣu* ‘Agni, the singers have set you down as *hotṛ*, as *ṛtvīj* at the daily morning sacrifices.’ Cf. also with *kar/kr* (like Hitt. *ija-^m*) RV II 9.5cd *kṛdhi kṣumāntam jaritāram agne kṛdhi pātim svapatyāsya rāyāh* ‘Agni, make the chanter rich in cattle, make him master of wealth rich in descendants.’ *Il.* 1.290 *εἰ δέ μιν αἰχμητὴν ἔθεσαν θεοὶ* ... ‘if the gods made him (Achilles) a powerful warrior’ (6.300 *τὴν γὰρ Τρῳεὺς ἔθηκεν Ἀθηναίης ἰέρειαν* ‘the Trojans appointed her as priestess of Athena’; Pind. *Pyth.* 9.54 *ἐνθα νιν ἀρχέπολιν θήσεις* ‘where you will make her ruler of a city ...’)

Also with adjectives: Y. 32.10b ... *yascā dāthāng dragnuatō dadāt* ‘and who makes righteous ones deceitful’; *Od.* 5.136 *θήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἥματα πάντα* ‘(I had hopes also that) I could make him immortal and endless all these days.’

- (b) Gk. *τινὰ βασιλέα ἰστάναι, στήσαι* vs. intransitive *ἵστασθαι, στήναι ἐς ἀρχήν*, e.g. *Hdt.* 1.97 *φέρει στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα* ‘come, let us set up a king for ourselves’; *Hdt.* 3.80 *Καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων σπάντα ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν στήσειε* ‘even the best of all men, once he got in this (monarchy), it would stir him.’⁵⁷ Lat. *sistō, consistō*, also *dēstinō* and denominatives *statuō, constituō, instituō*, e.g. Tac. *Hist.* 3.12 *classis Cornelium Fuscum praefectum sibi destināt* ‘but the fleet chose Cornelius Fuscus as their prefect.’

- (D) ‘to appoint’ (without any indication of title or function in the accusative). This sense reflects the transitive use of (b) **steb₂-*, as shown by Gk. *στανύω* ‘appoint’ and Lat. *dēstinō* ‘to fix in position; to destine for one’s own’ (with preverbs *ob^o, prae^o*): Crete *ICr* III 4.67 (Hierapytna: 2nd c.) ... *περι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ / οἱ ἐπισταμενοὶ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν παρ’ ἑκατέροις / κοσμοὶ πόλιν στανυεσθῶν ἀν κα ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσ[ι] / δο]ξῇ* ... ‘... about the sentence let the kosmoi on duty every year in each town (*sc.* Hierapytna and Priansos) appoint an (umpire) city which may be acceptable by both (cities)’; Liv. 24.2.1 ... *quod Regium ac Locros, quas urbes direpturos se destinauerant, intactas reliquissent* ‘because they (*Poeni*) had left Region and Locroi untouched, the cities they had counted upon/appointed for plundering’ (Hitt. intrans. *tīia-*).

To sum up, the constructions of Hitt. *tittīa-*, *titt(a)nu-* reflect those of the reflexes of both PIE **d^heb₁-* and (trans.) **steb₂-* in other IE languages. The fact that a reduplicated present is assured for both roots, which are certainly momentative, speaks strongly in favor of the interpretation of *tittīa-*, *tittanu-* as the common Hittite contin-

⁵⁶ Copy of a passage of the Kupanta-^dLAMMA-Treaty.

⁵⁷ The collocation underlies the Mycenaean MN *ta-ta-ke-u* /*Stāt-ark^hēus*/ ‘who appointed (someone) as **ark^hus*’ or ‘who established an **ark^hā*’.

uant of two inherited aspectual presents, namely **de/i-d^heb₁-* and **(s)ti-sth₂-o/e-*, which have merged formally and semantically in Anatolian.

10. In conclusion, the semantics of the *hi*-verbs of the *minma*-type do not lead to the recognition of a unitary function, but do allow us to state a rationale.

Verbs without corresponding forms outside Anatolian may express *Aktionsarten* that are easily conceivable for a reduplicated stem: iterative-distributive (*lilb(u)u(a)-* beside *lābhuu(a)-* ‘to pour out’) and intensive (*titha-* ‘to thunder’; probably also *ši/ešba-* ‘to order, determine’ as against *išbi(a)-* ‘to bind’).

Verbs which constitute word equations with verbs attested in other IE languages may reflect intensive *Aktionsart* or the lexicalization of an aspectual present stem according to the lexeme. If the lexeme is stative, the *-i*-reduplicated verb expresses an intensive *Aktionsart*: thus *minma-* ‘to refuse’ (: Hom. *μύνω* ‘tarry’) reflects an intensive formation **mí-nu-n-e* ‘resist’ of the stative lexeme **men-* ‘stay’. If the lexeme is momentative, the *-i*-reduplicated verb goes back to an inherited present stem: thus *pippa-* ‘to overthrow’ (: Ved. *°pipīte*) reflects the present stem of PIE **(s)peh₂-* ‘move violently’. Hitt. *tittia^{-mi}*, *titt(a)nu-* ‘to install, set up, appoint’, being certainly Anatolian creations, rely on the existence (and are continuants) of the inherited present stems **d^hi-d^heb₁-* (‘to put’: **d^heb₁-*) and **(s)ti-(s)th₂-* ‘to take one’s place’ (**steh₂-*), which have merged in Hittite.

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Deictic-Emphatic *-i* and the Anatolian Demonstratives

Petra Goedegebuure

1. Introduction. It is a great honor to dedicate this article to Craig Melchert, whose achievements have shaped almost every aspect of comparative and reconstructive Anatolian studies. As a result, the honorand's many insights are a happy playground for further thought, and form the backbone of the present study.

In several of the Indo-European languages we find a deictic-emphatic particle *-i* that regularly occurs with pronouns. This particle is still productive in Attic Greek as in for example *ὅδ-ί*, *οὗτος-ί*, *ἐκεῖνος-ί* and *νυν-ί*, but also in Old Latin in *quo-i* > *quī*, etc. The *-i* of the Hittite demonstrative *aši* + (and its cognates Luv. **āšši* + and Lyd. *ēš-*) has long been equated with this particle (Pedersen 1938:60). But, as I will show in §4, deictic-emphatic *-i* is also used with at least two other Anatolian demonstratives, **kó/i/é-* and **obhó/é-*. The starting point for the discussion of *-i* is the reconstruction of the Proto-Anatolian pronominal genitive, hitherto **-osyo*. On the basis of the Hittite genitives *aši*, *apaši*(*la*), and the Luvian genitives *zašši* and *apašši* I will argue for PANat. **-(e)s* with deictic *-i* (§§2 and 3).

2. The Hittite genitives *aši*, *ēl*¹ and *uniyaš*. As is well known and widely discussed, the Hittite pronominal genitive singular ending is *-ēl*. Among others, this ending is attested for the demonstratives *kā-* 'this' (*kēl*) and *apā-* 'that (near addressee); s/he, it' (*apēl*). It is therefore not unreasonable to expect a genitive in *-ēl* for the distal demonstrative *aši* + 'yon'² as well. Instead, we have one secure and one restored attestation³ of a *nominal* genitive in *-aš*. This genitive, *uniyaš*,⁴ belongs to *uni-*, a new distal demonstrative based on *uni*, acc.sg.comm. of *aši* +.

¹The discovery of the genitive *ēl* is the serendipitous result of my research on *aši* + during a study visit to the Oriental Institute in October 2002. I am most grateful to the editors of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary for allowing me access to the files.

²For a description of the function of *aši* + and its diachronic morphological development see Goedegebuure 2002. The radically different view expressed by Patri (2008) that *aši* + is a definite marker and not a pronoun is based on an unfortunate omission of data, namely the 40 or so independent occurrences of *aši* + that—using Patri's own criteria (2008:152)—directly contradict his claims.

³Pecchioli Daddi (2004:460, 464 with nn. 62 and 63) reads another instance of the genitive *uniyaš* in KUB 13.3 ii 10': *u-ni-aš-ma-šmaš* DINGIR.MEŠ-[u]š *karū uškanzi* 'but the gods of that one have already seen you (pl.)'. The genitive *unināš* refers to the king, mentioned in the preceding narrative part (ii 7'). Although the transliteration suggests differently, the first two signs are not fully visible. The difficulty with the restoration [u-] 'ni'-*aš* is that the deprecatory connotations of *aši* +, prevalent for anaphoric use, are not suitable for reference to the king. I therefore follow Friedrich (1928:46) in restoring [LUG]'AL'-*aš-ma-šmaš* DINGIR.MEŠ-'ŠU' (Friedrich reads [u]š) 'the gods of the king'.

⁴See Hoffner and Melchert 2008:146.

These two genitives occur in the song of Ullikummi, a myth of Hurrian background that narrates the battle between different generations of gods. The Storm-god Teššub has just laid eyes on the frightful Basalt Stone, his opponent:

- (1) KUB 33.113 + KUB 36.12 i 30'–34' (NH/NS myth, Muršili II,⁵ CTH 345), ed. Güterbock 1952:12, tr. Hoffner 1998:60

(Teššub sat down on the ground, and his tears flowed like streams.)

nu ^dU-aš IGI.HI.A-wa (31') [iš-*ha*]-*ah-ru-wa-an-za me-mi-ya-an me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi ku-iš-wa-ra-an* (32') [*nam-m*]a uš-*ki-iz-zi u-ni-ya-aš*¹ *hal-lu-wa-in nu-wa ku-iš nam-ma* (33') [*za-a*]-*h-ši-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-wa-ra-aš ku-iš nam-ma uš-ki-iz-zi* (34') [*u-ni*]-*ya-aš na-ah-šar-ad-du-uš*

The Storm-god, [te]arful of eye, speaks: 'Who can behold it [agai]n, **that** **one's** violence? Who can [f]ight again, who can behold them again, [**that** **o**]ne's fearsome qualities?'

Since *uniyaš* is a new formation, there originally must have been another genitive. By analogy we would expect **eli*, with deictic *-i*. This reconstruction is based on a comparison of several forms of the paradigm of *aši* + and their respective counterparts in the paradigms of *kā-* 'this'⁶ and *apā-* 'that':

	<i>kā-</i>	<i>apā-</i>	<i>aši</i> +
nom.sg.comm.	<i>kāš</i>	<i>apāš</i>	<i>aši</i>
acc.sg.comm.	<i>kūn</i>	<i>apūn</i>	<i>uni</i>
nom.-acc.sg.neut.	<i>kī, kīni, kēni</i> ⁷	<i>apāt, apēni</i> ⁸	<i>ini, eni</i>
gen.sg.	<i>kēl</i>	<i>apēl</i>	<i>*eli</i>
dat.-loc.sg.	<i>kēti, kēdani</i>	<i>apēti⁹, apēdani</i>	<i>edi, edani</i>
abl. ¹⁰	<i>kēd</i>	<i>apid(-)</i>	<i>edi</i>

Table 1: comparison of *kā-*, *apā-* and *aši* +

⁵According to Haas (2006:130) the Kumarbi cycle, to which the Song of Ullikummi belongs, is an original Hittite composition from the reign of Muršili II, and not a translation from Hurrian. The Hurrian background of the cycle remains of course undisputed.

⁶For the latest update on the paradigms of *kā-* and *apā-* see Hoffner and Melchert 2008:143 and n. 8 below. For *aši* +, see Hoffner and Melchert 2008:145.

⁷For *kīni/kēni* as alternative neuter sg. of *kā-* see most recently Goedegebuure 2007:309ff. and KBo 50:viii (ad no. 103).

⁸As I mention elsewhere (2007:310 n. 19), most or all tokens of *apēni* represent *apē(da)ni*. Still, the structure of the adverb *apiniššan* (compare *ini-ššan* and *kini-ššan* besides *kiššan*) could point at a neuter **apini*. KBo 60:iv (ad no. 4) offers a possible attestation of *apēni* in KuSa I/1 30 rev. 2' (]'a'-*pē-e-ni-mu*), which either reads '... that (acc.sg.) to me (dat.sg.) ...', or '... me (acc.sg.) to him (dat.sg.)' if *apēni* is again a mistake for *apēdani*. KBo 60.4 rev. 5' does not contain *apēni* but *a-pē-e-ni-šu-wa-an*, nom.-acc.sg.neuter of the adjective *apeniššuwant-* 'that kind of...'.
⁹Attested in KUB 9.19:7' (MS?).

¹⁰For the reconstruction of a PAnat. pronominal ablative in **-d*, see Melchert and Oettinger 2009:54, 59ff., 70.

And indeed, there is one instance of an almost identical *e-el*:¹¹

- (2) KUB 49.70 rev. 20'-21' (NH/lateNS oracle, CTH 572)

(20') [BE-*an-kán*] 'ke-e-da-ni' 'MU-¹[t]i *e-el*¹² ŠA LÚ^{URU}Az-z[i] GİŠ^{TUKUL} ŠÀ KUR.MEŠ^{URU}GIDRU-TI Ú²-UL ú-iz-z[i]¹³ DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši* LÚ^{URU}Az[-zi] (21') [...]

'[When] in this year [the weapon] of **that** (*ēl*) man of Azz[i] does [not come to the lands of Hatti,] (and) the gods [verb] **that** (*aši*) man of Azzi, (...).'

Assuming that **ā-*, presumably found in *ānki* 'once',¹⁴ could be reconstructed for Hitt. 'one', Eichner (1992:38) suggests that **e-el* could be the reading of the genitive sg. 1-*el*, based on the equation nom.sg. *apās* 'that one': gen.sg. *apēl* = nom.sg. **ās* 'one': gen.sg. **ēl*. In the present context, however, the translation 'of (the) one man of Azzi' can be excluded. More importantly, I recently re-analyzed the pronoun *šī*-¹⁵ as the Hittite numeral 1, equating 1-*el* with *šī*-(*i*)-*e-el*. One should therefore discard Eichner's otherwise plausible proposals.

Recently Rieken (2008) has convincingly shown that the pronominal genitive ending -*ēl* is derived from a denominative adjective -*la-* < PIE **-lo-*,¹⁶ attached to the oblique pronominal stem in -*e-*. In pre-Hittite, she argues, pronominal possession could be marked by means of this morpheme, in the same way as Luvian (pro)nominal possession is expressed by means of the genitival adjective on -*ašša/i-*, and possession in Lycian by means of -*ahe/i-*, -*che/i-*. In Hittite, however, the pronominal adjective lost its theme vowel -*a-* and then its inflection when followed by -*s* or -*n* (**abē-la-s*, **abē-la-n* > **abēls*, **abēln* > *abēl* (*a-pē-e-el*), Rieken 2008).

In view of Rieken's proposal we should now consider the possibility that the paradigm of *aši* + originally contained yet another genitive. What argues for analogical formation of *ēl* after *kēl* and *apēl* is its form. Had *ēl* been part of the Proto-Anatolian paradigm of the pronoun **o-/e-* before the addition of deictic -*i* to the case endings, we would have encountered ***eli*.

Recently Hoffner and Melchert (2008:145 n. 5) have detected this older genitive in *aši*, attested only in the OS ritual KBo 17.17 (+) KBo 30.30 obv. 6'. I here present

¹¹As collected by the Chicago Hittite Dictionary Project through November 2009.

¹²In the files of the CHD Project this sequence of signs was read as either "E.EL or E.SIR". Only the latter reading is an attempt to make sense of the sequence. Allowing for two scribal mistakes, (1) an aberrant form of the sign SIR and (2) the absence of the determinative for leather objects, KUŠ, this interpretation would imply that 'this year' the oracle inquirer is concerned with the 'shoe of the man of Azzi'. That this is quite odd needs no further comment.

¹³The restoration is based on KUB 49.70:10'-11': BE-*an-kán*[break with room for ca.10 signs -z]i² GİŠ^{TUKUL} ŠÀ KUR.MEŠ^{URU}GIDRU[-TI...], and left edge [...-z]i GİŠ^{TUKUL} KUR.MEŠ^{URU}GIDRU-TI UL *ú-wa-an-zi*.

¹⁴The multiplicative adverb *a-an-ki* 'once, one time' in KUB 4.1 iv 36, 38 does not exist. Although the hand copy has *a-an-ki*, the photo in the Konkordanz (version 1.6) clearly shows 2-*an-ki*, proving Hoffner and Melchert 2008:168 n. 49 right in their rejection of *a-an-ki*.

¹⁵See Goedegebuure 2006, followed by Hoffner and Melchert 2008:154 (with some modifications in the paradigm) and Kloekhorst 2008:750 (with modification of the stem *šān-* to *šī-*).

¹⁶The same morpheme is also present in the Lycian demonstrative adverb *ebeli* 'here', locative of **ob^hē-lo-*, and as an independent innovation in the Lydian possessive adjective *bili-* 'his, her' (Rieken 2008).

a new transliteration and translation of obv. 6'–7' (w. dupl. KUB 43.53 i 16'–18'), replacing the one in Goedegebuure 2002:64, 70:

- (3) (6') [(DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-an* ^dUTU-*i*)]¹⁷ *ka-a-ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši* *p*[(*é-éš-ki-mi* ^dUTU-*šum-ma-an la-ba-a*)]¹⁸ *r[na-an]* (7') [(DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš*)¹⁷ (*pi-iš-ki-mi*) *t*]¹⁹ *a-a-an-da-aš-ša-an* [(*pi-i*)*š-ki-mi a-(a-za-aš-ši-iš* T)]²⁰ *I'-an' -za-aš-ši-i*[(*š*²¹ *ka-a-ša*)]

'O Sungod of the gods, I hereby give to the gods (**that**) of his (lit. of that one). Our Sun Labarna I give to the gods. I give his equivalent. Here is his equivalent, his living (substitute)!' ²¹

Originally I could not account for the existence of an Old Hittite acc.sg.comm. *aši*. Only in New Hittite documents do we encounter *aši* both as nom. and acc.sg.comm. (besides *uni(n)*). Finding *aši* instead of *uni* in such an old text was difficult to explain, but I could offer no solution. Now that the non-pronominal origin of *-el* suggests the existence of yet another genitive form, I find Hoffner's and Melchert's solution highly convincing.

It is also easy to see why the late-NH duplicate had *aši* not only in i 16', DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši pi-iš-ki-mi* (dupl. of DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši p[é-...]*), but also in i 17', DINGIR.MEŠ-*aš a-ši pi-iš-ki-mi*.²⁰ Assuming that line 16' was favorable to dittography in line 17', a repetition of *aši* as *object* would certainly have made sense to the late NH scribe in whose times *aši* only functioned as either a nom.sg.comm. or acc.sg.comm.²¹ while the genitive sg. was *ēl* or *uniyaš*.

3. The Luvian genitive *-ašši* < PA **-éši*. Hoffner and Melchert (2008:145 n. 5) note that the Luvian possessive adjective in *-ašša/i-* is very similar to their newly found genitive *aši*. In Iron Age Luvian *-ašša/i-* and the *-iya-* adjective coexisted with the (pro)nominal genitives <*°a/°i-sa*> and <*°a/°i-si*>.²² The form in *-i* is usually read as */-asi/*, a perfect match with Hittite *aši*, but there is solid evidence that the reading */-asi/* is not correct. Recently Yakubovich (2008:208ff.) has convincingly argued for a Luvian genitive *-ašši* */-assi/* and its connection with the possessive adjective *-ašša/i-*.²³ Unfortunately this throws all reconstructions for *-ašša/i-* and previously read */-asi/* in disarray, and also severs the ties between the Hittite and Luvian forms.

The stem form of the genitival adjective is usually considered to be *-ašša-*, with the forms in *-i-* the result of *i*-mutation. Taking the Lycian form *-ahe/i-* into account, Melchert (1994:77) reconstructs PA **-eb₂so-*.²⁴ Now that Yakubovich has shown that

¹⁷ KUB 43.54 i 17' adds *a-ši*.

¹⁸ In KUB 43.53 i 18' *a-a-an-da-aš-ša-an* is preceded by *nu*.

¹⁹ KUB 43.53 i 18': TI *wa-an-za-aš-ši-iš*.

²⁰ KUB 43.54 i 16'–17' therefore translates as: "O Sungod of the gods, I hereby give **that one** to the gods, that is, Our Sun Labarna. I give **that one** to the gods, I give his equivalent."

²¹ See Goedegebuure 2002:4 with n. 13.

²² Hawkins 2000:479; Melchert 2003:187; Ploechl 2003:63, 64, 69, 70.

²³ Georgiev (1967:164) already connected the Iron Age Luvian genitive */-assi/* (his *-asa*) with the possessive adjective */-assa/i-* (his *-asa-*), and derived the former from PIE **-o-syo* (1967:161, 164).

²⁴ Also see Bader 1991:137 for Luvian *-ašši/a-* from **-eb₂-si/o-*.

the genitival adjective is based on the genitive *-ašši* we still might take **-eh₂si* instead of **-eh₂so-* as the preform of Luvian *-ašši* (and Lycian *-abi-*), although this would never lead to Hittite *ašši*.²⁵ The Hittite form should reflect **ósi*, itself considered an irregular apocope of **ósyo*.²⁶ A genitive **ósi* in turn does not lead, for example, to the Luvian demonstrative genitives /abassi/ and /t^sassi/. Given that **-eh₂si* cannot possibly be a Luvic innovation but has to be Proto-Anatolian, **ósi* must be a pre-Hittite innovation.

Still, PANat. **-eh₂si* remains problematic. Both Kloekhorst (2008:216) and Yakubovich (2008:194–5) adduce important evidence against the Proto-Anatolian assimilation rule **-h₂s- > -ss-*, and both favor derivation from the well-known Proto-Indo-European thematic genitive **-asyo*. Kloekhorst (2008:216) derives Hittite *-ašša-* (and therefore, I suppose, also Luvian *-ašša-*) from **-asyo* through a different assimilation rule **-sy- > -ss-*, but since we now need to explain Luvian *-ašši* instead of *-ašša-*, the disappearance of *-y-* is not very helpful. Yakubovich (2008:211) extends to Luvian the Hittite rule that PANat. **/s/* geminates as the first member of a heterosyllabic consonant cluster (Melchert 1994:150–2). Thus, PANat. **/-ósyo/* became Luvian **/-a:šsya/*, and after apocope */-a:šsi/* (Yakubovich 2008:211). The same process must then also have been at work in pre-Hittite, resulting in ***/a:šsi/* (later replaced by */a:šsi/*).

My objection against this development is that we now not only need the gemination of PANat. **/s/* in both Hittite and Luvian, but also an otherwise unattested apocope in both languages. Given its non-trivial nature this apocope should not have occurred independently in each language, so the only explanation is change through prehistoric contact, with the direction of interference unknown. An alternative is to place the whole development of gemination and apocope in Proto-Anatolian. Given these new complications caused by the new Hittite genitive *ašši*, I now prefer another, much simpler reconstruction.

According to me /t^sassi/ and /abassi/ are the regular reflexes of PANat. **kési* and **ob^hési* (by “Cop’s Law”). As is clear from Hittite *-ēl < *-ē-lo-*, *-ēdi < *-ē-d^hi* and *-ēd < *-ē-d*, the oblique pronominal stem is *-ē-* (short accented *e*), and this is what I expect for the oldest reconstructable pronominal genitive in Hittite as well: instead of **-ósi* I assume **-ési*. Of course this does not explain the earliest attested Hittite demonstrative genitive *ašši*, but neither does any of the other reconstructions. This form must be a Proto-Hittite innovation, whether it replaces **ašši < *asyo* (Yakubovich) / **eh₂si* (Bader, Melchert), or **ešši < *ési* (Goedegebuure).

4. Proto-Anatolian demonstratives with deictic *-i*. PANat. **-ési* could be the reflex of PIE **-é-syo*, with **-é-* as the oblique stem vowel and **-syo* as the pronominal genitive ending,²⁷ but there is an alternative for the final *-i*. We do not need to arrive at our form through the apocope which, as everyone acknowledges, is otherwise not attested

²⁵ PA **-eh₂si > Hitt. -ašši*, or *-ašši* if one follows Melchert 1994:77, but not *-ašši*.

²⁶ Melchert forthcoming; Szemerényi 1999:184.

²⁷ Szemerényi 1999:207–9; Meier-Brügger 2000:213.

in Anatolian. It is equally possible to treat PIE **-syo*²⁸ as an innovation in Proto-Indo-European Proper after the Anatolian group branched off, and reconstruct PAnat. **-s*.

If we reconstruct a PAnat. pronominal genitive **-s*, a different solution is readily available in the reconstruction of the PAnat. genitives **kés* and **ob'ési* as **kés-i* and **ob'és-i* with the deictic *-i* that is also found in the paradigm of Hittite *āsī* + (see figure 1) and Cuneiform Luvian **āšši*.²⁹ We only need to show that not only *āsī* + */*āšši* + but also at least some of the other Proto-Anatolian demonstratives were once attested with deictic *-i*.

According to the dictionaries and grammars Hittite *kā-* and *apā-* are not attested with deictic *-i*, but in fact we do have one instance of a reinforced demonstrative:

- (4) VBoT 58 obv. 34–5 (OH/NS myth, CTH 323)

("[Go,] call Gulsa (and) Hannahanna! If the other deities (lit. *they*) have died, [then th]ese too have certainly died! Did Frost even [come] to *their* gates?"

[b]a-ab-bi-ma-s[a dI]M-ni te-ez-zi ku-u-s[i]³⁰-wa pé-iš-ša-at-ti³¹ (35) [ku-it (?)] nu-wa hu-u-ma-an-te-eš a-ki-ir

[But Fr]ost says to the [S]torm-god: "[Why (?)] do you keep sending these (gods)? They all have died!"

Within this context it is worthwhile to reconsider the etymology of the adverbial intensifier *apašila* 'himself, herself, on one's own, personally'. Friedrich and Kammenhuber (1975:165, with references) and Hoffner and Melchert (2008:132, 143) analyze *apašila* as the nominative sg. *apaš* followed by the suffix *-il(a)*, only attested with the personal pronouns. But we might consider this form as a genitive *apaši* followed by *-la* in adverbial use. This requires that *apašila* be a hypostasis of the adjective **apašila-*,

²⁸The PIE pronominal genitive ending **-syo* is often assumed to be based on an earlier **-s* through addition of the relative pronoun **-yo* (see for example Szemerényi 1999:209), or *-i-o/o* (Shields 1991:58, 2005:234).

²⁹Melchert (2009:152) has shown that Cuneiform Luvian had far-deictic **āšši*, only attested in *āššiwant(i)-* 'poor' and *āššiwantattar* 'poverty'. Although Hitt. *āsī* points to pre-Hitt. **ōsi*, Luv. **āšši* can only continue **ēsi* ("Čop's Law"). The latter reconstruction is also necessary for the Lydian near-deictic demonstrative *eš* 'this' < **ēsi*. According to Kloekhorst (2008:220–1), the *o*-vocalism of Hitt. *āsī* + is a pre-Hittite innovation.

³⁰Pecchioli Daddi (1990:66), Hoffner (1998:28), and Mazoyer (2003:179) all take *ku-u-ši* as the 2nd pers.sg.prs. of *kuen-* 'kill'. First, this requires the unwarranted emendation of *ku-u-ši* to *ku-e'-ši*, and in addition, the order of events 'you kill, you cast away' is not supported by the context. All the Storm-god does is send out deities to find the vanished Sun-god, and as a result of their mission into the frozen lands they all are frozen themselves (caught by Frost). He never kills them personally.

³¹This verb form is usually taken as an (aberrant) 2nd pers.sg.prs. (*-bi* conjugation) of the *-mi* verb *peššiya-* 'reject, neglect, cast away'. But we can also analyze it as a combination of the preverb *pe-* 'away, thither' and *iššanti*, formally the 2nd pers.sg.prs. imperfect of *iye/a-* 'do, make'. We see here proof of the etymological connection between *iye/a-* 'do, make' and **ye-* 'send', found in *peye-* 'send away' and connected with Lat. *icē* (Kloekhorst 2008:664). Kloekhorst's main argument against connecting the two is that according to him the oldest forms for the first person singular of *iye/a-* should have been *yemi* and **yenum* (compare *peyemi* and *peyenum*) instead of *iyami* and *iyannum* (2008:381–2), if the two were connected. But we do have OS *yemi* (*i-e-mi*), and the earliest form for the past tense is MH/MS *iyannum*, at a time therefore when the *iya-* stem is firmly gaining ground on the *ye-* stem. It is very well possible then that MH/MS *iyannum* replaces OH **yenum*. To conclude, just as *išša-* and *ēške-/iske-* coexist as imperfective forms of *iya/e-*, I propose that also *peišša-* and *pēške-/pēške-* coexist as imperfective forms of *peye-*.

with grammaticalized ellipsis of its head noun.³² Following a suggestion of Kammenhuber (1965:206 n. 100) that *apašila* may be compared with Akk. *ramānu* = Hitt. *tuekka-* ‘body’³³ (pl. ‘body parts, limbs’), one could imagine an original construction **apaši tuekka-* (pl.) + poss.encl. ‘his/her body parts, limbs’. When the derivational morpheme *-la-* became productive as a possessive marker, **apaši tuekka-* + poss.encl. became **apašila- tuekka-* + poss.encl. A sentence like “She raised them (using) her own limbs = personally” (in Dutch one can say *eigenhandig* ‘with one’s own hands’) would then have required the appositional phrase **apašila tuekka-ššet*³⁴ in adverbial use.³⁵ Because the phrase “using one’s own body parts, limbs” would have been a standard expression, it would have been prone to grammaticalized ellipsis of the head noun, exactly as happened with English “on one’s own” < Middle English *on ouen hēd* (= head).

Even though *apašila* was already fully grammaticalized in OH, there is one instance in Hittite of an almost identical construction intensifying the actions of the subject, with *apel* instead of **apaši*:

- (5) KBo 32.14 ii 1–2 (MH/MS, CTH 789), ed. Neu 1996:73³⁶

*a-li-‘ya’-n[a-an-]za a-pé-el tu-e-ga-as*³⁷[-še-et] HUR.SAG-*aš* *a-wa-an ar-ḫa šu-ú-e-et*

A mountain personally pushed off a deer from himself (-*za*).

The use of the “original” construction preceding HUR.SAG-*aš* instead of *apašila* following it is probably triggered by the original Hurrian phrase.³⁸

Since adverbial constructions and adverbs like *apašila* only modify the actions of the subject, another solution is needed to express ‘-self, -selves, in person’ in the remaining syntactic roles. Not surprisingly, we find the same construction that once gave rise to *apašila*, the genitive personal pronoun followed by *tuekka-* and possessive

³²For a discussion of hypostasis as a case of synchronic head-noun ellipsis in possessive noun phrases with case attraction, see Yakubovich 2006.

³³For this equation see the lexical list KBo 1.51 rev. 11, Akk. [RA-MA-J]NU = Hitt. *t[u]-e-kán*.

³⁴Collective/neuter nom.pl. For *tuekka-* vacillating between common and neuter gender see Klockhorst 2008:885.

³⁵For appositions with adverbial function see Hoffner and Melchert 2008:236f.

³⁶Translating differently: “Einen Rehbock vertrieb ein Berg von seinem Körper.”

³⁷This sign is usually interpreted as *-a[z-]* (Neu 1996:75) and *tuēgga[z ...]* [therefore as an ablative, mainly because the morpheme *-ne-* in the Hurrian original *i-te[...]x-ne-eš* is understood as an ablative (Neu 1996:100). There are however four arguments against the ablative *tuēgga[z ...]*: 1) the hand copy only shows one horizontal instead of the two that are expected for AZ, leaving no other option but to read AŠ; 2) pushing an object off from an object or a location in the ablative requires either *-kan* or *-nšta*, so the absence of a sentence particle makes the presence of an ablative highly unlikely; 3) the particle *-za* is sufficient to express removal from oneself; and 4) originally the full grade (*tuekka-*) was only found in the direct cases, whereas the zero-grade occurred especially in the genitive and ablative (Klockhorst 2008:885). The “loss” of the ablative of course has consequences not only for the Hittite translation, but also for our understanding of the marching Hurrian phrase *i-te[...]x-ne-eš* (= *apel tuēggaš[-ššet]*). Limitations of space prevent me from elaborating my views, but I reject *i-te[-e]’-i-‘ne-eš* = *idē-j-ne-zš* (body-his-ABL-ERG) ‘from his body’ (Neu 1996:100) in favor of *i-ti[-i]n-ne-eš* = *idi-n(i)-ne-zš* (body-adj.-rlt.sg.-ERG) ‘bodily > personally’.

³⁸Neu 1996:418.

clitic in the appropriate case: [(šume)]nzan [tuē(ggaš-šmas)]³⁹ ‘to your (pl.) own bodies > to you yourselves’ (MH/MS, KBo 32.24 ii 8’–9’, w. dupl. KBo 32.27 r.col. 2’–3’, cf. KBo 32.29 r.col. 3’ and par. KBo 32.19 ii 22–23, iii 48’ šumās tuēggaš-šmas’).

With the partitive apposition, the post-Old Hittite replacement of the Old Hittite split genitive construction,⁴⁰ we find *nu-wa-kan* DINGIR^{MES}-aš *kuwapi haš’šik’izzi* [*nu-wa apiya*] DI]NGIR^{MES}-uš *tuikkuš anda arnu[d]u* ‘Where he will pass judgment on the gods, [there] he must bring together the gods themselves/in person’ (MS, KUB 36.55 ii 21’–22’⁴¹) and [*nu-w*]a³ ^m*Madduwatta tuēkkuš anda mekki ārḫun* ‘I have often met with Madduwatta himself/in person’ (MH/MS, KUB 14.1 obv. 82).

With its syntactically motivated restriction to intensifying the subject only, *apašila* was open to reinterpretation after knowledge of the original formation as adjectivized genitive was lost. Similar to the reinterpretation of the genitive *aši* in KUB 43.54 i 16’, 17’ (see above) as accusative in agreement with the productive pattern of its era, *apašila* could only be understood as a singular nominative *apaš* with a new derivational morpheme *-ila*. Thus we start finding *ukila* ‘I myself’, *zikila* ‘you yourself’ and *šumešila* ‘you yourselves’, starting with Middle Hittite compositions.⁴²

Deictic *-i* is also still visible in the Palaic independent demonstratives, with the exception of *kāt*,⁴³ neuter nom.-acc.sg. of *kā-* in the phrase *kāt-kuwāt kuit* ‘What is this anyhow?’ (KUB 32.18 i 8’).⁴⁴ Otherwise we find the accusatives *gān-i* ‘this’, *apan-i* ‘that/him’ in KUB 35.165 rev. 9’ and obv. 25, respectively. Not surprisingly, enclitic *-ka/-a*⁴⁵ and *-apa*⁴⁶ are always attested without deictic *-i*.

Formally Pal. *gāni* can be compared with Luv. *zāni* ‘this’ (Melchert 1984:35, 1993:277), but not with Hitt. *kāni* ‘here’. Assuming that *gāni* indeed represents **gān + i*, Hitt. *kāni* has to be excluded because it is *not* an extended version of adverbial *kān*⁴⁷ ‘thus’ (pace Puhvel 1997:47, Kloekhorst 2008:425). The latter is only attested as a by-form of the accusative singular *kūn*.⁴⁸ The place adverb *kāni* rather continues the combination **kī-ōni* > **kyōni* > **kōni* > *kāni*,⁴⁹ with **ōni* > *ani* as the dative-locative

³⁹Of course *tuēkka-* in the split genitive construction could still be taken literally, as in [*k*]ašā-wa ammel *tuēggaš-miš ānta* ‘[M]e here, my limbs are hot’ (VBoT 58 obv. 24). For *kāša* as ‘me here’, see Rieken 2009.

⁴⁰Garrett 1998.

⁴¹See also Archi 2002:4, 7–8.

⁴²*ū-ki-la* in KBo 16.97 obv. 2 (MH/MS oracle), *zi-ki-la* in KUB 17.10 i 31 (OH?–MH?/MS myth), *šu-me-ši-la* in HKM 42 lower edge 5’ (MH/MS letter).

⁴³The neuter *kāt* is analogical after **apāt* (Melchert 1984:30 n. 10), which itself must be a Proto-Anatolian innovation **ob’ōd* (after **k’id*?) replacing original **ob’ūni*. The latter is only attested in Hitt. *apēni*(?) (see Table 1) and *apini*(-ššan), but reflexes of **ob’ōd* are found in Hitt. *apāt* and Luv. *apa*.

⁴⁴Melchert 1984:28.

⁴⁵For the discovery of enclitic post-vocalic *-ka-* and its post-consonantal variant *-a-* see Melchert 1984:29–30.

⁴⁶See Melchert 2009:152.

⁴⁷The sequence *ka-a-na-at* in KUB 41.23 ii 20’ has to be emended to *ka-a* UD’-at (Goedegebuure 2003:207f. n. 230).

⁴⁸In KUB 33.93 + 95 + 36.7b iv 18’ with duplicate KUB 33.92 iii 5’, and KUB 46.37 obv. 45’. Two attestations of *ka-a-an* without context are KBo 18.127 rev. 5’ and KUB 16.11:7.

⁴⁹As a proclitic **kī* is probably treated in the same way as *nu*, where the *-u-* is maintained before consonants but elided before vowels (**nu-ōs* > **nūōs* > *naš*, Kloekhorst 2008:608).

singular of the obsolete near-deictic demonstrative *ana-* ‘this’.⁵⁰ It is thus similar in formation to *kinun* ‘now’ < **kī-num*.⁵¹ Luv. *zāni* is attested in KUB 35.107 iii 8’–9’ (MH/MS myth, CTH 764):

(6) (The gods vomited three times.)

§ (8’) ^dUTU-*wa-az* ^dKam-*ru-še-pa-i da-u-e-ya-an ma-am-ma[-an-na-at-ta]* (9’)
za-a-ni-wa ku-wa-ti ^dKam-*ru-še-pa a-wa ku-wa-ti na-a[-wa]* §

§ Tiwat look[ed] towards Kamrusepa. “Why (is) **this** (*zāni*), Kamrusepa? Why don[’t . . .]?”

Although *zāni* is clearly a neuter, referring to an event in the speech setting, the formation is unclear. Is it a neuter singular *zā* ‘this’ that is extended with an unclear deictic *-ni*, or does it consist of an original neuter **zān* with deictic *-i* (< *kóm-i*?) similar to the Hittite neuters *kini*, *ini* < PAnat. **kīm-i*, **īm-i*? I consider both options problematic, but tend towards the latter.

To return to the point of departure for the discussion of demonstratives with deictic *-i*, the Proto-Anatolian pronominal gen.sg. **és-i*, we may indeed analyze it as **é-s-i*, that is, the oblique stem *-e-*, followed by the genitive *-s* and the deictic particle *-i*.

5. Conclusion. Hitt. *apaši(-la)* ‘himself’, *kūši* ‘these (acc.pl.)’, the Palaic singular accusatives *gāni* ‘this’ and *apani* ‘that’, and possibly Luvian *zāni* ‘this’ prove that not only *āši* + but probably most or all Proto-Anatolian demonstratives could take deictic *-i*. As in Greek, the core function of deictic *-i* in Proto-Anatolian is *emphasis*: the little evidence we have is enough to show a distribution between unemphatic demonstratives without *-i* and emphatic ones with *-i*.

Pal. *gān-i* and *apan-i* are not only independent pronouns but also occur in clause-initial position, whereas the forms without *-i* are cliticized to their head nouns or to the clause-initial clitic chain, i.e. they are phonologically dependent.

The PAnat. distribution of emphatic versus non-emphatic forms led to a different outcome in Hittite and Luvian. The one example of *kūši* in Hittite is indeed found in clause-initial position, but this is not the case for neuter *kīni*. Also, the demonstratives without *-i* never developed into clitics. Since fronting will typically do to mark a constituent as emphatic, the emphatic deixis of *-i* became redundant and disappeared almost completely in Old Hittite, with the exception of *kīni*, which is attested until Middle Hittite (Goedegebuure 2007:312). More evidence for the emphatic nature of *-i* is its survival in the highly emphatic adverb *apaš-i-la*, based on the genitive **apaš*. In less emphatic contexts the genitive **apaš* was replaced already in pre-Hittite by newly created *apēl*.

For Luvian we possibly have *zān-i* in clause-initial position as an emphatic form, but the genitives *zašši* < **kés-i* and *apašši* < **ob’és-i* do not occur in particularly emphatic contexts. The survival of only these forms at the expense of **zaš* and **apaš* may have

⁵⁰ For *ana-* see most recently Melchert 2009:151.

⁵¹ Hittite proclitic *ki-* continues the reinforcing PIE particle **kē* that is also attested in Lat. *num-e* ‘now’ (Klockhorst 2008:491), *hi-e* ‘this’ and Gk. *κεῖνος* ‘that’ < **kē-enos* (Melchert 2009:155 n. 7).

been prompted by the part they played in the formation of the possessive adjective (Yakubovich 2008:211).

I suggest that the development of the Proto-Anatolian neutral demonstrative $*\acute{e}$ -⁵² with and without $-i$ is somewhat similar to what happened to Pal. $k\bar{a}$ - and $ap\bar{a}$ -. Initially unemphatic deictic $*\acute{e}$ - could freely be turned into emphatic deictic $*\acute{e}$ - + $-i$, but then unemphatic deictic $*\acute{e}$ - lost its deictic feature. It developed into the independent third person pronoun $*\acute{e}$ -, with further grammaticalization into enclitic $*\acute{e}$ -o-, leaving the emphatic demonstrative $*\acute{e}$ - + $-i$ as the only neutral deictic. This must have led to the loss of the emphatic feature of $*\acute{e}$ - + $-i$, at which point the $-i$, robbed of its function, merged with the endings to form PANat. $*\acute{e}si$ +, witness Hitt. $a\check{s}i$ +, Luv. $*\check{a}\check{s}\check{s}i$ + and secondarily inflected Lyd. $\acute{e}\check{s}$ -.

Since PANat. $*\acute{e}si$ + now only contrasted with the demonstratives $*\acute{k}\acute{o}/i/\acute{e}$ - and $*obh\acute{o}/\acute{e}$ -, and no longer with a non-deictic pronoun, it acquired its non-neutral semantics. It became distal in Hittite and Luvian where we find the reflexes of $*\acute{k}\acute{o}/i/\acute{e}$ - and $*obh\acute{o}/\acute{e}$ -, but proximal in Lydian and Palaic. After the loss of $*\acute{k}\acute{o}/i/\acute{e}$ - in Proto-Lydian but with retention of secondarily inflected non-proximal $os\check{e}$ -, reflex of PLyd. $*\acute{o}msi$ - < PANat. $*\acute{o}m-s-i$, $*\acute{e}si$ + entered the empty proximal slot. In Palaic, a - without $-i$ is only attested as the post-consonantal part of the enclitic proximal demonstrative $-a/-ka$ -. No such distribution would be possible between independent proximal $a\check{s}i$ + and $ka\check{s}i$ +, and I therefore assume the loss of Pal. $a\check{s}i$ +.

I conclude with an updated paradigm of the only demonstrative that fully preserved deictic-emphatic $-i$:

	Hittite	Proto-Hittite
nom.sg.comm.	$a\check{s}i$	$*\acute{o}s-i$
acc.sg.comm.	uni	$*\acute{o}m-i$
nom.-acc.sg.neut.	ini	$*\acute{i}m-i$
gen.sg.	$a\check{s}i$	$*\acute{o}s-i$
dat.-loc.sg.	edi	$*\acute{e}d\check{b}i-i$
abl.	edi	$*\acute{e}d-i$

Table 2: paradigm of singular forms of $a\check{s}i$ +

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⁵²Unlike near-deictic PIE $*\acute{k}\acute{e}/\acute{o}$ -, Proto-Anatolian $*\acute{e}$ - started out either as a third person anaphoric pronoun or as a non-contrastive or distance-neutral demonstrative (Melchert 2009:155, 156 n. 9).

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Tracce anatoliche di una desinenza verbale indoeuropea?

Roberto Gusmani †

1. La più ampia delle iscrizioni paleofrigie di recente rinvenute a Kerkenes Dağ nell'Anatolia centrale (area non lontana dalla capitale ittita Hattuša e da identificarsi verisimilmente con la Pteria di Erodoto) occupava parte della modanatura che contornava a mo' di cornice quella che doveva costituire la faccia anteriore — ornata di sculture in rilievo di cui sono visibili significativi resti — di un monumento, forse di carattere cultuale, andato in frantumi in occasione della distruzione e dell'incendio del sito attorno alla metà del VI secolo a. C.¹ Dei numerosi frammenti che sono stati riconosciuti pertinenti alla faccia in questione,² portano i resti dell'iscrizione che qui ci interessa quelli convenzionalmente numerati come IV, V, VI e VII (sulla cui probabile collocazione nell'insieme del monumento cf. Brixhe e Summers 2006:132). Il testo è costituito da due segmenti che corrono su due fasce della 'cornice' tra loro perpendicolari: precisamente sulla fascia superiore (segmento I), con andamento da destra a sinistra e con la base delle lettere rivolta verso il centro della faccia, e sul lato sinistro per chi guardava il monumento (segmento II), qui però con andamento destrorso dall'alto verso il basso e con la base delle lettere rivolta verso l'esterno della faccia. Sulla scorta della lettura di Brixhe (v. Brixhe e Summers 2006:118–26) ricaviamo la seguente trascrizione:³

(segmento I) $\times i \times [---] \times pa \text{ } \mathfrak{C} \text{ } uva \text{ } \mathfrak{C} [---] \times masau$

(segmento II) $rgitosdakorsvebra [---]$.

È stato merito dell'editore riconoscere la continuità del testo dei due segmenti, a dispetto del cambio di direzione della grafia nel passaggio dalla fine della 'cornice' superiore a quella di sinistra.

Nonostante la presenza di un segno non alfabetico (qui trascritto con $\mathfrak{C}$) che potrebbe sembrare un'interpunzione, il testo è in realtà in *scriptio continua* e Brixhe suggerisce la seguente divisione:

$\times i \times [---] \times pa \text{ } \mathfrak{C} \text{ } uva \text{ } \mathfrak{C} [---] \times^4 masa \text{ } urgitos \text{ } dakor \text{ } svebra [---]$.

¹Per i resti di questo imponente insediamento dell'età del ferro e per gli scavi ivi condotti v. Brixhe e Summers 2006.

²Per una possibile ricostruzione v. lo schizzo in Brixhe e Summers 2006:106 e in Brixhe 2007:153.

³Come di consueto, la trascrizione sarà, per ragioni di comodità, sempre destrorsa. Con $\times$ si indica una lettera non identificabile, con $\mathfrak{C}$ si riproduce un segno di evidenziazione a forma di falce lunare; i trattini segnalano una lacuna di ampiezza non (sicuramente) determinabile.

⁴Brixhe vorrebbe identificare quello che resta di questo segno con $\mathfrak{C}$, che in tal caso avrebbe però un orientamento esattamente opposto a quello delle altre due attestazioni presenti nello stesso rigo.

In conformità a questa analisi lo studioso francese propone la verisimile identificazione di due antroponimi al nominativo asigmatico, *Uva* e *Masa*, in cui si possono riconoscere senza sforzo i prototipi epicorici delle trascrizioni *Oa* (*Oua*) e rispettivamente *Maosa* documentate in epigrafi in alfabeto greco (v. Zgusta 1964:386-7 e 300-1): di essi il primo, per motivi che ci sfuggono, è stato messo in evidenza dall'incisore con un doppio segno α, collocato davanti e dopo il nome, mentre il secondo è accompagnato da un genitivo *Urgitos* in probabile funzione patronimica.⁵ L'idea che il testo menzioni due personaggi potrebbe tra l'altro ricevere indiretta conferma da quanto rimane del rilievo occupante il riquadro centrale attorno a cui correva la fascia iscritta: sono visibili infatti, oltre ai resti di un disco solare alato, parti di due figure acefale che potrebbero stare in una qualche relazione con i due personaggi menzionati nell'epigrafe.⁶

Brixhe, che motiva la segmentazione *dakor svebra* con la circostanza che *-rs* sarebbe una terminazione insolita,⁷ vorrebbe riconoscere in *dakor* il predicato della frase, cosa senza dubbio plausibile, visto che una base verbale *dak-* è ben attestata in frigio: si tratterebbe, a parer suo, della I persona singolare del medio-passivo da affiancare alle numerose attestazioni della III singolare (*ad*)*δακετορ* presenti nelle iscrizioni neofrige. Peraltro sulla segmentazione proposta solleva seri dubbi la circostanza che la sequenza *svebra* non è finora attestata, mentre un *vebras* compare al rigo 4 dell'iscrizione di Vezirhan⁸ e un testo neofrigio recentemente edito⁹ ne ha fornito la variante (in grafia greca) *oveβpa/ouβpa*: anche se il significato di questa parola resta oscuro, è evidente che una divisione *dakors vebra* merita preferenza in quanto permette d'identificare un segmento già noto, evitando di dover ricorrere all'ipotesi *ad hoc* che il supposto *svebra* sia una forma arcaica o arcaizzante per *vebra*.

Una volta accolta la segmentazione qui proposta e identificato il predicato nella forma *dakors*, si pone il problema della sua definizione morfologica. Che la radice sia la stessa presente in *-δακετορ*, è indubbio, mentre va incontro a riserve l'ipotesi dell'appartenenza ad una stessa categoria morfologica, visto che *-δακετορ* è formazione tematica, mentre in *dakors* la terminazione sembra attaccarsi direttamente alla radice. Piuttosto è lecito chiedersi quale rapporto intercorra tra *dakors* e le forme *δακαρ* e *δακαρεν* che compaiono in due testi neofrigi di problematica interpretazione e che sono state di solito intese come perfetti in considerazione del caratteristico morfema

⁵Brixhe sottolinea opportunamente la coincidenza della terminazione con quella di *Artimitos* e *Manitos*, sicuri genitivi di due nomi caratterizzati con ogni verisimiglianza da eteroclisia. Visto il precario stato di conservazione dell'epigrafe, la questione se *Urgitos* si riferisca al solo secondo antroponimo o anche a *Uva*, è destinata a rimanere aperta.

⁶Secondo Summers (v. Brixhe e Summers 2006:110) potrebbe trattarsi di due geni, visto che sono state rinvenute parti di due teste di grifone che non è escluso che appartengano alle figure del rilievo.

⁷"La difficulté à admettre une finale *-rs* encourage à placer une frontière de mots après *dakor*" (Brixhe e Summers 2006:126).

⁸Edita dapprima in Neumann 1997; riedizione con ampio commento ad opera di Brixhe (2004:42-67).

⁹Cf. Brixhe e Drew-Bear 1997:87-9 e Brixhe 2004:36. In contesto lacunoso si trova pure *vebru* nell'epigrafe P-04 a (v. Brixhe e Lejeune 1984:236-7).

*-r/-r¹⁰ (in *δακαρεν* rideterminato mediante l'aggiunta della desinenza secondaria di III plurale *-ent*,¹¹ analogamente a quanto è successo nel caso del latino *-erunt*).

Messa dunque in conto l'eventualità che *dakors* rappresenti una forma di perfetto, resta da determinare di quale persona si possa trattare. Per Brixhe la frase avrebbe un unico soggetto da identificarsi con la formula onomastica *Masa Urygitos*, tuttavia resta in piedi, a mio parere, l'ipotesi che con *Masa Urygitos* sia coordinato l'altro antropónimo *Uva* che precede la lacuna, tanto più che i resti del rilievo nella parte centrale della faccia recante l'iscrizione appartengono, come si è ricordato, a due figure.

Pur con tutte le riserve del caso, andrà dunque presa in considerazione l'eventualità di un duplice soggetto, con la conseguente interpretazione del predicato *dakors* quale III plurale del perfetto di *dak-*.¹²

2. In lidio sono attestate dieci parole uscenti in *-rs* (cf. Gusmani 1986:184), alcune delle quali erano state a suo tempo interpretate da Meriggi (1935:88 e 95) come forme participiali, anche se non erano mancate delle perplessità a proposito di tale ipotesi (Gusmani 1964:109).¹³ Fermo restando che in alcuni casi il carattere nominale (participiale o non) pare certo,¹⁴ ci sono dei contesti che sembrano giustificare un'interpretazione come verbo ed in effetti qualche anno fa Schürr (1997:205-6, 208 e 210) — in occasione di un ardito tentativo di analizzare l'iscrizione 22¹⁵ — aveva avanzato l'ipotesi che si potesse trattare di una II plurale del presente. In realtà mancano concreti indizi che inducano a pensare ad una II persona, tuttavia la possibilità di una forma verbale merita di essere verificata.

Intanto va menzionata la circostanza che *ētośrs* in 2.3 e *sisīrorś* in 2.12 sono, nei rispettivi contesti, gli unici elementi a poter fungere da predicato: purtroppo il soggetto nel primo caso non è espresso e nel secondo va identificato con tutta probabilità in [...]*ra*, frammento assai problematico dal punto di vista tanto morfologico quanto semantico, per cui ogni tentativo di definire la funzione di queste forme in *-rs* risulta velleitario.

Diverso è invece il caso di 22.8-10 (*akmsad siyralmis artimul katṭirs kave-k bakillis*), dove al doppio soggetto coordinato mediante la congiunzione copulativa *-k* ("la X di Artemis e il sacerdote di Bacco") fa riscontro come unico possibile predicato *katṭirs*,

¹⁰ Uno sviluppo *-r > ar in frigio non fa difficoltà, anche se altri (Haas, Sowa) preferiscono equiparare *-ar-* al morfema di lat. *fē-ēr-e*. Rispetto a *δακαρ(εν)*, in *dakors* si avrebbe una variazione vocalica *a ~ o* sporadicamente presente in frigio, variazione di carattere diatopico secondo Gusmani e Polat (1999:160), forse piuttosto di natura diastratica per Brixhe (2004:80).

¹¹ L'interpretazione di *δακαρεν* come "fecerunt" si trova già in Haas 1966:112 e 239; v. inoltre Diakonoff e Neroznak 1985:32, Orel 1997:400 e Sowa 2007:85-6. Da *δακαρ* e *δακαρεν* va separato un tema nominale *daker-* che compare più volte nell'iscrizione di Vezirhan: v. Brixhe 2004:54.

¹² Accanto alla forma ampliata *dak-*, che ha paralleli in gr. *ἐ-θηκ-α*, lat. *fac-io* ecc., il frigio conosce anche quella non ampliata *da-* nell'aoristo III sing. *edaex*, apparentemente con una differenziazione semantica tra le due basi ("fare" vs "costruire").

¹³ Per una presentazione molto equilibrata delle diverse questioni sollevate da queste forme v. Gérard 2005:103-4.

¹⁴ Questo vale ad esempio per *savtaars*, che ha accanto a sé un dat.-loc. [*sav*]tanλ, nonché per l'enigmatico *ēvers-*, di cui è attestata una forma (apparentemente di accusativo) *ēversn*.

¹⁵ Le iscrizioni lidie vengono citate secondo Gusmani (1964:249-69).

che da un lato presenta la stessa base verbale di *κατινν*, I persona plurale (presente o preterito) che compare al rigo 6 dello stesso testo, e dall'altro mostrerebbe, se si dovesse accogliere l'ipotesi d'una forma nominale (participio), una terminazione di nominativo singolare in disaccordo con la pluralità dei soggetti. Ora è vero che in 22.11 lo stesso *κατινν* funge da predicato del solo *σιναλμισ ατιμυλ*, tuttavia a *σιναλμισ* si è da tempo attribuito, su base combinatoria, un significato collettivo ('Priesterkollegium, Priesterschaft', v. Gusmani 1964:198) e anzi Heubeck (1963:542) aveva ritenuto, in forza di considerazioni etimologiche sulla terminazione *-is*, che si trattasse di un vero e proprio plurale. Dall'una e dall'altra attestazione si dovrebbe dunque dedurre che *κατινν* possa rappresentare la III plurale¹⁶ di un tempo del verbo *κατιν*-, presumibilmente del perfetto, dato che in lidio la corrispondente persona del presente esce in dentale e quella del preterito in *-l* (v. la tabella in Gusmani 1964:43).

In rapporto con queste forme in *-rs* starebbero, secondo alcuni, anche *facviris* e *famēris*, due hapax che compaiono all'inizio della già menzionata epigrafe 22, peraltro in contesto largamente oscuro. Schürr (1997:202 e 204-5), pur attribuendo anche a questi due hapax natura verbale, riteneva funzionalmente diverse le due terminazioni, nel senso che *-ris* (a differenza di *-rs*, per lui contrassegno della II plurale) avrebbe caratterizzato la I plurale del preterito, un'ipotesi peraltro assai poco verisimile, visto che sono già ben documentate delle I plurali (presente o preterito) *-νν*. Invece Melchert (*apud* Gérard 2005:104) considerava geneticamente connesse *-ris* e *-rs* e ne determinava la funzione quali segni della III plurale del preterito, un'interpretazione accolta dallo stesso Gérard (*loc. cit.*) che metteva in rilievo come soggetto della frase in 22.1-2 possa essere effettivamente il possibile plurale *sfardēnτ* 'Σαρδιανοί', ma al tempo stesso cercava di combinare l'analisi di Melchert con l'ipotesi di originari participi, con copula sottintesa, prospettata da Meriggi.

In realtà l'eventualità, riproposta pure in Gusmani 1964:123, che *-ris* sia una variante arcaica (o arcaizzante) di *-rs*, resta indimostrabile e in più non è facilmente conciliabile con quel poco che sappiamo della fonetica storica del lidio: pertanto è opportuno non gravare l'interpretazione delle poche forme in *-rs* accessibili su base combinatoria (v. sopra) coi problemi posti da due hapax uscenti in *-ris*, attestati tra l'altro in contesti oscuri.

3. Raccolti così, sia in frigio sia in lidio, alcuni indizi a favore della presenza di una terminazione di III plurale, verisimilmente del perfetto, in **-rs*,¹⁷ è lecito andare alla ricerca di qualche plausibile raffronto in altre aree indoeuropee.

Innanzitutto va menzionato l'hapax venetico *teuters*,¹⁸ palesemente in funzione di predicato, che—vista la presenza di un soggetto plurale [—]edios—è stato a ragione

¹⁶L'ipotesi di una III plurale è rafforzata dalla circostanza che nella frase immediatamente successiva (22.12-3) a quella ora citata, ritorna lo stesso soggetto *σιναλμισ ατιμυλ* con predicato alla III plurale del presente (*taqtulāt*).

¹⁷Va ricordato che <š> in lidio indica, a differenza di <s> di probabile articolazione palatale, una 'normale' sibilante alveolare.

¹⁸Documentato in un'iscrizione su cippo terminale da Padova (Pa 14), le cui parti sono state rinvenute in momenti diversi: per ulteriori informazioni e una dettagliata analisi del testo, in particolare della forma citata, cf. Fogolari e Prosdocimi 1988:293-6 oltre a Prosdocimi e Marinetti 1988:115-7.

interpretato da Prosdocimi come III plurale del preterito di un denominativo di *teuta* “comunità” (quindi *teuters* “posero pubblicamente” o sim.), da affiancarsi alle più numerose forme della rispettiva III singolare *tolar*, *toler* e *kvidor*. Al di là dell’identità formale della terminazione, il *teuters* venetico presenta in effetti delle significative analogie col *dakors* isolato in frigio, e precisamente:

- nell’uno come nell’altro caso il predicato in *-rs* sembra avere quale soggetto un plurale o una pluralità di nomi;
- in ambedue le lingue la forma in *-rs* si affianca ad una o più uscenti in *-r*, da interpretarsi come III singolare;
- nella limitata documentazione di cui si dispone per le due lingue, a queste forme verbali in *-r* e *-rs*, che dal punto di vista indoeuropeo trovano naturale collocazione nel sistema del perfetto, si affiancano, apparentemente nella stessa funzione sintattica e in analogo contesto comunicativo, delle formazioni di origine aoristale (in frigio *edaes*, *eneparkes* e sim., in venetico *donasto*, *donasan* e sim.), senza che si possa appurare se si abbia da fare con un compiuto fenomeno di sincretismo tra perfetto ed aoristo ovvero solo con una fase di parziale sovrapposizione funzionale.

A parte quest’isolata occorrenza venetica, un sicuro termine di raffronto è rappresentato dalla desinenza *-raš* < **-rs* (**-rs*) che compare in avestico nella III plurale dell’ottativo dei vari tempi¹⁹ oltre che nell’isolato *cikōitarāš*, in genere classificato come III plurale del perfetto indicativo (~ ved. *cikitūr*), con anomala terminazione rispetto al consueto *-ara* < **-r*, ma recentemente interpretato da Jasanoff 1997 piuttosto come III plurale del piucheperfetto.

Infine un’uscita **-rs* viene di solito presupposta — per analogia con lo sviluppo che si riscontra nei genitivi singolari del tipo di *pitūr* < **-tr̥s*²⁰ — anche per *-ur* della III plurale dell’indiano antico, dove peraltro trova impiego, oltre che negli ottativi (cf. ved. *gam-yūr* ecc.) come in avestico (*jamyārāš* ecc.), anche nel perfetto indicativo (*vidūr* ecc.), mentre l’avestico presenta in questo caso un’uscita (cf. *vīdarā* ecc.)²¹ da ricondurre ad un semplice **-r*.

4. Affioramenti scarsi e sporadici come quelli individuati per la desinenza **-rs* (**-rs*), per di più presenti in aree tra loro assai distanti e senza significativi contatti in epoca postunitaria, fanno pensare non a residui di un tratto morfologico ereditato dalla protolingua né ad innovazione secondaria in comune, ma piuttosto a sviluppi autonomi convergenti. Ammesso che **-r* fosse in partenza — come lasciano supporre parte delle sopravvivenze celtiche e italiche — il contrassegno di una forma impersonale²² (forse di origine nominale),²³ si potrebbe interpretare *-rs* come il risultato di una

¹⁹ Cf. Kellens 1984:296 (per il presente), 391 (aoristo) e 421 (perfetto).

²⁰ Importanti precisazioni al riguardo in Prosdocimi e Marinetti 1988:100–1.

²¹ Farebbe eccezione il discusso *cikōitarāš* di cui si è detto.

²² Idea di recente ripresa e sviluppata, seppur non sempre in maniera convincente, da Katz (1988).

²³ Secondo un’ipotesi risalente a Hirt (1928:123).

rideterminazione della primitiva uscita²⁴ mediante l'aggiunta della marca di plurale -s, probabilmente per influsso dell'analoga terminazione del soggetto di riferimento: innovazione che si può immaginare sorta in maniera indipendente in alcune aree e connessa con la funzionalizzazione del morfema quale desinenza della III plurale, in particolare del perfetto.

In ogni caso, qualunque sia stata l'originaria relazione tra le due terminazioni nell'ambito del sistema temporale del perfetto indoeuropeo²⁵ e qualunque supposizione si voglia avanzare a proposito della loro distribuzione areale,²⁶ mi sembra che le tenui tracce di -rs in area anatolica meritino attenzione e possano fornire qualche interessante spunto in sede comparativa.

Ciò mi incoraggia ad offrire questo modesto *ἀντίδωρον* al collega Melchert, a cui tanto devono gli studi sulle lingue anatoliche e che, a proposito delle forme lidie in -rs, aveva intuito quella che oggi a me pare qualcosa di più di una semplice ipotesi.

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²⁴Un analogo fenomeno di rideterminazione (peraltro con morfermi diversi) si è avuto in lat. -r-unt, in ved. -r-an ecc.

²⁵Per un inquadramento generale si rinvia a Leumann 1952 (soprattutto 39-40), Bader 1967 (soprattutto 102-5), Prosdocimi e Marinetti 1988 (in particolare 117) e alla dettagliata discussione in Di Giovine 1996:223-4 e 230-2 (con rinvii alla bibliografia precedente, cui è da aggiungere Jasanoff 1997:127-9).

²⁶Su cui v. in generale Porzig 1954:85-6.

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Lateinisch *omnis*

Olav Hackstein

1. Das lateinische Adjektiv *omnis* ‚ganz, jeder‘ ist erstmals von Brugmann (1894:64f., 1889:269f.) und Pauli (1885:53) etymologisch mit dem Wurzelnomen *ops* f. ‚Reichtum, Vermögen, Macht‘ verknüpft und von Brugmann (1894:65) als Adjektivierung eines Substantivs **opni-* ‚Fülle‘ erklärt worden. Lautlich ist diese Verbindung unbedenklich. So kann die Assimilation von urital. **p* zu **m* neben Nasal bzw. von urital. **pn-* über **bn-* zu **mn-* (**opni-* > *omni-*) auf Präzedenzfälle wie lat. *amnis* f. ‚Fluss‘ (urital. **ap-ni-*), *damnum* ‚Geldbuße, Schaden‘ (*daps*, Schrijver 1991:96), *somnus* ‚Schlaf‘ und umbrisch *tremnu* (Abl.) (< **treb-no-* ‚Hütte‘, Meiser 1986:95) verweisen sowie auf gemeinitalisches lat. *summus*, umbr. *somo* (mit lautlicher Entwicklung **sup-mHo-* > urital. **sup-Vmo-* > **sup-mo-* > **sum-mo-*, s. Meiser 1986:164, 1998:164). Auch die für lat. *omnis* postulierte morphologische Entwicklung vom Substantiv zum Adjektiv ist plausibel, da sich die Konversion von Substantivabstrakta zu Adjektiven auf viele Parallelfälle berufen kann. Sprach(epochen)-übergreifend belegbar ist die adjektivische Konversion insbesondere von Substantiven, die eine Qualität¹ oder eine Quantität bezeichnen. Triebfeder der Konversion dürfte dabei die Reanalyse derartiger Substantive in appositioneller oder prädikativer Verwendung gewesen sein. So hat das uridg. Substantiv **pot-i-*, welches seinem Wortbildungstyp (akrostatisches Abstraktum) nach zu urteilen ursprünglich eine Qualität ‚Kraft, Fähigkeit‘ bezeichnete und schon grundsprachlich zu **pot-i-s* ‚Herr‘ konkretisierbar war, im Lateinischen die Adjektivierung zum Pseudo-Adjektiv **potis* ‚fähig‘ erfahren, dessen ursprünglich rein substantivischer Charakter in der syntaktischen Beschränkung auf prädikativen (nicht-attributiven) Gebrauch fortbesteht.

Auch der Übergang eines Abstraktums **op-ni-* in der Bedeutung ‚Fülle‘ zu einem quantifizierenden Adjektiv ‚ganz, jeder‘ ist naheliegend. Seit langem bekannt ist die Herkunft von griech. *μέγα*, arm. *mec*, ai. *máhi* ‚groß‘ sowie von griech. *πολύ*, got. *filu* ‚viel‘ aus einem substantivischen Kollektivum uridg. **megh₂-* ‚Größe‘ im ersten und einem akrostatischen Abstraktum uridg. **póllh₁-u-*, **pélh₁-u-* ‚Vielheit‘ im zweiten Fall, vgl. Osthoff und Brugmann (1879:175): „*μέγα* ist vermutlich ursprünglich substantiv gewesen und bedeutete ‚die grösser‘. Es sank dann im attributiven gebrauch, ähnlich wie lat. *vetus* u. a., zum adjectiv herab“ und Brugmann (1913:474): „*μέγα* („Größe“), *πολύ* („Menge“, vgl. got. *filu* Subst. mit Gen.)“.

¹Vgl. Brugmann 1879:38f. und Nussbaum 1997.

In dieselbe Rubrik gehört die Konversion des in lit. *būrys* ‚Schar, Truppe‘, lett. *būris* ‚Haufe, Menge‘ vorliegenden Substantivs **b^huH-ri-* ‚Menge‘ (Mayrhofer 1992: II 269) zu adjektivischem ved. *bhūri-* ‚viel, zahlreich, groß, mächtig‘, av. *būiri-* ‚reichlich‘, auf die Pinault (1998:107f.) aufmerksam gemacht hat. Reste seiner substantivischen Herkunft zeigt ved. *bhūri-*, vom substantivischen Wortbildungstyp *-ri-* abgesehen (Weiss 1996:205, Melchert 1999:365–8, Pinault 1998:90, Vine 2004:331), noch in seiner Wurzelbetonung, die auf substantivisches *nomen actionis* deutet (Pinault 1998:90, auf Renou 1952:143 und Debrunner 1954:231, 765 fußend), und in alten Kollokationen wie ved. *bhūri paśvāḥ* (RV 3.54.15d), *bhūri gōḥ* = aav. *būiri gaos* (Vīštāsp Yašt 45) ‚eine Fülle/Menge [von] Vieh‘ (Pinault 1998:107).

Insgesamt ist die von Brugmann und Pauli für lat. *omnis* vorgeschlagene Etymologie auf große Akzeptanz gestoßen (Walde und Hofmann 1938:209, Ernout und Meillet 1967:461f., Pokorny 1959:780, „verbal adjective in **-ni-*“ de Vaan 2008:428, Weiss 2009:140), ohne dass freilich der morphologisch-syntaktische Entwicklungsgang erörtert worden wäre. So gibt das die Etymologie qualifizierende „vielleicht“ bei Walde und Hofmann zu bedenken, dass die Herleitung von *omnis* aus **opni-* mehr nur als lautliche Möglichkeit denn als nachgewiesenes Faktum zu betrachten sei, und in der Tat entbehrt das von Brugmann postulierte Substantiv **opni-* ‚Fülle‘ bislang eines Belegs.

Hier setzt der vorliegende Aufsatz ein und möchte auf weitere Indizien, die die Plausibilität von Brugmann und Paulis Vorschlag erhöhen, hinweisen. Diese Indizien knüpfen sich zuvorderst an die oskische Evidenz einer substantivischen und mit dem Wurzelnomen *ops* zu verknüpfenden Basis **opni-* sowie an sich daran anschließende Beobachtungen zur indogermanischen und italischen Nominal- und Verbalderivation.

2. Unabhängige Evidenz einer Nominalbasis **opni-* in der Bedeutung ‚Besitztum‘ kann im Oskischen gefunden werden.

2.1. Rix (1993:344–7) hat im Rahmen der Neudeutung einer oskischen Bauinschrift die Existenz eines von **op-* abgeleiteten, denominativen Verbs **opni-īe/o-* ‚[Vermögen, Geld] erwerben, in Besitz nehmen, zum Besitz machen‘ plausibel machen können. Rix ergänzt die Form *úmbn* (Sa. 4.6), deren Kontext nach Maßgabe aller philologischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Erwägungen auf die Finanzierung des Gebäudes und den Gelderwerb Bezug nimmt, mit Seitenblick auf das nordoskische ohne Kontext überlieferte Perfektpartizip *ommitu* (Ve. 213.3 = Pg 9.3 ed. Rix 2002, Corfinium) zu *úmbn[ited]* ‚[der Spender] hat erworben‘.

2.2. Der fragmentarischen Überlieferung der Form *úmbn[...]* zum Trotz ist deren Bedeutung und formale Bestimmung umrisshaft aus dem Kontext der Inschrift ableitbar. Diese sei zunächst in der Interpretation und Übersetzung von Rix (1993:344–7) wiedergegeben:

Sa 4 (ed. Rix 2002:83, Ve 149, Pietrabbondante, Bau- und Baustifterinschrift).

¹púrtam · líis[---(-)]²az pú]d safinim · sak[arat

„Türe, líis ... [wohl Bezeichnung des Raumes oder Areal, zu dem die Tür führt], bei diesem Samnium zu opfern pflegt,

ínim ³ ur]upam · ía(n)k úin[itú · túvtú⁴ ín]ím · keenstur[uupsens

und diese Bedachung hier haben úin[itú.túvtú] [eine Institution] und der Zensor/die Zensoren errichten lassen

⁵ m]aíeis maraíéis[· eítiuvad · ⁶ p]aam · essuf · úmbn[ited · díleí

von/mit dem Geld des Mais Maraiis [des Geldgebers], welches er auf Delos erworben hat. ¹⁷

a]vt · pústiris · esidu[m · duuneís] ¹⁸ duunated · fíis[naí ·

Aber später hat derselbe dem Heiligtum weiteres geschenkt. ...“

Zunächst ist úmbn[...] aufgrund seiner Stellung am Ende des Relativsatzes als Prädikat überaus wahrscheinlich, und dieses dürfte aufgrund der Thematik des Relativsatzes (Herkunft des Baugeldes) inhaltlich mit dem Gelderwerb zu tun haben. In diesem Bedeutungskontext ist des Weiteren die Verbindung des überlieferten Anlauts úmbn[...] mit der anderorts überlieferten Verbalform PPP *omnitu* naheliegend, und ebenso in einem dritten Schritt formal und semantisch die Deutung eines zur 4. Konjugation gehörigen Verbalstamms *omni-* ‚erwerben‘ als Denominativ zu einer nominalen Basis **opni-*, wie sie lateinisch *omnis* zugrundeliegt. Im Oskischen würde die denominative Perfektbildung zu einem *ni*-Stamm ein schwaches Präteritum erwarten lassen. Man kann vermuten, dass ebenso wie einem lateinischen *donāre* und oskischem *duuna-* im Lateinischen regulär ein schwaches *v*-Perfekt *donāvit* und im Oskischen ein schwaches *t*-Perfekt *duunated* entspricht, genauso einem im Lateinischen zu **omnīre* gebildeten schwachen *v*-Perfekt **omnīvit* ein oskisches *t*-Präteritum *úmbn[ited]* entspräche, auch wenn dies der einzige Beleg für ein *t*-Präteritum zur 4. Konjugation im Oskischen wäre.

2.3. Hinter der oskischen Schreibung úmbn[i]- mit Trikonsonanz -mbn- gegenüber der Doppelkonsonanz -mn- im lateinischen Alphabet ist ein graphischer Archaismus zu vermuten angesichts sonstiger italischer Evidenz für die Sonorisierung und Pränasalisierung stimmloser Obstruenten vor dentalem Nasal, wie sie durch das Lateinische für die Lautgruppe **-kn-* > *-gn-* > *-ɣn-* (Meiser 1998:81, Weiss 2009:169) bereitgestellt wird. Die lateinische Aussprache von *-gn-* als *-ɣn-* wird auch durch die nur durch folgenden Nasal konditionierte Hebung von *e* zu *i* vorausgesetzt.² Ein Beispiel

²Ci., Or. 158 (*noti erant et navi et nari, quibus cum in praeponi oporteret, dulcius visum est ignotos ignavos ignaros dicere, quam ut veritas postulabat.*) bezeugt indirekt, dass der Muttersprachler hinter der Graphie *ign-* wie in *ignotos*, *ignavos*, *ignaros* einen nasalen Anlaut /iɣn-/ erkannte.

ist **sēkno-* > **sēgno-* > **sēyno-* > **sīyno-* > **sīymo-* > lat. *signum*³ neben uritalisch **sēkno-* *lo-* > **sēgnolom* > **sēgn₂lom* > **sēgīn₂lom* > lat. *sigillum* ‚kleine Figur, Statuette‘ (mit Vokalassimilation über *-g-* wie in **wegel* > **wegil-* > *vigil-*). Parallel zur lateinischen Entwicklung von **-kn-* zu **-gn-* > **yn* < *ngn*> dürfte nun im Oskischen **-pn-* > **-bn-* > *-mbn-* > *-mn-* erfolgt sein. Die trikonsonantische Schreibung des Nationalalphabets <**mbn**> (osk. **úmbn**[i]- Sa 4.6) würde dann die lautlich und graphisch ältere Form bieten, die zweikonsonantische Schreibung des lateinischen Alphabets <**mn**> (*omnitu* Pg 9.3) die lautlich rezentere Form. Für die etymologische Analyse von lat. *omnis* ist die Graphie von osk. **úmbn**[i]- insofern bedeutsam, als sie nur mit zugrundeliegendem **-pn-*, nicht aber mit **-mn-* vereinbar ist und so eine Alternativetymologie **h₃emh₂-ni-* (Balles 2009:4) ausschließt.

2.4. Rix (1993:343f.) leitet die Form **úmbn**[ited] von einem Primärstamm **opnu-* ab. Nach der Dehnung des Suffixes und der Suffigierung von *-ie-* habe sich die Form folgendermaßen entwickelt: **op-nu-* → **op-nū-* → **op-nū-īe-* > **op-nī-īe-*⁴. Problematisch ist an dieser Deutung jedoch die angenommene Dehnung des Suffixes **-nū-* → **-nī-*, für die es sonstiger Evidenz ermangelt. Als Suffixgestalt ist nur kurzes **-nī-* sicher bezeugt, vgl. lat. *sternuo*, gr. ion. att. *πτάρνωμαι* < **pst₂-nu-* ‚niesen‘ (Rix 2001:494f.). Gleichermäßen problematisch ist der aufgrund der oskischen Form gewagte Ansatz eines Primärstamms **h₃p-néu/nu-* (vgl. Rix 2001:298f.), der mit der oskischen Form weder lautlich (osk. vollstufiger Anlaut **op-n-*) noch morphologisch (angenommenes denominatives Präteritum) vereinbar ist.

Indessen lösen sich alle genannten Probleme bei der Annahme einer denominativen Basis [lat., osk. 4. Konj.] **opni-* → **op-nī-īe/o-* ‚[Vermögen, Geld] erwerben, in Besitz nehmen, [zum] Besitz machen‘, von welcher das von Rix angenommene oskische Dentalpräteritum **úmbn**[ited] abgeleitet wäre. Die Formen **úmbn**[ited], *omnitu* sind nun insofern bedeutsam, als sie erstmals sabellische Evidenz für den Nominalstamm urital. **op-nī-*, dessen semantische Verknüpfung mit lat. *ops* und die substantivische Herkunft des lat. *omnis* und osk. **úmbn**[i]- zugrundeliegenden Stammes darstellen.

3. Der ursprünglich substantivische Status von *omnis* wird einmal durch den urindogermanischen und italischen Wortbildungstyp **-ni-*, der substantivische Abstrakta bildet, vorausgesetzt (3.1.), dann inneritalisch dadurch wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass

³ Die Entwicklungsschritte sind (1) **k* > *g/_n* (vgl. *prae-seco* : *prae-segmina*), (2) *ēgn-* > *ēgn-* > *ēyn*, (3) *ēyn* > *īyn* > *īyn*; die Entwicklung **ēyn* > *īyn* betrifft nur den Kurzvokal, vgl. *sēgnis*. Die Verbindung von lat. *signum* mit uridg. **sekH-* (Rix 2001:524, Meiser 1986:95, 1998:121) wird durch die Semantik des verwandten oskischen Nomens **segúnú(m)**, *σεγωνω-* (mit anaptyktischem /o/ in zweiter Silbe) bewiesen, welches ausschließlich ‚(behaunenes/bearbeitetes) Standbild‘ bedeutet (Hackstein 2002:232). Auch lat. *signum* kommt gelegentlich in dieser Bedeutung ‚geschnitztes Bild‘ vor, z. B. in *fano Veneris signum* (Pl. Rud. 560), woneben die fachsprachliche Verwendung von *secare* für die Tätigkeit eines Schnitzers oder Steinmetzen ebenfalls durch Belege wie *sectoque elephanto* (Verg. A. 3.464), *secanda marmora* (Hor. C. 1.18.17), *sectis ... mamoribus* (Luc. 10.114) verbürgt ist.

⁴ Uridg. **-uH-* > urital. **-ū-* > *ī* (> *i*)/ *_iV* (Leumann 1977:107, Meiser 1986:98, Schrijver 1991:322–4).

die faktitiven Denominativa der 4. Konjugation in ihrer ältesten Schicht desubstantivisch sind (3.2.), und schließlich durch das Adverb *omnīnō* (3.3.) nahegelegt.

3.1. Im Indogermanischen ist das Suffix **-ni-* Teil eines zum Wortbildungsmuster „*-o*-Adjektiv → *i*-Abstraktum“⁵ gehörigen Ableitungsverbands, bestehend aus Verbaladjektiven auf **-no-* und abgeleiteter substantivischer Abstraktbildung auf **-ni-*:

Uridg. **b^heh₂-no-*, **b^hoh₂-neh₂* (gr. *φωνή*) → **b^heh₂-ni-* (arm. *ban* ‚Wort, Rede‘, aisl. *bón*, ae. *bān* ‚Bitte‘, Olsen 1999:796).

Uridg. **dap-no-* > lat. *damnum* ‚Verlust‘, air. *dúan* ‚Gedicht‘, aisl. *tafn* ‚Opfertier‘ → **dap-ni-* > arm. *tawn* ‚Festmahl‘ (Schrijver 1991:96, Olsen 1999:101).

Uridg. **moj-no-* ‚vertauscht‘ (ahd. *mein-* ‚falsch‘, vgl. *Meineid*), **moj-neh₂* (lit. *maĩnas*, slav. **měná*, bsl. **máinas*, -*nā*) → **moj-ni-*. Angesichts von osk. *múni-kú* ‚gemeinsam‘, ved. *mení-* ‚Rache‘, av. *maēni-* ‚Strafe‘, gibt es keinen Zwang, Reflexe von **moj-ni-*, wie von Rasmussen (1989:199) erwogen, als bloße Dekomposita aus Bildungen wie altlat. *commoine(m)*, got. *ga-mains* (Adj./i) zu betrachten, vgl. auch Balles 2009:4.

Uridg. **h₂ep-no-* (palaisch *hāpna-* ‚Fluss‘) → **h₂ep-ni-* (lat. *amnis* ‚Fluss, Strom‘).

Uridg. *n*-Stamm **pes-en-*, toch. B *pase* ‚Rammler, Hase‘ → **pes-no-* ‚mit Glied versehen, Mann‘ (heth. *pešnaš* ‚Mann‘, vgl. Rieken 2004:292f.) → **pes-ni-* ‚Männlichkeit, Gemächt‘ (lat. *pēnis*).

Uridg. *n*-Stamm **pers-en-* → **pers-en-o-* heth. *paršena-* ‚Oberschenkel, Hüfte‘ → **pers-no-*, **pers-neh₂* (got. *fairsna* ‚Ferse‘, lat. *perna* ‚Hinterkeule, Schenkel, Bein‘, gr. *πέρνη* ‚Ferse‘) → **pers-ni-* (vgl. ved. *pārṣni-* f. ‚Ferse‘, vgl. Rieken 1999:69).

Uridg. *n*-Stamm **h₂u₃s-en-*, **g^hou₃-h₂u₃s-ēn* > toch. B *kaurse* ‚Stier‘ → **h₂u₃s-no-*⁶ → **h₂u₃s-ni-* ‚Männlichkeit‘ (ved. *u₃s-ní-* ‚Widder‘, vgl. Widmer 2004:153f.).

Uridg. heteroklitischer *n*-Stamm **h₃ep-en-* (lyk. *epenētijatte*, heth. *happinant*)⁷ →

⁵Vgl. die Materialsammlungen bei Balles 2006:277–85, Balles 2009:17 und Rau 2009:73f. Balles (2009:1ff., 17, 21) zeigt Indizien auf, die auf ein ursprünglich wortartenneutrales Abstraktmorphem **-i* weisen.

⁶Eine Vorform **h₂u₃s-yno-* in griech. *ὄρεωνός* ‚Besamer der Erde‘ ist als bloße lautliche Möglichkeit unsicher, da für einen alternativen Nexus von *ὄρεωνός* mit ai. *Váruṇa-* über deren lautliche Kompatibilität hinaus auch gräkoarische Gemeinsamkeiten in phraseologischen Kollokationen ins Feld geführt werden können, vgl. Dunkel 1988 und Janda 2005:59.

⁷Die Evidenz für wurzelanlautenden dritten Laryngal überwiegt. Ins Feld zu führen sind die im Lykischen distinkten Reflexe von uridg. **h₂-* (> lyk. *χ/q*) und **h₃-* (> lyk. *Ø*, Melchert 1994:72, Kimball 1987:185ff., 1999:385) und lyk. *epirijeti* ‚verkauft‘, *epenētijatte* ‚beglaubigte den Verkauf‘ (Melchert 1989:43f.) sowie der Anlaut von lat. *opus*, der cher laryngalbedingt ist, da *o*-Wurzelablaut im *s*-Stamm ausgeschlossen ist und

**h₃ep-nes/nos-* (ai. *ápnas-* ‚Ertrag, Besitz, Habe‘) und **h₃ep-no-*⁸ (vgl. Rieken 1999:178 zum Nebeneinander von *-nes/nos-* und *-no-*) → **h₃ep-ni-* (lat. *omnis*, osk. *úmbn[i]-*).

Im Lateinischen sind alle nachweislich aus dem Indogermanischen ererbten *ni*-Stämme sowie die Mehrzahl der übrigen *ni*-Stämme substantivisch: *amnis* ‚Strom, Fluss‘, *ignis* ‚Feuer‘, *crinis* ‚Haar‘, *fūnis* ‚Seil‘, *pānis* ‚Brot‘, *pēnis* ‚Penis‘, *pollis* m.f. ‚feines Mehl‘, *foliis* ‚Ledersack, Blasebalg, Beutel‘ (Driessen 2005:46), *finis* ‚Ende‘. Auch in den sabellischen Sprachen ist das Suffix *-ni-* überwiegend substantivisch, so umbrisch *puni*, *poni* (Abl. Sg. m.), welches mit lat. *pollis* m.f. ‚feines Mehl‘ eine Gleichung bildet. Dass die Regel der substantivischen Derivation mittels **-ni-* sogar inneritalisch noch lebendig gewesen sein muss, davon zeugt das erst im Umbrischen gebildete Substantiv umbrisch *persni-* ‚Gebet‘, welches innerumbrisch von der Sekundärwurzel **pers(k)-* abgeleitet und durch das denominative Verb umbrisch *persni-*, z. B. Fut.-Impv. 3. Sg. Med. *persnimu* ‚betel‘, vorausgesetzt wird.

In Anbetracht der vorgestellten italischen Belege substantivischer *ni*-Bildungen wäre zu überprüfen, ob die wenigen adjektivischen *ni*-Bildungen des Lateinischen und Sabellischen, wie lat. *sēgnis*, *lēnis*, umbrisch *fons*, Gen. *foner* (*i*-Stamm) ‚gnädig, wohlgesonnen‘ auf desubstantivischer Konversion beruhen können. Wie eingangs erwähnt, ist adjektivische Konversion besonders bei Eigenschaftskonzepten oft anzutreffen, vgl. den Übergang von ahd. subst. *fruma* ‚Nutzen, Wohl, Vorteil(haftigkeit)‘ → nhd. adj. *fromm* ‚gehorsam‘. Des weiteren ist der (ursprünglich) substantivische Wert einer *ni*-Bildung bei der Opposition zu einer adjektivischen *no*-Bildung wahrscheinlich, vgl. etwa uridg. **leh₁-no-* (zu uridg. **leh₁-* ‚lassen‘, Rix 2001:398) in aksl. *lěnŭ* ‚träge‘ → **leh₁-ni-* (lat. *lēnis* ‚Sanfttheit‘ → ‚sanft‘, semantische Bedenken bei Schrijver 1991:125, vgl. jedoch zur Semantik nhd. *lässig*). Auch in manch anderem Einzelfall kann sich hinter einem adjektivischen *i*-Stamm des Lateinischen noch eine substantivische Abstraktbildung verbergen. Bei dem von Balles (2009:3) diskutierten Fall des griech. Adjektivs *ὁμαλός* nebst air. Substantiv *samail* ‚Gleichnis‘ etc. gebührt beispielsweise noch der substantivisch-genitivischen Rektion von lat. *similis* Beachtung.⁹

3.2. Die Mehrzahl der faktitiven, von *i*-Stämmen abgeleiteten Denominativa der 4. Konjugation ist desubstantivisch, vgl. *mēns* → *mentīri* ‚lügen‘, *sītis* → *sītīre* ‚Durst ma-

keine Möglichkeit besteht, den lateinischen *o*-Vokalismus auf rein lautlichem Wege zu erklären. Lateinischer *o*-Umlaut erfolgt nur über *-l/m/n-* (Strunk 2006:78).

⁸Das griechische Glossewort *ᾠπνῆ* (Hesych, woneben das seit Sophokles belegte *ᾠπνιος* und die hellenistische Epiklese der Demeter *ᾠπνια* steht, vgl. Peters 1980:206) kann nicht als gesicherter Beleg eines **h₃ep-no-* gelten, denn als dessen lautgerechter Reflex wäre im Griechischen **ᾠπνο-* gefordert, wohingegen der interne labiale Nasal in *ᾠ-μ-πνῆ* unerwartet ist. Eine Einreihung in Fälle wie *χοιδή* ‚Fassungsvermögen‘ mit sekundärer unetymologischer Nasalisierung der Wurzel (uridg. **ǵʰod-*) ausgehend von Verbalstämmen (*χοιδαίνω*) mit sekundär renasalierten Schwundstufen (Hackstein 2002:179–84) kommt für *ᾠπνῆ* nicht in Frage, da dieses in keinem erkennbaren Zusammenhang mit einem Verbalparadigma steht. Möglich, aber nicht beweisbar wäre die Annahme eines lautlichen Prozesses der Pränasalisierung einer Sequenz **VpnV-* zu **VmpnV-*, ähnlich wie im Griechischen dialektal und nachklassisch *-gn-* zu *-ym-* wird, vgl. *γίγνο-* über **ǵiym-* > *ǵíno-* (Lejeune 1982:78).

⁹„[D]er Genetiv steht besonders, wenn der Adjektivbegriff sich dem Substantivbegriffe nähert.“ (Kühner und Stegmann 1976:449).

chen, dürsten^c, *pars* → *partīri* ‚Trennung, Aufbruch machen^c, *finis* → *finīre* ‚ein Ende machen, mit einem Ende versehen^c (Sommer 1948:504, Leumann 1977:543, 556); uridg. **pot-i-* ‚Kraft, Macht^c, konkretisiert ‚Herr^c → **pot-i-je/o-* > lat. *potīre* ‚zum Herrn [einer Sache, jemandes] machen, jemanden einer Sache teilhaftig machen^c, z. B. *eum nunc potivit pater servitutis* ‚den machte der Vater nun des Sklavendaseins teilhaftig^c (Pl., *Amph.* 178, s. die Belegsammlung bei Kühner und Stegmann 1976:383f.), medial *potīri* ‚sich zum Herrn einer Sache machen^c, ‚sich einer Sache bemächtigen^c (Pl. *Rud.* 191, Verg. *A.* 9.267).¹⁰

Auch die sabellischen Denominativa zu Nominalstämmen auf *-ni-* sind desubstantivisch, vgl. umbrisch *pesni-* < **pers(k)-ni-je/o-* ‚Gebet(e) machen^c. Dieses ist innerumbrisch von der Sekundärwurzel *persk-* (**prk-ske/o-*) abgeleitet und wie osk. *úmbn[i]*-, *omni-* < **h₃ep-ni-je/o-* ‚[zum] Besitz machen^c ein faktitives Denominativum der 4. Konjugation. Das Sabellische besitzt keine deadjektivischen Denominativa der 4. Konjugation.

3.3. Einen weiteren Fingerzeig auf substantivisches lat. *omnis* liefert das seit altlateinischer Zeit belegte Adverb *omnīnō* zu einer Basis **omni-no-*. Atlat. *omnīnō* reiht sich in eine Gruppe dekasuativer *no*-Adjektive ein, die von substantivischen oder substantivierten Lokativen auf uritalisch **-ei* abgeleitet sind, und deutet im Verbund mit *per-egrīnus*, *vicīnus*, *marīnus*, *repentīnus*, *matutīnus* auf eine substantivische Basis. Das Adjektiv *per-egrīnus* ist von einer lokativischen Ausgangsform *per-egrī* abgeleitet, einer Univerbierung von adverbialem *per* und Lokativ **agrī* ‚über das auf dem heimischen Acker hinaus, jenseits der heimischen Gefilde^c (Skutsch 1902:98), vgl. auch die für Pl. Most. 957 vom codex Ambrosianus gebotene varia lectio *peregrēi*.¹¹ Auch für das Adjektiv *vicīnus* ist eine substantivische, lokativische Basis *vīcei* (so bereits Bréal apud Skutsch 1902:99) plausibel, auch wenn sie aufgrund der lautlich möglichen Alternativerklärung vermittels eines Suffixes **-i-h₂-no-* (vgl. hierzu Hajnal 1994:101 mit Vergleich von *vicīnus* und lit. *kaimýnas* ‚Nachbar^c) nicht beweisbar ist. Der gleichen Analyse fügen sich *marī-nus* und die Adjektive *repentī-nus* und *matutī-nus*, die auf sub-

¹⁰Neben lat. *potīre* (4. Konj. < **pot-i-je/o-*) stehen bekanntlich auch Formen der gemischten Konjugation (3b) desselben Verbs, also *potēre*, *pot-ī-* (*potitur* Pl. *Cur.* 170, Verg. *A.* 3.56, *potēretur* Ter. *Ph.* 830). Die Annahme Wackernagels (1926:68f.), dass hier zwei ererbte Stämme vorliegen, ein nach der 4. Konjugation flektierendes Denominativum zu **pot-i-* des Typs *mēns* → *mentīri* und eine primäre *je/o-*-Bildung der 3. Konjugation, **pot-je/o-*, die ai. *pátyate* entspricht, wird durch die Semantik (lat. *potitus* ‚teilhaftig gemacht^c) und parallele syntaktische Konstruktionsmuster gestützt (lat. 3. Konj. *pot-i/ē-* mit Abl. (**Instr.*) und altlat. auch Akk., ai. *pátyate* mit Instr. und Akk.). Die Differenz in der Konjugationsklasse zwischen lat. *potīre* (4) und *potēre*, *pot-ī-* (3b) dürfte somit mit anderen, jüngeren und analogisch bedingten Fällen des Konjugationswechsels zwischen 3b und 4 nichts gemein haben. Der sekundäre Wechsel von 3b zu 4 konnte entweder infolge semantischer Wortfeldanalogie (*mor-ī* → 4 *mor-īri* begünstigt durch paronymes *perīre*; zur Beeinflussung beider Verben vgl. das anstelle von **mortuūrus* nach *perītuūrus* gebildete *morītuūrus*, s. Hermann 1931:144) oder gemäß der innerlateinischen Regel eintreten, dass mehrsilbige, sekundäre (*sep-él-* → *sepēlire*, ai. *saparya-ti*) oder präfigierte Basen (*con-vēnīre*, *ad-ōvīri* wonach analogisch *vēnīre*, *ōvīri*) als schwere Basen gelten und *-īre* zeigen, entsprechend 3b *pār-ēre*, aber 4 *repēr-īre*, 3b *iāc-ēre*, aber 4 *amīc-īre*, vgl. Sommer 1948:504f.

¹¹Der Auslaut der neben *peregrī* stehenden Form *peregrē* dürfte dem der häufigen Adverbien auf *-ē* angeglichen sein (Sommer 1948:340).

stantivierten Lokativen **repentei* und **matutei* fußen. Nahtlos fügt sich schließlich das Adverb *omnīnō* in denselben delokativischen Ableitungsverband ein.

4. Der vorgelegte kumulative Befund der indogermanischen und italischen Wortbildung bestätigt Paulis und Brugmanns Annahme eines substantivischen Abstraktums **h₃opni-* 'Fülle'. Die Herkunft von lat. *omnis* aus einem substantivischen **opni-* (**h₃epni-*) ist somit nicht nur lautlich und syntaktisch plausibel, sondern auch derivationsmorphologisch nachweisbar.

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Nāvyasā vācaḥ: To Praise With a Really Old Word

Mark Hale

I Introduction

Since it would not be possible for me to live up to the unique capacity for combining responsible caution with deep insight which so characterizes the work of Craig Melchert, I have decided to try to honor his work with a short, speculative essay, which will doubtless clearly reveal to all readers of this volume the true value to be found in the adoption of a more conservative attitude. Professor Melchert himself has contributed greatly to the now extensive body of work on the accent/ablaut classes of pre-PIE (most recently, Melchert forthcoming), and it will be from this domain that our topic is drawn. I will take as my starting point the well-known and justly revered paper on the inflection of Indo-European (and pre-Indo-European) neuter *s*-stems of Jochem Schindler (Schindler 1975), from which I will attempt to draw some general lessons about methodology in the domain of the reconstruction of IE nominal morphology.

I.1 Neuter *s*-stems in pre-PIE

As will be well known to all readers of this volume, Schindler 1975 represents an early contribution to a line of research pushed originally by Helmut Rix and various 'Erlangen School' scholars (perhaps most prominently, in the nominal domain, by Eichner, Klingenschmitt and Schindler) which extended and revised our understanding of the accent/ablaut classes of Indo-European, building on the earlier insights of Pedersen (1926) and Kuiper (1942). It is, I think, worth working through the specific claims of Schindler's paper at this juncture, since the working methods of those of us who have become a part of this enterprise have drifted away from the clearly stated goals and assumptions of this founding document.

First, Schindler notes that the traditional reconstruction of the IE neuter singular *s*-stem paradigm as found in the standard IE handbooks "ist nicht zu bezweifeln." This reconstruction, as Schindler notes, has the following stem forms for the cases of interest in his discussion:¹

NASg	* <i>uék^m-os</i>	R(é)-S(o)
oblique	* <i>uék^m-es-</i>	R(é)-S(e)

¹The endings are those of the IE consonant stems, of course.

Schindler's claim that we should not doubt this reconstruction is based on his recognition that the strict application of the comparative method to the data provided by the IE daughter languages justifies the reconstruction and does not permit one to go beyond it. The modification which Schindler proposes in the rest of his paper to the forms cited above is not intended, therefore, to undermine this reconstruction, but rather to ask a very different question from the one posed by the comparative method, namely: can the methods of internal reconstruction tell us something of significance regarding where the accent/ablaut patterns we observe in the reconstructed protolanguage came from (in the present instance, regarding neuter *s*-stems)?

Schindler cites a number of reasons why we might want to undertake internal reconstruction of the neuter *s*-stem paradigm, particularly:

1. There are unaccented *e*-grades in the oblique cases.
2. The inter-paradigm ablaut relations are without parallel in other IE consonant-stem classes.
3. There are some exceptional *s*-stems which fail to fit the reconstructed pattern.

The presence of unaccented *e*-grades, while not problematic for the last 'Stadium der Gemeinsprache', is unexpected for an earlier stage when 'zero-grade formation' (assumed to involve the loss of atonic **e*) was 'active'. Unaccented *e*-grades within a paradigm are considered secondary under such an assumption, in a case such as ours (unaccented **e* in oblique cases) relatively trivially arising via paradigm leveling.² Two possible paths to paradigm leveling are imaginable in the oblique cases of *s*-stems, in principle: (1) the position of the accent could have been leveled based on root accentuation in the strong cases or (2) the *e*-grade in the suffix could be secondary. Since the accent can only remain columnal or move rightward as we go from strong to oblique cases, it is clear that root accentuation in the NASg must be original. The 'strong' NASg thus should have originally been **uēk^w-s*, i.e., R(é)-S(z). Since such a strong form can provide no foundation for analogical introduction of **e*-grade in the oblique cases, that ablaut grade must be original. This leads Schindler to posit a straightforward protokinetic paradigm for the *s*-stems in *pre*-Proto-Indo-European:

NASg	<i>*uēk^w-s</i>	R(é)-S(z)
oblique	<i>*uk^w-és-</i>	R(z)-S(é)-E(z)

Schindler notes that one might assume that the zero-grade genitive ending **-s*, which would have been completely lost after the stem-final **s* via the IE rule **ss* > **s*, was probably replaced by its full-grade form **-es* (or **-os*) at a relatively early date.³ It would not be difficult to imagine that full-grade versions of the other endings would also be introduced, analogical to the full-grade genitive.

²Schindler says: "Während in der jüngsten Phase des Gemeinindogermanischen Ablaut und Akzent voneinander weitgehend unabhängig waren, finden sich in der gesamten idg. Morphologie genügend Hinweise darauf, daß in einem früheren Stadium die Ablautstufen im Wort akzentabhängig waren."

³He leverages this early innovation in the genitive singular ending to provide a possible account for the introduction of suffixal **-os* in the NASg: a **uēk^w-s* : gen. **uk^w-és-os* paradigm, monosyllabic in the NASg but trisyllabic in the genitive, would have been without parallel.

1.2 'Irregular' reflexes and their significance

One of the key forms of support for the pre-PIE reconstructions advocated by those engaged in the internal reconstruction of Indo-European is the ability to explain 'irregular' forms attested in the daughter languages. It should be noted, because the matter is not often discussed in great detail, that such explanations come at a cost: if a daughter form reflects the *pre*-PIE situation, then the (later) Indo-European situation must have been more complex than the 'handbook' reconstruction indicates; in particular, it must have tolerated the existence of 'exceptional' forms within the paradigm. Of course, given the morphology of living languages, this is not an unacceptable type of complexity—indeed, it might almost be expected. And, of course, the fact that the reflexes of this 'irregularity' are only found in isolated daughter-language forms is a simple function of the fact that, in general, we expect complex, irregular paradigms might be leveled in the direction of more general patterns at any moment during the transmission of the forms in question. Our theory of the factors which condition regular paradigm leveling are so underdeveloped at this time that we cannot hold ourselves too seriously to any obligation to explain why a paradigm was regularized in one daughter, but not in another.⁴

Let me dwell on this point a bit, because it is in a sense in this domain that I feel much of the work on establishing the pre-PIE accent and ablaut paradigms has failed to fully explore some of its most direct implications. The evaluation of alleged 'precious morphological archaisms' attested in individual daughter languages requires that we take seriously our responsibility to trace the development of the forms in play from our reconstructed pre-PIE stage down to the attested stage, but not merely in terms of the phonology and morphology of that individual form. At each reconstructable stage we need to ask *for that lexeme* both what its inflectional paradigm looked like, and how precisely that individual paradigm related to the *system* of the proto-language in question. So, for an alleged direct reflex in Vedic Sanskrit of a pre-PIE form, we need to know (1) at what stage—pre-PIE, PIE, Proto-Indo-Iranian, Proto-Indic, or some Vedic-internal period—the form came to be isolated within its inherited paradigm class, as well as (2) whether that isolation represented a well-defined (sub)class within the morphological system of the language in question (with several members), or was a truly isolated lexical exception.

There is nothing surprising in these requirements from the perspective of the traditional comparative method. They merely represent an explicit statement of the fact that the comparative method requires us to actually reconstruct the stages involved in getting from an ancestral form to an attested form as fully as possible. Nevertheless, it seems to me that in the work arising within the 'accent/ablaut' class tradition under discussion here, this obligation has not been taken very seriously. Ultimately, a failure to do this undermines the strength of the argument that a particular form represents a true 'archaism', since it is difficult to determine whether, at some intermediate stage, a plausible system-internal motivation for that form might have arisen.

⁴For the record, this is not a good thing.

Just as importantly, the failure to reconstruct the morphological system as well as any ‘exceptional’ morphological properties of individual lexical items feeds, in my view, the lingering problems with establishing the filiation of the Indo-European ‘family tree’. In not presenting a careful reconstruction of each of the steps in the morphological history of a given form, we miss opportunities to identify points in the family tree of shared, non-trivial morphological innovations, widely recognized as the best evidence for subgrouping. This ‘flattens’ the family tree, allowing scholars to treat the mapping from pre-PIE to an attested daughter form as the relationship to be explained (*A > B), instead of the much more richly articulated diachrony one gets via proper application of the method. If we provide as fully as we can both an account for the development of the form in question (pre-PIE paradigm for neuter *s*-stem **uélk^m-s* > PIE paradigm for neuter *s*-stem **uélk^m-os* > Proto-Indo-Iranian paradigm for neuter *s*-stem **uák-as*-(?),⁵ etc.) and for the morphological class involved (pre-PIE neuter *s*-stems > PIE neuter *s*-stems > PIr neuter *s*-stems, etc.), possible systemic patterns of shared innovation should become more apparent. This might close what I see as a loophole through which some strong and coherently-argued challenges to traditional assumptions about the filiation of the IE family tree (e.g., Garrett 2006) have been licensed.

1.3 Some post-*pre*-PIE developments of the *s*-stems

As presented above, Schindler (1975) already sketches out roughly how one might have gotten from the pre-PIE proterokinetic paradigm he reconstructs to the “nicht zu bezweifeln” classical reconstruction, via leveling of the root ablaut into the oblique cases (as in many other proterokinetic paradigms) and of full-grade vocalism into the NASg. But, somewhat surprisingly given his strong endorsement of the ‘classical’ reconstruction, his evidence for the pre-PIE system is not purely structural: there are specific daughter forms which he feels find their explanation in the pre-PIE paradigm. But how is this possible? Since PIE was an intervening step on the way to these daughter forms, isn’t the pre-PIE paradigm insulated, as an explanatory mechanism, from the attested data?

Clearly Schindler did not believe it was, and, of course, for some of the data at least there is good reason to believe that he was correct. For example, he cites *extra-paradigmatic* forms as a potential source of support, including the preservation of zero-grade suffix allomorphy in the reflex of pre-PIE **mén-s* ‘the mind’ seen in the Proto-Indo-Iranian ‘frozen syntagm’ **máns*(...)*d^hā-* ‘to place the mind toward/on’. If a form is not felt to be part of a productive paradigm, it follows that analogical leveling which affects that paradigm need not lead to modification of the now extra-paradigmatic form.

What has not been so clearly noticed about such an example, in my view, are the chronological implications of this extra-paradigmatic status. If Schindler is right and the classical reconstruction for PIE is valid, then pre-PIE **mén-s* had already developed extra-paradigmatic functions by the time of PIE itself (since the analogical

⁵Or **uác^m-ns*-, if the palatalization had already been generalized within the paradigm.

restoration to **mén-os* took place *between* pre-PIE and PIE). Since the only evidence we have for a usage of this extraparadigmatic form comes from the Indo-Iranian syntagm in question, the most sensible conclusion would be to reconstruct that syntagm, as a grammaticalized ('frozen') string, for PIE itself. Thus, even though unambiguous attestation comes from only one branch, PIE **mén-s(...)*⁶*d^heH₁* must have already existed as a grammatically isolated structure.

A second piece of evidence cited by Schindler concerns stems with a root-final laryngeal, such as pre-PIE **kréuH₂-s* 'raw' flesh', seen in Sanskrit *kravīṣ-* and Greek *κρέας*. It seems clear that at least some of these forms failed systematically to undergo the leveling which is responsible for the introduction of full-grade vocalism into the NASg, and, indeed, that they instead generalized the NASg zero-grade suffix allomorphy throughout the paradigm. Thus, in PIE, the unified neuter *s*-stem paradigm of pre-PIE had split into two subclasses, one for (some of the)⁶ stems which did not end in laryngeals and one for stems which did.

As Schindler already notes, the most plausible assumption for why this split emerged is that pre-PIE **kréuH₂-s* had, by the time of the analogical leveling which led to the replacement of **mén-s*, already developed into a disyllable by 'vocalization' of the laryngeal. Indeed, we absolutely *require* this to be the case if we are to explain the accentuation of forms such as Sanskrit *kravīṣ*. Since the accentuation arises from the original oblique **kruH₂-és-*, and since by the time of PIE proper the suffix form is merely **-s-*, we need to vocalize the laryngeal before analogically eliminating the full-grade in the suffix so as to give ourselves some non-root-initial vocalized element on which to place the stress (that is, we need to be able to create **kreuH₂-s*). Again, it is not clear to me that the chronological implications of these developments have been fully appreciated: laryngeal vocalization must predate PIE proper, at least in this environment if not (as seems likely) more generally,⁷ and there were fully tonic vocalized laryngeals in PIE.

The third case of support which Schindler cites for the proterokinetic reconstruction of pre-PIE neuter *s*-stem singulars is the most interesting, the most problematic, and the type of argument offered up most frequently in subsequent literature on the pre-PIE accent/ablaut classes. Citing Hittite NASg *aiš*, GenSg *iššaš* 'mouth', Schindler notes that these forms could go back to a paradigm like **H₃éH₁-es* : **H₃H₁-és-os*.⁸ I am not in this context as worried about whether this is the correct account for Hittite 'mouth'—a matter which I leave to one side—as I am about the structure of the argu-

⁶In light of Sanskrit forms from laryngeal-final roots such as *ávas-* 'help' and *támas-* 'darkness', it cannot easily be the case that all H-final stems fell into a class distinct from the **mén-os* one.

⁷Differences in laryngeal vocalization in the daughters (again, at least in this position) cannot be attributed to language-specific developments without a very cumbersome line of reasoning, whereby the segments were vocalized and then unvocalized or the like.

⁸The *e*-grade, instead of the usual *o*-grade, introduced into the NASg is not explained by Schindler, who however notes the parallel with Hittite *nepiš* < **nebh^hes*. Implications of these Hittite forms for the 'classical' reconstruction have not been explored. The genitive ending **-os* is restored, as is common in these paradigms, but for a suggestion that that restoration had not yet taken place across the board by Proto-Anatolian, and therefore by PIE, see Rieken's (1999:188–9) discussion of Hittite *ne-pí-iš-za-aš-ta* from the Anitta text.

ment being offered. How can the Hittite forms ‘continue’ the forms cited, if they had been leveled by the time of PIE (the presumed ancestor of Proto-Anatolian) to either $*H_3\acute{e}H_1-os$: $*H_3\acute{e}H_1-es-os$ (if they were in the ‘normal’ class) or $*H_3\acute{e}H_1-s$: $*H_3\acute{e}H_1-s-os$ (if they were in the ‘exceptional’ H-final class)?

There are two obvious possibilities (though perhaps many more subtle ones). One could take the position that the leveling of the root vocalism which we have seen in the ‘classical’ reconstruction (with its root full-grade in the oblique cases) is actually post-PIE, and Hittite ‘mouth’ reflects the real PIE default neuter *s*-stem singular paradigm. Alternatively, the PIE word for ‘mouth’ might have represented an ‘exceptional’ *s*-stem paradigm, falling into neither of the above-established classes of PIE. The unusual structure of the word may well favor the latter assumption, but the more important point is that we have essentially allowed the question to go unanswered. With all of the potential implications the answer might have for issues such as subgrouping (as well as for our understanding of the accent/ablaut system of PIE itself—as opposed to pre-PIE, of course—and for Proto-Anatolian, Proto-Indo-Iranian, etc.), this is unfortunate.

The methodological implications of adopting the second view are straightforward: the paradigm of an individual word need not allow it to fit neatly into an established paradigm class.⁹ Note that the forms in question are in no way ‘extra-paradigmatic’, and thus whatever paradigm ‘mouth’ had in PIE, it was a legitimate pattern for nominal inflection for the stem class ‘mouth’ represented. We can then ask the question: in what ways can the paradigm of an individual word be divergent? Given the existence of suppletion, the answer may be obvious: in any (random) way. However, if we try to focus the question more narrowly, there may yet be generalizations to be gleaned. Can a noun in a nominal paradigm be exceptional in the accentual properties of its root? Of its suffix? Of its ending? Can it be exceptional in its root ablaut? In its suffix ablaut? In the ablaut of its ending?

I won’t pretend to be in a position to answer these questions at this juncture, but all Indo-Europeanists are well aware that the internal structure of the stem (i.e., the relationship between root and suffix, as well as between suffixes) represents a diachronically unstable aspect of word structure. Accurate parsing by the acquirer of the root and the suffix complexes is necessary if modification of the properties of the grammar responsible for the accent and ablaut of these entities is to be avoided. It seems, largely because of the difficulty of such parsing,¹⁰ that changes in word-structure are not avoidable, in the long run. The question of the diachronic stability of the inflectional endings is quite a bit more complex, often involving *cross-paradigm* leveling, rather than ambiguities in the structure of word forms. That is, the endings, being

⁹Alternatively, some inflectional classes might be quite small, e.g., containing only single members.

¹⁰Boundaries become opaque; semantic change eliminates the possibility of straightforward compositional analysis; frequent co-occurrence of particular suffixes leads to a reanalysis through which they are taken to be a single suffix; etc.

used very frequently,¹¹ often across several classes of word forms,¹² each itself having many members, interact more directly with the morphological system as a whole than does the diachrony of the evolution of the stem. In any event, I think it's safe to assert that, if one were to examine for example Vedic noun inflection, one would readily find a great deal of lexeme-specific or very small-class 'irregularity' in the stem (meaning stems for which exceptional information must be stored in their lexical entry), but very little in the way lexeme-specific or very small-class case markers.¹³

It is to a specific case of possible preservation, in an attested language, of aspects of the pre-PIE structure of the inflection of neuter *s*-stems to which I would now like to turn.

2 'With a newer word'

There is a rather well-known instance in the Rigveda of what might count as a preservation of the original suffix ablaut of a proterokinetic neuter *s*-stem:¹⁴

*yám tvám mitréna várūṇaḥ sajōṣā
dēva pási tyájasā mártam āṃbhaḥ*

'that man whom you, Varuṇa together with Mitra, o God,
protect from distress (brought about) by abandonment' (RV 6.3.1cd)

Since it seems safe to conclude that neither the unambiguous nominative in this sentence (*várūṇaḥ* 'Varuṇa'), nor the unambiguous accusative (*mártam* 'man') could ever, in the discourse of the Rigveda, be characterized by the appositional modifier *āṃbhaḥ* (which would presumably mean something like 'being a personification of Distress'), the seeming NASg neuter *āṃbhaḥ* poses a real challenge for the interpretation of these lines. A long-standing resolution of this difficulty is to take *āṃbhaḥ* as an ablative singular (as in the translation offered above). Precisely *how* it can be an ablative singular is a more difficult question, but haplology is the usual explanation.

Since this neuter *s*-stem reflects well-established Indo-European material, we can reconstruct its expected pre-PIE form, in keeping with the proterokinetic inflection of this class, as:¹⁵

¹¹By which I mean that a very large number of sentences in any ancient IE language has a nominative or accusative case form in it, but only a very small percent have, for example, an *s*-stem.

¹²By which I mean that nominative singular *s*, e.g., characterizes many stem classes, not just, for example, the **o*-stems.

¹³For the former, think of trying to synchronically characterize, in a manner consistent with other well-established noun classes, the inflection of *sákhi-* 'friend', *ákṣi-* n. 'eye' or *pímānis-* 'man.' Note that genitives like *pátayur* 'of the husband' do not involve, in my understanding of the *synchronic* inflectional morphology of Vedic, an irregular 'case marker', since *páti-* is a member of the class of 'relationship terms' which take the ending /ur/, regardless of their stem. By contrast, the fact that its weak oblique stem is /páty/ rather than /pátay/ may need to be specified.

¹⁴Though he does not, obviously, characterize them using this terminology, relevant forms can be found in Wackernagel 1929:79f.

¹⁵The forms are cited 'morphophonemically'—i.e., without the application of processes such as Bartholomae's Law or regressive voicing assimilation, expected if one believes those processes date to the pre-PIE period.

NASg	$*H_2ém\hat{g}^h-s$	R(é)-S(z)
AblSg	$*H_2m\hat{g}^h-és-s$	R(z)-S(é)-E(z)

Since PIE had a process where $*ss$ became $*s$, the ablative singular form cited above is expected, after analogical restoration of the root ablaut and accent, to be $*H_2ém\hat{g}^h-es$. Analogical restoration of the full-grade of the suffix in the NASg would yield $*H_2ém\hat{g}^h-os$. Both of these forms would give Sanskrit *ámhabh*. The productive ablative singular of Sanskrit *ámhas-*, like that of other neuter *s*-stems, is *ámhasabh*, well attested already in the Rígveda. It would seem to continue an IE form of the shape $*H_2ém\hat{g}^h-es-os$.

There being nothing particularly ‘formulaic’ about RV 6.3.1d, nor extraparadigmatic about the *ámhabh* we find there, this type of ‘exceptional form’, if that is the right analysis, is of the least pleasant type, where we have an exceptional case ending (-Ø) but a regular stem. In Schindler’s scenario, the analogical introduction of full-grade genitive/ablative forms¹⁶ is supposed to be early, before PIE itself.¹⁷ Thus this rarer type of exceptionality also would need to have persisted for a considerable time: from *pre*-PIE until such time as RV 6.3.1d (or a line after which it could have been modeled) was composed.

On the other hand, the form (unlike some alleged retentions from *pre*-PIE in attested daughters) could not, in the verse, have been easily replaced by its synchronically productive, non-exceptional *by*-form via modernization during text transmission: the syllable count of *ámhabh* differs crucially from that of *ámhasabh*. In addition, the form occupies line-final position; the end of the verse line is widely acknowledged to be the locus of archaic retention.

So, what are we to do in such a case? The matter is quite difficult, particularly given that the tradition of ignoring the intermediate staging in the step-wise development from *pre*-PIE to attested daughters means we do not have the pool of reliable generalizations against which to judge a proposed archaism of this type. But one question likely to be of relevance concerns whether there is evidence in the Indo-Iranian tradition that we might be dealing with more than one stem which shows this type of irregularity in inflectional ending. A class of lexemes showing distinct inflectional endings is of course nowhere near as problematic as a single lexeme doing so, and would thus alleviate some of our anxiety about the seeming stability (diachronically) of *ámhabh*. This means we want to ask whether there are other forms, particularly forms which might be morphologically related to *ámhabh* (e.g., other neuter *s*-stems) which also point in the direction of a failure to generalize full-grade endings from other stem-types in the oblique cases.¹⁸

¹⁶The two cases have identical marking in C-stems in *pre*-PIE.

¹⁷This is only indirectly mentioned in Schindler’s original paper, but it is exploited as part of the explanation for the distinct diachrony of neuter *s*-stems built to laryngeal-final vs. ‘normal’ roots, assumed to have taken place *before* PIE proper.

¹⁸In the end, we could of course be dealing with cases in which originally, let’s say between *pre*-PIE and PIE, full-grade endings were generalized (as in the scenario established by Schindler), and then subsequently, at some later stage, zero-grade forms were reintroduced. While in general such diachronic trajectories make one uncomfortable, the possibility that this is the case will be addressed below.

Mayrhofer (1986:149) summarizes the relatively well-known evidence for a rule of IE date whereby final **H* was lost prepausally. The relevant data includes not only vocatives like Grk. *νύμφᾱ* ‘o Nymph’, with an ending from **-eH₂* which, given the almost invariably prepausal status of vocatives, regularly lost its laryngeal, but also —perhaps most relevantly for our discussion—the distribution of many unexpected ‘short-vowel’ forms before pauses (usually line-finally) in the R̥gveda. This includes many neuter plurals of *i*- and *u*-stems, which ended in **-i-H₂* and **-u-H₂* morphophonemically, and surface with long vowels regularly, but very frequently with short vowels at the end of the line (or before other salient pauses such as the caesura). Similarly, the original instrumental singular ending **-H₁* should normally give lengthening of a preceding vowel in Sanskrit, but those vowels should surface prepausally as short if the *H* were earlier lost *in pausa*. A particularly clear near-minimal pair is provided by the isolated noun *apratī-* ‘non-resistance’:

índro vṛtráṇy apratī jaghāna

‘Indra slew the constrainers (as if) with non-resistance’ (RV 6.44.14b)

*índro vṛtráṇy apratī
jaghāna jaghānac ca nú*

‘Indra slew and should slay now the constrainers (as if) with non-resistance’¹⁹
(RV 9.23.7bc)

What implications might this phonological development have for our issues here? The instrumental singular ending in PIE was ablauting **-eH₁*, **-oH₁*, **-H₁*. If the generalization of full-grade endings had *not* taken place by PIE proper, and, indeed, not by the time the most archaic lines of, e.g., the R̥gveda (or their ‘models’) were composed, the instrumental singular should have had two ‘exceptional’ surface forms in our text:²⁰

<i>*wék^w-es-H₁</i>	<i>when not in pausa</i>	>	IIr. <i>*vácasi</i>
<i>*wék^w-es</i>	<i>when in pausa</i>	>	IIr. <i>*vácas</i>

The first of these would have looked just like a locative singular. Since this locative-looking instrumental would have had the same number of syllables as the productive instrumental form *vácasā*, ‘correction’ of the locative appearance of the form via a modernizing replacement of it by the more transparent productive instrumental during the course of the transmission of the text would have been trivial. The second form, which would be expected to show up prepausally, would look just like the NAsg, and could not be readily modernized to *vácasā*, being distinct from the latter form in syllable count.

The R̥gvedic poets use an expression, *návyasā vácasā* ‘with newer speech’²¹ which

¹⁹There is not obviously a true sense-pause after the first line of this verse, although one could imagine a phrasing together, to the exclusion of what precedes, of ‘slew and should slay now’. In any event, the line-end of the (b) pada acts as a major barrier to sandhi processes throughout the R̥gveda.

²⁰I assume generalization of the root ablaut and accent, without prejudice.

²¹This is apparent one-upmanship on the expression *návam vácāḥ* ‘new speech’, for which Fortson (1998)

occurs, e.g., *line-internally* in RV 6.62.5b. We also find three times *line-finally* in the Rīgveda examples such as:

stuṣé yád vām prthivi náryasā vācaḥ

‘when I praise the two of you, Heaven (and Earth), with the newer word’

(RV 2.31.5c)

RV 6.48.11b and 8.39.2a both end in a line-final *náryasā vācaḥ*, and both are traditionally given this interpretation.²²

The usage was not, it seems, limited to this formulaic expression, as can be seen from line-final *divítmatā vācaḥ* ‘with brilliant speech’ (RV 1.26.2c).²³ Similarly,²⁴ with with the *s*-stem *śávas-* ‘power’:

índro mahná ródaśi paprathac chávaḥ

índraḥ síryam arocayāt

‘Indra spread out the two worlds through his might, through his power.

Indra caused the sun to shine.’ (RV 8.3.6a)

These forms, all allegedly instrumentals, are connected with the allegedly ablatival *ámhaḥ* which we started this section with in that all are neuter *s*-stems, and all seem to show reflexes of the original, zero-grade endings of the proterokinetic paradigm reconstructed by Schindler for pre-PIE.²⁵ It is possible, then, that we are dealing with a subclass of *s*-stems which had preserved this property in Proto-Indo-Iranian, or, of course, had newly introduced it at that stage (see the preceding footnote).

Given Hittite ‘mouth’, as well as suspected archaic root allomorphy in infinitives such as *ṛdháse* ‘for increase’ (next to present tense *várdhati* ‘increases’), already cited by Schindler as potential evidence for the reconstruction of zero-grade of the root in our *s*-stems, we might well wonder whether there is evidence for this type of (some-what more trivial) exceptional stem-formation in some neuter *s*-stems in PIE. I cite a highly speculative example, for completeness’ sake. Rix (2001) lists a root (with a question mark because as a verbal form it is Indo-Iranian only) of the form **ǵeyH-*

presents a detailed analysis. In his discussion of our forms, Fortson favors an analysis similar to, but more explicit and clear than, that offered by Wackernagel (for which see the main text): Gruppenflexion.

²²Wackernagel (1929:35) accepts them as ‘endungslose Formen’, noting that Arnold claims they occur only in the oldest portions of the Rīgveda.

²³Compare line-internal *vācā* ... *divítmatā*, which expresses the same sentiment with the root noun *vāc-*.

²⁴Other potential cases involving *vācaḥ* itself are difficult, though Whitney’s editorial decision to replace the second (line-final) word in *odanena yajñavacāḥ* (AVŚ 11.3.19) by *yajñavataḥ*, in keeping with the Kashmirian Atharvaveda, no longer seems supported by the Paippalāda tradition given Bhattacharya’s apparatus at AVP 16.54.4 (Bhattacharya 2008: 952).

²⁵Alan Nussbaum (this volume) presents an argument that the proterokinetic paradigms of pre-PIE had, exceptionally, an old hysterokinetic structure in the instrumental singular (though not in the other singular cases), citing, among other forms, ‘frozen’ gerund forms such as *yuktṛā* (note, as does Nussbaum, the archaic root zero-grade) < **-ty-éH₁*, i.e., oblique R(z)-S(z)-E(é). If this is correct, and if, which seems much less certain, the forms under discussion here are in fact to be taken as archaic instrumental singulars, then, interestingly, it would appear that the proterokinetic structure was analogically extended within this set of *s*-stems to the instrumental singular—not, presumably, a difficult analogy to the extent zero-grade suffixes survived in other oblique cases.

‘sich in schnelle Bewegung setzen’. This form has a neuter *s*-stem form of the expected type, whose history we can now sketch as follows:

*ǵéuH-*s*-Ø ‘haste’ > *ǵéuH-*os*²⁶ > Skt. *jávas*, OAv. *zaunaḥ*²⁷

*ǵuH-*és*-H₁ ‘with haste, quickly’ > *ǵéuH-*es-e*H₁ > Skt. *jávasā*²⁸

Note the greater popularity of the instrumental form—this is not unusual for neuter *s*-stem abstracts: *ávasā* ‘with assistance’ = ‘helpfully’, *mānasā* ‘with thought’ = ‘intentionally’, etc. What if the original instrumental singular were preserved, for example, in such an adverbial function—²⁹

*ǵuH-*és*-H₁ ‘with haste, quickly’ > Skt. *júvas(i)*

—with the form in *i* when not prepausal, but the form *júvas* in archaic line-final position?

There is a hapax in the Rígvēda, seen in the following lines:³⁰

á naḥ soma sáho júvo / ... bhara (RV 9.65.18ab)

with the usual translation:

‘bear hither to us, O Soma, victory, haste...’

While nothing absolutely compels it, I think ‘bear victory hither to us *quickly*, O Soma...’ gives a cleaner interpretation.

The alternative to viewing these forms as valuable archaisms for our understanding of the history of the accent/ablaut classes between pre-PIE and Vedic Sanskrit is to see them as very interesting instances of a quite striking (in the Indo-European context) type of morphosyntactic process. Wackernagel (1929:35) says that the alleged instrumental forms such as *vácaḥ* always occur “nach einen zugehörigen Adj., also gewissermaßen mit Fortwirkung des *ā*.” There is much lurking in that ‘gewissermaßen’ that would need to be made explicit for this suggestion to be taken seriously. Given the observed limitations to line-final position, and the rather strange fact that only instrumentals seem to show this ‘Fortwirkung’ (there can be no such explanation for *ám̐bas* ‘from distress’), and the fact that this approach offers no analysis of the *śávaḥ* or *júvaḥ* examples, there seems to be little going for the idea.³¹

²⁶Note that we are generalizing the ablaut of the suffix in this form in spite of the fact that we are dealing with an H-final root.

²⁷The Old Avestan form is attested once in the NAVSg; the Skt. form is attested once in the RV, in the (reshaped) NAVPl form *jávāmsi*.

²⁸× RV, never line-final.

²⁹I leave to one side issues raised by the restoration of root accentuation. If this form is correctly analyzed, it may tell us about the relative chronology of accentual leveling vis-à-vis leveling of ablaut, at least in Indo-Iranian.

³⁰The elided material in my citation is a parenthetical simile, almost certainly forming its own little prosodic group, making *júvas* prepausal as well as line-final.

³¹The alleged parallel, sometimes cited, of examples like ... *citrābhīr ūtī* ‘with brilliant assistances’ (RV 6.26.5d), is not very parallel, in fact. The *návyasā vácas* case could be expressed in a formula like *návyas-ā vácas-ā* → *návyas-ā vácas-Ø*, but a similar formula generates *citrā-bhis ūtī-bhis* → *citrā-bhis ūtī-Ø*, with no

3 Conclusions

A comprehensive evaluation of the totality of the evidence, even from a single branch, which might allow us to recover the staging in the development of the pre-PIE accent/ablaut classes down to the daughter languages, is the only procedure which could provide a reliable assessment as to the morphological history of forms such as *ám̐has* ‘from distress’ and *vácas* ‘with speech’. Those forms provide potential evidence for a third class of ‘exceptions’ to the classical reconstruction of neuter *s*-stems (in addition to the exceptional H-final class, of the $*kreu\acute{H}_2-s : *kreu\acute{H}_2-s-os$ type, identified by Schindler). If one takes the form *júvas* ‘quickly’ seriously, and one probably need not, given *junáti* ‘he hastens’, it might be that this third class preserved zero-grade of the root as well as zero-grade of the inflectional endings (the root full-grades in *ám̐has* and *vácas* would need to be secondary in such a case). Thus, for the neuter *s*-stem singulars of Proto-Indo-European (but *not* of pre-PIE, which was doubtless correctly reconstructed in Schindler’s original paper), we would have:

	Class I	Class II	Class III
NASg	$*mén-os$	$*kreu\acute{H}_2-s$	$*H_2ém\acute{g}^h-os$
oblique	$*mén-es-os$	$*kreu\acute{H}_2-s-os$	$*H_2m\acute{g}^h-és-s$
	R(é)-S(o)	R(e)-Š	R(é)-S(o)
	R(é)-S(e)-E(e/o)	R(e)-S(ž)-E(e/o)	R(z)-S(é)-E(z)

The third category was not destined for a long future. The root ablaut and accent is leveled already in all the archaic Vedic forms except for questionable *júvas*, making it distinct from the first type only in its exceptional case marking system—the least desirable type of exceptionality. In addition, unlike the laryngeal-final ‘Class II’ *s*-stems, there does not appear to be any phonological regularity which characterizes the class (at least none is recoverable). Membership in Class III is purely by stipulation. In general, lexemes in this class, if correctly reconstructed, have assimilated to the productive Class I in all but a few archaic forms.³²

explanation for the observed length in the second member. One might assume that $*\acute{u}ti$ is the ‘real form’ in the *-bhis* case (an instrumental with prepausal laryngeal loss, reanalyzed in Vedic as line-final shortening, as in *apratī*, cited above), but why did the poets subsequently lengthen the prepausal form (unlike *apratī*)? Parallelism is, in any event, still not achieved. The result of the ‘leaving off’ of the ending *-a* in *vácas* is not number disharmony (which may not weigh particularly heavily with abstracts like ‘speech’ or ‘assistance’), but case disharmony, presumably a more egregious problem.

³²I cannot resist a short footnote on the alleged phenomenon of the use of the instrumental in vocative function in Avestan, for which see Schwyzler (1929). The phenomenon is probably not real, and the modern tendency to take these instrumentals as instrumentals of accompaniment, rather than vocatives, is probably sound, although I must confess to a sense that it feels very forced in a few passages. In any event, were there vocatives of the form *robū manaybā* ‘O Good Thinking’, the latter form from an instrumental $*mén-es-H_1$, where on earth would such a thing come from? Well, imagine that Proto-Iranian speakers had $*manas$ prepausally to mean ‘intentionally’ or ‘through thinking’ (the instrumental of $*manas-$). As $*manasā$ came to be introduced into this environment as the replacement of the archaic instrumental singular, lagging speakers may have become self-conscious about the archaic form, and corrected it to avoid the humiliation of linguistic stigmatization. An operation whereby prepausal $*manas$ gets replaced by $*manasā$, if carried a

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little too far (hypercorrection), could give rise to a replacement for other prepausal forms of **manas* (e.g., the vocative singular, regularly prepausal, of course, being a vocative, as noted above regarding *vūmā*), giving rise to the vocative singular form *manaybhā* (note that *vobhū* is already ambiguous between instrumental and vocative).

More Negatives and Disjunctives in Hieroglyphic Luwian

J. David Hawkins and Anna Morpurgo Davies

1 Introduction

It is now some 35 years since we identified the signs for the negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian, presented the evidence and commented on negation, prohibition, and disjunction in the language: Hawkins 1975; Morpurgo Davies 1975. Since that time a number of new examples have appeared, while the reading of some of the old examples has been improved; all this calls for comment, but in addition, while at the time the emphasis was necessarily on arguing that the relevant signs did indeed indicate negatives, now that this is established, it is possible to aim at a more general account and to try to summarize what we actually know about the negatives of Hieroglyphic Luwian. This paper is meant both as a collection of data additional to those listed in 1975 (see Appendix) and as a first attempt to enlarge for Hieroglyphic Luwian the section, necessarily short, that Craig Melchert (2003:206) dedicated to negation in his impressive account of the Luwian language which is likely to remain for a long time the best description of both Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian. The Assur letters in their repeated protestations against bad correspondents apparently use a double negative to produce a strong positive statement: *nī-wa/i-mu-i á-pi* NEG₂-a VIA-*wa/i-nī-si*, '(do) not not send (it) back to me' (ASSUR letter d, 3 §10). We hope that our multiplicity of negatives will be understood in the same way and will serve to highlight the strength of our admiration for the depth and originality of Craig's work on all Indo-European languages of the Anatolian group.

2 The negatives of Hieroglyphic Luwian

Most Anatolian languages contrast, as Indo-European did, a factual negative or negative of assertion and a prohibitive negative as well as other forms of negative. For Hittite the standard forms are *natta* and *lē*, but additional negatives are *nāwī* 'not yet', *nūman* and *nekkū* (Hoffner 1986, Hoffner and Melchert 2008:330–47, Güterbock and Hoffner 1989– :s.vv.); in Cuneiform Luwian we find *nāwa/nawa* and *nīs/nīs*.¹ Both forms are matched in the Hieroglyphic texts of the Empire period but in the Late Period the most frequent forms are the factual NEG₂(-a) (= *na*) and the prohibitive *nī/nī(-i)* (= *nī*).

¹For Cuneiform Luwian Starke (1990:453 n. 1636) also assumes a prohibitive negative *nī* found e.g. in KBo XIII 260 ii 34. There is also a possible *na-a* form of the factual negative (Melchert 1993:s.v.).

2.1 The attestations of the negatives

If we take Hieroglyphic Luwian as a whole, including both the documents from the Empire period and those of the First Millennium, we find the following alternative forms and spellings for I) the negative of assertion, and II) the prohibitive negative (excluding at this stage the disjunctive use and the very fragmentary examples):²

- I) (i) **NEG-*wa/i*(-)** (EMİRGAZİ 1, §§25, 28, 34; YALBURT block 3 (cf. EMİRGAZİ 2, B 3-4 **NEG**[*]*), BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §13; KARAHÖYÜK, 10 §20).
- (ii) **NEG-*a*** (YALBURT block 4, §2).
- (iii) **NEG+*a*** (KARKAMIŞ A 21, § 6 (archaizing); cf. KARKAMIŞ A 20b, fragments 5, 9, 10).
- (iv) **NEG₂(-)** (KARATEPE 1, §§XXI 108 Hu, Ho, XXVI 134 Hu, Ho; KARKAMIŞ A 11c, § 31; A 14a, 4 §6; A 12, 2 §2; A 23, 3 §5, 4 §7; A 24a, frag. 21; A 31, § §§[13], 14; A 17b, 2 §4; A 17c, 3 §5; A 5a, 1 §4; ?TELL AHMAR 4, 1; ARSLANTAŞ, 3 §4; ANCOZ 7, C §8; HAMA 4, A 1 §2, A 4 §12; TOPADA, 6 §29; BOHÇA, 3 §7; İVRİZ 2, D 5 §§13-14, E §28; KIRŞEHİR lead letter, 3-4 §§15, 17, 20, 22).
- Cf. **NEG₂-*ha* ... NEG₂-*ha*(-)** (KARKAMIŞ A 2, 2 §§3-4).
- (v) **NEG₂-*a*(-)** (KARKAMIŞ A 11b, 3 §8; 15b, 4 §25; A 5a, 1 §3; ?A 27 mm, mm*, 9; ALEPPO 2, 3 §§7, 9, 11; TELL AHMAR 6, 4 §10; MARAŞ 4, 3 §7; ANCOZ 7, A §3; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 12, 5; HAMA 4, B 3 §11; SULTANHAN base 2, §44; BOHÇA, 4 §11; EĞREK, 1 §§1-2; İVRİZ 2, D 7 §24; ASSUR letter a, 2 §§5-7; c, 2 §6; d, 2 §5; e, 1 §5, 3 §16; f+g, f 3 §20, f 4 §26, g “3” §§30, 32, g “1”, §42, g “2”, §48; TÜNP 2, 2 §1).
- Cf. **NEG₂-*a-ha* ... NEG₂-*a-ha*** (MARAŞ 4, 3 §9; ÇİFTLİK, 2 §§3, [4]).
- (vi) ***na*** (AKSARAY, § 8; KARKAMIŞ A 5a, 2 §7; TÜNP 1, 4 §7; ?cf.]NEG₂(-)
na KARKAMIŞ A 25b, 1 §1a).³
- (vii) ***na-wa/i*-’** (ASSUR letter e, 4 §31).⁴ For **NEG₃-*wa/i*** in MARAŞ 2 see n. 6.
- II) (i) **NEG-*sa*** (EMİRGAZİ 1, §§7-10; KARAHÖYÜK, 11 §21).
- (ii) **NEG₃-*sa*** (BABYLON 1, 6 §15; KARKAMIŞ A 2, § 12; A 3, 4 §23; A 11 a, 7 §27; A 11 c, 4 §28; TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §33).⁵
- (iii) ***ni-sa*** (ISKENDERUN, § 6), ***ni-i-sá*** (MARAŞ 14, § 8).
- (iv) **NEG₃** (KARKAMIŞ A 30b, 1 §1: archaic or archaizing but **NEG₂** expected); **NEG₃+*i***, **NEG₃-*i*** (KARKAMIŞ A 6, 8 §§27-8; see n. 6).
- (v) ***ni*** (CEKKE, 11 §25; ERKİLET 1, 2 §3; 2, 2 §2); ***ni*-** (ASSUR letter d, 3 §10); ***ni-i*** (KARKAMIŞ A 11c, § 5 §29; ALEPPO 2, 4 §15; KARABURÇLU,

²Texts are listed in the order in which they appear in Hawkins 2000 (= *CHLI*).

³]NEG₂(-)-*na* in KARKAMIŞ A 25b, 1 §1 remains obscure.

⁴NEG₂+*wa/i* (TOPADA, 6 §27) is too uncertain to be discussed here.

⁵For **NEG₃-*sa*** (-*pa-wa/i*) and **NEG₃-*sa-pa*** see the discussion of disjunctives below.

4; BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV A 3 §22; ?MALPINAR, 3 §9; KULULU 1, 6 §14; SULTANHAN base, F 1 §42; KARABURUN, 3 §13; ASSUR letter c, 2 §13; f, 3 §17; EREĞLI, §4); *ni-i-* (ASSUR letter c, 2 §5; f, 2 §12; f, 2 §15; f, 4 §26); *ni-i-i* (SULTANHAN stele, E 1 §36); *ni-i-i* (ASSUR letter g, 2 §51); *ni* (CEKKE, 11–12 §26, 27); *ni-i* (ALEPPO 2, 4 §16; ASSUR letter c, 2 §12).⁶

Typical examples of negative use in the First Millennium are:⁷

- (1) KARKAMIŠ A 23, 3 §§4–5 (= 1975 cit. 17, *CHLI* II.17)

**a-wa/i-mu *a-mi-zi || *a-ta₄-ni-zi | pi-pa-sa-ta*
**a-mu-pa-wa/i- *a-ta₄-na-za NEG₂ | pi-ia-ta*

“She kept giving my enemies to me, but me she did **not** give to the enemies.”

- (2) ERKİLET 2, 1–2 §§1–2 (*CHLI* X.24–5, App. B 28b)

za-wa/i | á-la-na¹ á-sa-ti-wa/i-su-sa | tu-ta ||
za-pa-wa/i-ta | ni | REL-i-sà-ha | sa-mi-i-ti

“This ALA Astiwasus erected and/but **let no one** overturn this.”

2.2 Forms and meaning

Some of the spelling alternations point to different forms. Through most of the first millennium BCE NEG₂ differs from NEG₃ because of two short strokes at the bottom which match the similar strokes distinguishing ⟨ia⟩ and ⟨za⟩ from ⟨i⟩ and ⟨z⟩. Hence it is not surprising to find NEG₂ used, albeit rarely, as a syllabic sign with an *a*-value; in that function NEG₂ alternates with the *na* sign, e.g. in the accusative singular (see Hawkins 1975:125–8). In the Empire period the distinction between NEG₂ and NEG₃ is not indicated in writing, i.e. the strokes have not been added (just as there is no graphic distinction between /i/ and /ia/, /zi/ and /za/). This accounts for the transliteration NEG for a sign which can correspond to *ni* or *na*, while in the later period we assume NEG₂ = *na* and NEG₃ = *ni*. In KARKAMIŠ A 21, 5 §6 and in a few fragments (cf. (I iii) in §2.1. above) NEG has, instead of the standard strokes, an *a*-sign added; hence the transliteration NEG + *a*. A 21 is a very late text with archaizing sign shapes and points at what Gelb had already surmised, the *a*-origin of the bottom strokes which mark the *a*-value of ⟨ia⟩, ⟨za⟩ and now NEG₂.

In the Empire inscriptions NEG is normally followed by a phonetic complement: NEG-*wa/i* and once NEG-*a* are used for the negative of assertion; NEG-*sa* for the

⁶For NEG₃ + *i*, NEG₃ - *i*, *ni* with a possible disjunctive value see below §3.5. Instead of NEG₃ in KARKAMIŠ A 30h, 1 §1 and in MARAŞ 2, §2 (NEG₃-*wa/i*) we expect NEG₂, but they may be archaizing forms with an undifferentiated NEG instead of NEG₂. For the disjunctives NEG₂ (-*a*)-*pa* (-*wa/i*) (-), NEG₃ -*a* (-*a*)-*pa* (-), *ni/ni* (-*i*)-*pa* (-*wa/i*) (-) etc., see below §§3.2 and 3.5.

⁷Here and elsewhere each text citation which includes negatives is followed by a reference to a) *CHLI*, b) Hawkins 1975 (in the form = 1975 cit[ation] *nm.*), or c) the number of the text in our Appendix below (App[endix] A *nm.* or App[endix] B *nm.*). We write **a* at the start of a word for ‘initial-*a*-final’, an -*a* (or ?) written finally in the early texts (Hawkins 2003:161).

prohibitive negative. In the Late Period more spellings are available; for the negative of assertion we find another example of NEG-*wa/i* in the Transitional Period (KARAHÖYÜK). Otherwise we have NEG₂, NEG₂-*a* and a rare syllabic spelling *na* (cf. (I vi) in §2.1. above). One of the ASSUR letters has an instance of *na-wa/i*-.⁷ For the prohibitive negative, NEG₃-*sa* alternates with isolated examples of the syllabic spellings *ni-sa* and *ni-i-sá*, but by far the most frequent forms are shorter and written with the standard *ni*-syllabograms: *ni*, *ni-i*, *ni-i*-, *ni-i-i*, *ni-i-i*-, *ní*, *ní-i*. Spellings like NEG₃, NEG₃+*i*, NEG₃-*i*, which may correspond to *ni*, are rare and almost unique.

Clearly in the Empire Period the negative of assertion is *nawa*. The Hieroglyphic spelling would allow a reading *nawi*, but the complete parallelism with Cuneiform Luwian speaks for *nawa*. The prohibitive negative is *nis* in complete agreement with Cuneiform Luwian (but recall n. 1). In view of the later developments, it is likely that NEG-*a* was read *na* (cf. n. 1 for Luwian *na-a*). In the Transitional Period the very early text KARAHÖYÜK still has NEG-*wa* = *nawa*, but the rare syllabic spellings and the lack of the *wa/i*-complement after NEG₂ point to the short form *na* for the negative of assertion in the other texts. The isolated *na-wa/i*-.⁷ of the later ASSUR letter is difficult to interpret; it could be read *nawa* and count as an odd survival (see also n. 6) or it could be attributed a meaning 'not yet' and read as *nawi*, matching Hittite *nawi*.⁸

The prohibitive negative is rarely *nis* as in the early period, but far more frequently *ni*, with the variety of spellings that we have listed. The instances of NEG₃-*sa* spelling all belong to the early First Millennium (in KARKAMIŠ they belong to Katuwa's inscriptions); by contrast the *ni-sa* / *ni-i-sá* spellings belong to the late 9th century. In one inscription (KARKAMIŠ A 11C, 4-5 §§28-9 = 1975 cit. 50) we find in successive paragraphs NEG₃-*sa* CAPERE-*ti-i* and *ni-i* CAPERE-*ti-i* 'let them not take'. Of the three examples of NEG₃ without a *-sa* or *-wa/i* phonetic complement, one (in MARAŞ 2, cf. n. 6) cannot be a prohibitive negative since it occurs with a preterite verb; for the other two in KARKAMIŠ A 6 see below (37) in §3.5. The final conclusion about the **standard** forms of the negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian is as follows:

	Empire	Late
Negative of Assertion	<i>nawa</i> , <i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
Prohibitive Negative	<i>nis</i>	<i>ni</i> (rarer <i>nis</i>)

2.3 Use and distribution

In what follows we contrast the usage of the Empire and Transitional Periods with that of the Late Period.

⁸The final sign, transliterated ' above, is a small <a> of the type that ASSUR uses as space filler in alternation with small <i>; clearly it does not point to an *a*-reading since we find the same sign used e.g. after the unambiguous *-ti/-ri* ending of the 3rd person singular present verb or the equally unambiguous *-u* of the pronominal form *-tu*. At present we transcribe the sign as either <a> or <v> depending on the context.

2.3.1 Empire and Transitional Periods

We find a few examples of negatives in the Empire Period and the Transitional Period. The sign NEG is undifferentiated but the phonetic complements *-wa/i* for the factual negative (NEG-*wa/i* but once NEG-*a* before the indefinite pronoun) and *-sa* for the prohibitive negative make clear what is meant.

The evidence is very limited. The negative of assertion NEG-*wa/i* occurs three times in EMİRGAZİ 1 (App. A 2, A 3); once in YALBURT block 3 (App. A 4), once in KARAHÖYÜK (= 1975 cit. 13); it is always clause-internal and immediately precedes the final verb, which is in the past in YALBURT and presumably in the indicative present in EMİRGAZİ 1 and KARAHÖYÜK. In BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG, App. A 6) NEG-*wa/i-ta* occurs before REL-*ti-ha*, the dative of the indefinite pronoun, which precedes the verb; similarly NEG-*a* in YALBURT block 4 (App. A 5) occurs before the nominative REL-*i(a)-sa-ha* which is followed by the verb. In EMİRGAZİ 1, §28 (App. A 2) the order is Preverb (= *arha*) + Negative + Verb.

The prohibitive negative *nis* is found four times in EMİRGAZİ 1 (App. A 1 = (39) below) always before the indefinite REL-*i(a)-sa-ha*; the phrase may immediately precede or immediately follow the verb, which, when the endings are written, is in the indicative present. In KARAHÖYÜK (= 1975 cit. 13) NEG-*sa* immediately precedes the verb which is clause-final. Twice in EMİRGAZİ 1 the sequence of prohibitive negative and indefinite pronoun is inserted between the preverb/adverb *arha* and the verb.

2.3.2 Late Period: The negative of assertion

Even if we do not consider its occurrence in the disjunctives (see below §§3 and 3.1), the evidence for NEG₂ is much more extensive than in the earlier period. If we include the broken texts there are more than 60 examples of NEG₂(-*a*) 'not' and three examples of syllabically written *na* 'not'; *na-wa/i*, as we have seen, appears once in a very late text and, if the text is emended from NEG or NEG₃ to NEG₂, may also occur in MARAŞ 2 (see n. 6). In the distribution some patterns are recognizable.

First, in the most frequent pattern the negative of assertion immediately precedes the verb, which normally takes the final position in the clause, unless it is followed by indirect cases and/or adverbial elements. Examples come from all periods including the Empire period; see e.g. EMİRGAZİ 1 (App. A 2), KARKAMIŞ A 23 ((1) above), and KARKAMIŞ A 11b, 3 §8 (= 1975 cit. 32a).

Second, in the Late Period, if there is a preverb (or adverb) like *arha*, *anda*, etc., the negative tends to precede the preverb rather than the verb. The adverbs *zi-la* and *zi-ta* can also occur between the negative and the verb.⁹ This ordering occurs all through the Late Period; (3) below is early and (4) late:

⁹In ASSUR and SULTANHAN we frequently find a form *a-pi* which has been compared with Hittite *appa* by Oshiro (1988) (see CHLI 554-5); its distribution is somewhat different from that of e.g. *ARHA*, but not incompatible with it.

- (3) TELL AHMAR 6, 4 §10 (Hawkins 2006a, App. B 7)

*a-wa/i *a-mi-ia-za |tá-ti-ia-za |á-ta₅-ma-za |NEG₂-a |INFRA-ta*
LITUUS² + *na²-tā*

“They (the gods) did **not** look down on my father’s name . . .”

- (4) TÜNP 1, 4 §7 (CHLI II.29, App. B 2)

CAPUT + *ra/i-sa-pa-wa/i-ta REL-sa na a-ta i-zi-ia + ra/i*

“But the person who is **not** involved . . .”

Other examples: HAMA 4, A §12 (= 1975 cit. 33: NEG₂ *a-tā* Verb); İVRİZ 2, 7 §24 (App. B 6: NEG₂ *zi-ta* [Verb]); KARKAMIŞ A 14a, 4-5 §6 (= 1975 cit. 34: NEG₂ POST-*ni a-tā* Verb).¹⁰ The preverb can (rarely) take the first position in the clause before the negative, as in (13) below or in SULTANHAN stele, E 1 §36 (App. B 25).

Third, NEG₂ may be strengthened by the adverbial *ma-nu/mi-ha* (cf. Hitt. *manka*) which immediately follows it; the sequence precedes the verb or preverb + verb. Cf.:

- (5) ASSUR letter a, 2 §5 (= 1975 cit. 29, CHLI XI.1)

|wa/i-muⁱ |ha-tu + ra/i-na |NEG₂-a |ma-nu-ha |(“LOQUI”) *pu-pa-la-ta*

“You by **no means** replied to me a letter.”

Other examples: ASSUR letter a, 2 §7 (= 1975 cit. 29); KARKAMIŞ A 5a, 1 §3 ((8) below, App. B 10); KÖRKÜN, rev. 1-2 §2 (= 1975 cit. 30).

Fourth, if the clause includes the indefinite pronoun REL-*i-sa-ha* (= *kwisha*) in its various inflectional forms, the negative immediately precedes the pronoun and the whole phrase tends to precede the verb or the sequence of preverb + verb. The distribution is the same as in the Empire texts. Cf.:

- (6) ALEPPO 2, 3 §11 (= 1975 cit. 41; CHLI III.5)

|“VAS”-tara/i-pa-wa/i-na NEG₂-a |REL-i-ha a-tā |CRUS + RA/I-nu-wa/i-ha

“but I did **not** set him up (as) **any** figure.”

The repeated occurrence of NEG₂ REL-*ha-na* apparently in the function of object or subject or even adverb makes one wonder whether the innovated form with inflected final *-ha* may have been grammaticalized into semi-adverbial function, but this is difficult to establish. Examples of negative + indefinite pronoun are found in Hawkins 1975 citations 37-45 and in App. B 14. Note that in some instances the sequence of negative and indefinite acts as an adjective which modifies a following noun and consequently does not immediately precede the verb (ASSUR letter e, 1 §5 = 1975 cit. 40b; TOPADA, 7 §29 = 1975 cit. 43).

Finally we should consider the instances when the negative is not close to the preverb + verb sequence, even in the absence of *ma-nu-ha* or the indefinite pronoun. If

¹⁰In ASSUR letter f, 2 §10 (= 1975 cit. 28, CHLI XI.5) *tu-wa-ri + i* is inserted between NEG₂-*a* and the verb. In EĞREK, 1 §2 (= 1975 cit. 25, CHLI X.23) . . . *|á-pa |NEG₂-a |ha-si|* the first word has been interpreted as a preverb, but the ordering would be very odd; see the discussion in CHLI 493. A demonstrative after the noun would be equally odd, but may perhaps be justified in connection with the preceding adjective.

we leave aside the disjunctive $\text{NEG}_2(-a)\text{-}pa(-wa)$, which will be discussed later and is normally clause-initial,¹¹ there are not many examples and they too seem to fall into a pattern. The negative occurs clause-initially in:

- a) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 2–3 §4 (= 1975 cit. 35), A 5a, 1–2 §4 ((8) and App. B 10), A 11c, 5 §31 (= 1975 cit. 23), A 17b, 2 §4 (= 1975 cit. 19), A 21b, 5 §6 (App. B 11), KARATEPE 1, §XXI Ho and Hu, XXVI Ho and Hu (= 1975 cit. 15, 16), ASSUR letter a, 2 §6 (= 1975 cit. 29), c, 3 §16 (= 1975 cit. 26).

In addition we must consider occurrences of NEG_2 which are not clause initial but are not immediately to the left of (preverb +) verb:

- b) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 2–3 §3 (= 1975 cit. 35), MARAŞ 4, 3 §9 (= 1975 cit. 36), ÇİFTLİK, 2 §§3–4 (App. B 12), ASSUR letter f, 2 §10 (= 1975 cit. 28), KIRŞEHİR lead letter, 4 §20 (App. B 5).

The easiest case is that of the ‘neither ... nor’ clauses identified by Hawkins (1975: 138); $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}ha$... $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}ha$ may belong to the same or to two different clauses but in either case $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}ha$ (formed from the negative and the clitic connective *-ha* ‘and’) precedes the negated word. Hence sequences like:

- (7) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 2–3 §§3–4 (= 1975 cit. 35, *CHLI* II.13)
a-wa/i | *za-a-sa* | *kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa* (URBS) (DEUS)TONITRUS-*sa* $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}ha$
**a-mi-i* | *tá-ti-i* | “VAS”-*tara/i-na* POST-*ni a-tá* | BONUS-*li-ia-ta*
 $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}ha\text{-}wa/i\text{-}sa$ **a-mi-i* AVUS-*ha* POST-*ni a-tá* | BONUS-*li-ia* ||-*ta*

“This Karkamisean Tarhunzas had **neither** for my father exalted the person **nor** for my grandfather had he exalted (it).”

In MARAŞ 4, 3 §9 (= 1975 cit. 36) which has the same topos (which also occurs in ÇİFTLİK = App. B 12), $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}a\text{-}ha$ | *tá-ti-i-sa* $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}a\text{-}ha$ AVUS-*ha-sa* belongs to the same clause. The evidence is very scanty but we have the impression that the construction is used when either the two negated elements belong to the same clause or they belong to entirely parallel clauses, i.e. clauses which repeat the same verb; in other words, the negated elements are the nouns and not the verbs but the second $\text{NEG}_2\text{-}a\text{-}ha$ must take first position in the second clause and is again followed by the negated word. Recently discovered inscriptions from ARSUZ, which we know thanks to the generosity of Professors Belkis and Ali Dinçol, confirm this view. If so, this may give us an insight into the distinction between the two connectives *-ha* and *-pa*. Compare (7) above with (8) below:

¹¹KARKAMIŠ A 13d, 4–5 §5 (App. B 31) belongs with the disjunctives even if it is differently understood in Hawkins 1975 cit. 20 (cf. *CHLI* II.16: 115).

- (8) KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 1-2 §§3-4 (CHLI II.45, App. B 10)

a-wa/i FRONS-la/i/u-x FRATER-la-x NEG₂-a ma-nú-ha INFRA ARHA

|pa+ra/i-há

NEG₂-pa-wa/i || (DEUS)ma-sa-ti-na tu-pi-há

“I in no way ... -ed (to?) the elder brother,

and I did not smite / (n)or did I smite ...”

We have two coordinated clauses, both with negative meaning, but the conditions for the use of *naha ... naha* are not satisfied. We could take *NEG₂-pa-wa/i* as the disjunctive ‘or’, with the negative meaning carried over from the previous clause (see below §2.3.3 and (14a)), but at this period (8th century) we would expect *nipawa* rather than *napawa* (see §3.2). Alternatively we may have a straight negative coordinated with the previous negative clause by *-pa*. The position at the start of the clause is understandable both because of focus and because of the previous negative clause. Note that in the first clause of (8) the negative is ordered in the usual way, before the verb and not before the noun as in (7).

The remaining examples of initial negative share, with the exception of the two ASSUR passages, one characteristic, exemplified e.g. by:

- (9) KARKAMIŠ A17b, 2 §4 (= 1975 cit. 19, CHLI II.41)

NEG₂-pa-wa/i-na REL-sa i-zi-i-[sa-ta-i

“He who does not honour him ...”

- (10) KARKAMIŠ A11c, 5 §31 (= 1975 cit. 23)

|NEG₂-wa/i-na |REL+ra/i (LOCUS)pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha

“since I did not exile it.”

In these passages (as in KARATEPE 1, §§XXI, XXVI and in KARKAMIŠ A 21b) the negative is in clause-initial position followed by the usual clitics and then by a form of relative pronoun meaning either ‘who, which’ or ‘as, since, if’, etc. The relative normally does not take absolute initial position in the clause¹² and consequently it looks as if the negative is fronted in order to allow the relative and the verb to take their normal position. In KARATEPE 1 it would have been possible to start the clause with another word (the subject in XXI or an indirect complement in XXVI) but these elements have a post-verbal position which must be meaningful. The two ASSUR passages where the negative is clause-initial are not altogether clear, as is often the case in ASSUR. In the first (ASSUR letter a, 2 §6 = 1975 cit. 29) we may well have to deal with a question, which would explain the ordering (cf. CHLI XI.1: 542); the second (ASSUR letter c, 3 §16 = 1975 cit. 26) is very obscure; it is possible that the negative is focussed but nothing can really be stated.

Most of the negatives which, though not clause-initial, do not immediately precede the (preverb +) verb, have already been discussed in connection with double negative clauses. KIRŞEHİR, 4 §20 (App. B 5) is fragmentary and obscure.

¹²This is clearly an oversimplification and relatives can start an indeterminate clause; for a brief discussion of the ordering of relatives (and the earlier references) see Melchert 2002:224-6.

We are left with:

- (11) ASSUR letter f, 2 §10 (= 1975 cit. 28; *CHLI* XI. 5)

|u-nu-pa-wa/i-za |NEG₂-a |tu-wa/i-ri+i |ha-tu-ra+a

Here too the meaning is not altogether clear; *tu-wa/i-ri+i* looks like the ablative-instrumental of *tunī*- ‘your’ and may refer to an expected or missing letter; the word takes the place which is normally allocated to a preverb.

In general the point to retain is that if the negative does not precede the verb it is reasonable to ask why.

2.3.3 The prohibitive negative

As we have seen the various spellings for the prohibitive negative point to *nīs* in the Empire and Transitional Period and sporadically in the Late Period and *nī* in the Late Period. Even when the two forms coexisted it is unlikely that there was a difference in meaning; cf. KARKAMIŠ A 11 c, 4–5 §§28–9 where they are both used in entirely parallel passages.

As predictable the negative of assertion can be linked to present and past verbs (and never occurs with an imperative). The prohibitive negative, on the other hand, cannot occur with past verbs and normally occurs with the present indicative (more than 30 examples). There are, to our knowledge, only three texts, all very late, which use *nī-i* with the imperative:

- (12) SULTANHAN base top, F 1 §42 (*CHLI* X.14, App. B 21)

|a-wa/i |ka-ti-i-sa |nī-i |á-sa-tu-u-’

“let not there be *damage*.”

- (13) KARABURUN, 3 §13 (*CHLI* X.18, App. B 22)

SUPER+ra/i-pa-wa/i-tu-ta nī-i ma-nu-ha pu-tu

“((He) who shall erase these engravings, for him may the Haranean King, the Moon God, INFRA(-)SATU (imperative) on (his) KIHARANI (and) heart and let him in no way PU- up for him.”

- (14a) ASSUR letter e, 2–3 §§12–14 (*CHLI* XI.5, App. B 23)

|u-nu-ha-wa/i-ma-za-ta |nī-i |ma-nu-ha |ARHA-’ (“VAS”)pa+ra/i-ra+a-ia

|DOMINUS-nī-i |a-za-ia-ha-’ |sa-na-wa/i-ia

|wa/i-za-’ |nī-i |ARHA |(*69) sa-tu-’

|nī-pa-wa/i-mu || ARHA-’ |MORI-nu-’

“Now let the lord’s and our goods by no means disappear (ind.) for you (n)or let them miss (imp.) us, (n)or let me die (imp.).”¹³

¹³For this text cf. Melchert 1989:36. In EMIRGAZĪ, 1 §§8, 10 ((39) below, App. A 1) the verbal endings are not always marked, as is often the case in the texts of the period, but the verbs of §§7 and 9 are in the present indicative.

- (14b) ASSUR letter f, 2 §§12–15 (CHLI XI.5, App. B 26)

|*wa/i-za ni-i-'* |*ma-nu-ha* |ARHA-'² |("69") *sa-si-i*
 |*ni-pa-wa/i-mu* |("SIGILLUM")HWI-*pa-sa-nu*
 |*d-ta₅-wa/i-za* |REL-*sa-ha* |*a-sa-ti*
 |*wa/i-tu-u-ta ni-i* |*ma-nu-ha* |"356"(-)'REL-*sù*¹-[...

"by no means abandon (ind.) us, (n)or cause (imp.) me harm!

Who is ATA to us, by no means ..."

The ASSUR passages are interesting. In (14b) a negative clause with *ni manuha* and the expected indicative is followed by a disjunctive *nipawa* clause with the imperative; in (14a) a *ni manuha* clause, again with the indicative, is followed by a further *ni* clause and then by a *nipawa* clause both with the imperative. From a formal point of view in (14a) and (14b) the *nipawa* clauses do not include a prohibitive negative since *nipa(wa)* is fully grammaticalized as 'or' rather than 'nor'; if so the imperative is justified. The required negative meaning is carried over from the previous clauses just as in Hittite the negative value of *natta* can be carried over (Güterbock and Hoffner 1989– :s.v. *natta* 2' e; Hoffner and Melchert 2008:346). In view of the data offered by the late text KULULU 5 ((34) below) where *ni ... nipawa* means 'either ... or', it is more than possible that the *ni* of the second clause of (14a) is in fact a disjunctive (*ni ... nipawa*); if so, here too the imperative would be formally justified.

The prohibitive negative, in whatever form, has a similar distribution to the negative of assertion. Normally it is immediately followed by the verb (cf. (2) and (12) above), which tends to have final position in the clause (though it may in its turn be followed by an infinitive, an indirect complement or, rarely, the subject). Once, in a two-member parenthetic clause, we find an initial verb followed by *nis*:

- (15) MARAŞ 14, 5C §8 (CHLI IV.5, App. B 18)

|"MALLEUS"-*wa/i-t[á]* |*ni-i-sá*

"(To this statue of Astiwasus let there be this performance)

—let not (one) erase it!—

(three breads ...)"

The ordering is clearly emphatic (cf. Güterbock and Hoffner 1989– :s.v. *lē* 3' c').

Examples: NEG₃-*sa* + Verb in KARKAMIŠ A 3, 4 §23 (= 1975 cit. 47a); A 11c, 4 §28 (= 1975 cit. 50); BABYLON 1, 6 §15 (= 1975 cit. 48); *nū/nū(-i)* + Verb in KARKAMIŠ A 11c, 5 §29 (= 1975 cit. 50); SULTANHAN base, F 1 §42 ((12) and App. B 21); CEKKE, reverse 11 §§25–7 (= 1975 cit. 47b) (cf. the Empire and Transitional data quoted above).

A preverb (ARHA, CUM(-i), INFRA-*ta/tá*, SUPER+*ra/i*) is frequently inserted between the prohibitive negative and the verb, as in (14a) and (14b) above and (16) below:¹⁴

¹⁴In two texts (ISKENDERUN, 4–5 §6 = (38), App. B 17; BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV A 3 §22 = App. B 20) in this position we do not find one of the standard preverbs but two obscure words, *wa/i-na-ha* and *ha+ra/i-wa/i-x*, which seem to be in some way adverbial.

- (16) KARKAMIŠ A 11a, 6–7 §27 (= 1975 cit. 49, *CHLI* II.9)

*a-wa/i-tú-ta (PANIS)tú + ra/i-pi-na (LIBARE) sa₅ + ra/i-la || -ta-za-ha
NEG₃-sa ARHA |CAPERE-ti-i

“From him **let them not** take up bread and libation!”

For an instance of clause-initial preverb followed by *ni manuha* and the verb see below.

Examples: NEG₃-sa + Preverb + Verb in KARKAMIŠ A 2, 5 §12 = 1975 cit. 46 (CUM-i); A 11a, 6–7 §27 = (16) (ARHA); TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §33 = (28), App. B 16 (CUM); *ni/ni(-i)* + Preverb + Verb in ALEPPO 2, 4 §15 = App. B 19 (INFRA-ti), §16 (SUPER+ra/i-?); KARABURÇLU, 4; see App. B 19 (INFRA²-ti²); ASSUR letter c, 2 §13 = (14a) (ARHA); g, “2” §51 = App. B 24 (ARHA). Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §§27–8 = (37), App. B 42.

The prohibitive negative, like the factual negative, can be strengthened with *manuha*, which immediately follows it; once we have a dissimilated form *ma-ru-ha* (SULTANHAN, stele top, E 1 §36, App. B 25). The sequence *ni manuha* precedes the verb, as in (13), but a preverb may be inserted before the verb as in (14a) and (14b). The ordering cohesion of preverb and verb must match that of negative and *manuha* if we can find oscillations like those of (17) and (18) below. That the ordering of preverbs may be a matter of stylistic choice is shown by (13) where the unexpected clause-initial position of SUPER clearly is meant to create a contrast with the INFRA of the previous clause:

- (17) ASSUR letter c, 2 §12 (= (14a), *CHLI* XI.5, App. B 23)

|u-nu-ha-wa/i-ma-za-ta |ni-i |ma-nu-ha |ARHA-³ (“VAS”)pa + ra/i-ra + a-ia ||
DOMINUS-ni-i |a-za-ia-ha-³ |sa-na-wa/i-ia

“Now let the lord’s and our goods **by no means** disappear for you
(and let them not miss us).”

- (18) ASSUR letter c, 2 §5 (*CHLI* XI.3, App. B 27)

|á-pi-ha-wa/i-tu-u-ta |ni-i-³ ARHA-³ |ma-nu-ha pa + ra/i-ra + a-wa/i

“Further let me **by no means** disappear for you.”

Examples: *ni manuha* or *ni manuha* + Verb in KARABURUN, 3 §13 = (13); ASSUR letter f, 2 §15 = (14b), SULTANHAN stele, top 1 §36; + Preverb Verb in ASSUR letter c, 2 §12 = (17); ASSUR letter f, 2 §12 = (14b). *ni* + Preverb + *manuha* + Verb in ASSUR letter c, 2 §5 = (18).

Instances of the prohibitive negative together with the indefinite pronoun start with NEG-sa REL-i(a)-sa-ha in EMIRGAZI 1, §§7–10 ((39), App. A 1) where this sequence precedes or follows the verb in a chiasmic fashion. In the Late Period the few examples of *ni* with indefinite pronoun all precede the verb as in (2) above. Cf. also:

- (19) EREĞLİ, C §4 (Poetto 2002; *CHLI* [X.52], App. B 29)

|wa/i-ta [(DEUS)]TONITRUS-hu-za-sá [|](CAELUM)ti-pa-sa-ti |INFRA-ta
[|]ni-i [|]REL-ha [x]-sa-i[

“Let Tarhunzas *let(?)* down **nothing** from the sky.”

Examples: KULULU 1, 5-6 §14 = App. B 30; ASSUR letter f, 3 §17 = App. B 26b; EREĞLİ, C §4 = (19); ERKİLET 1, 2 §3; 2, 2 §2 = App. B 28a, B 28b and (2).

Finally, we must note the two examples of double negative with positive meaning already listed in 1975, which also offer a rare example of clause-initial *ni* not in disjunctive function:

- (20) ASSUR letter d, 3 §10 (= 1975 cit. 52a; *CHLI* XI.4)

|*ni-wa/i-mu*ⁱ |*á-pi* |NEG₂-*a* |VIA-*wa/i-ni-si*

“do not not send back to me.”

- (21) ASSUR letter f, 4 §26 (= 1975 cit. 52b; *CHLI* XI.6)

|*á-pi-wa/i-ma-na* |*ni-i*[’] |NEG₂-*a* |VIA-*wa/i-ni-si*

“Do not not send it back to me.”

2.4 The negatives: Summary

In the Late Period the standard spelling for the negative of assertion is NEG₂(-*a*), but a few instances of *na* also occur; the earlier *nawa* is abandoned. On the other hand the early spelling NEG₃-*sa* of the prohibitive negative is given up relatively soon; a few instances of a syllabic spelling for *nis* occur but the negative which prevails is *ni*, spelled syllabically. The distribution of these negatives seems to vary over time. The major change is the use of the negatives to mark disjunction which will be discussed below, but, if we can trust our limited evidence for the Early Period, the other change may concern the distribution of negatives in the clause. In the Late Period the standard pattern calls for a negative (both factual and prohibitive) which immediately precedes the verb. On the other hand the so-called preverbs like *ARHA*, *anda*, etc., if present, are normally positioned between the negative and the verb. By contrast in the Empire Period it looks as if the preverbs precede the negative, which is the most frequent position in Hittite. Also regular, both in the Empire and later on, is the position of both negatives before the indefinite pronoun: *ni kwisha* + Verb. Both factual and prohibitive negatives are often followed by *manuha* in contrast with Hittite where *manka* follows *natta* but not *lē* (Hoffner 1986:89). In the Late Period the factual negative is occasionally separated from the verb, but normally this happens either when the negative negates a specific word (usually in a sequence of the type ‘neither X nor Y’) or when the negative belongs to a relative clause and precedes the relative pronoun.

Another change concerns the use of the prohibitive negative. It is regularly joined to forms of the present indicative but in our latest texts we find three apparent examples of *ni* with the imperative. This looks like a new and rare development; it is also possible that one of the examples (14a) may have been misinterpreted and *ni* is in fact a disjunctive. If so, the rarity of the imperative use with *ni* would be even more striking.¹⁵

¹⁵We do not discuss here the adnominal use, if any, of the negatives, which would lead us to a consideration of compounds like (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* ‘child, son.’

3 Disjunctives

In 1975 we were struck by the fact that NEG₂ also occurred in what seemed to be a non-negative function. Most frequently this was at the beginning of a clause (though not the first clause in the sentence) and NEG₂(-a) was followed by *-pa-wa/i* and other particles or pronominal elements. In internal position it was also possible to find NEG₂(-a)-*pa*, which showed that *-wa/i* was the normal particle of reported speech which occurs at the start of practically all Hieroglyphic Luwian clauses. Given the formulaic nature of a number of texts it was clear that NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* alternated with, and fulfilled the same functions as, *ni/ni(-i)-pa-wa/i*, which even then was known to be the disjunctive particle 'or'. The new evidence supports this conclusion and adds important data. Below we list the data at our disposal. The forms in question are a) NEG₂-*pa-wa/i(-)*, NEG₂-*pa*; b) NEG₂-*a-pa-wa/i(-)*, NEG₂-*a-pa*; c) NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i(-)*, NEG₃-*sa-a-pa*; d) *ni/ni(-i)-pa-wa/i(-)*, *ni-pa*; e) NEG₃+*i*, NEG₃-*i*, *ni*.

There is no evidence from the Empire Period for these forms, since the sequences *ni-pa-wa/i* and *ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i* in EMİRGAZİ 2 and YALBURT block 13 are not clear, and probably need to be differently interpreted.¹⁶ This does not necessarily mean that we have no evidence for a disjunctive at that time (see below §3.6). We should also note that the clause-initial sequence NEG₂(-a)-*pa-wa/i-* need not be disjunctive and may introduce a negative clause; in a few instances this is certainly the correct interpretation.¹⁷

3.1 Disjunctives in the Late Period: Attestations

The evidence for the disjunctives (all from the Late Period) is as follows:

- a) (i) NEG₂-*pa-wa/i(-)* (KARKAMIŞ A 5a, 1 §4; A 11a, 6 §§24–5; A 11c, 2 §§20, [21], 3 §24; A 13d, 4 §5; [A 19c, 9 (x 2)]; A 27g, 1; A 27 s, *s (?); [A 29 h]; ALEPPO 2, 6 §25; MARAŞ [11, 2 §2], 14, 3 §5; [BOYBEYPINARI 2, IIIA.2 §14]; BABYLON 1, 6 §14).
- (ii) NEG₂-*pa* (MARAŞ 14, 3 §5).
- b) (i) NEG₂-*a-pa-wa/i(-)* (KARKAMIŞ [A 29 d, 2]; TELL AHMAR 2,7 §§13, 14, [16], 8 §17; TELL AHMAR 5, 5 §17; TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §30).
- (ii) NEG₂-*a-pa* (TELL AHMAR 2, 8 §18; TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 3 line 3 §ii).
- c) (i) NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i(-)* (BOROWSKI 3, 4 §§9–10).
- (ii) NEG₃-*sa-a-pa* (TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §34).

¹⁶We now prefer to read the text differently from e.g. Hawkins 1995:82; in Yalburt block 13 + block 3 it would be possible to read ASINUS-*ni-i(a)-pa-wa/i* NEG-*wa/i* *a-sa-tá* assuming that *-pa-wa/i* are the clitics which follow the previous word. In any case since, as is shown below, the disjunctive *ni/ni(-i)-pa-wa/i(-)* does not occur in the earliest documents of the Late Period, one should hesitate to recognize it in YALBURT and EMİRGAZİ 1.

¹⁷Cf. KARKAMIŞ A 21b, 5 §6 (= App. B 11): NEG₂+*a-pa-wa/i-mu* REL-*zi* BONUS['who (were) not dear to me'; KARKAMIŞ A 17b, 2 §4 (= 1975 cit. 19): NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-na* REL-*sa i-zi-i-[sa-ta-i* 'he who does not honour him'. For KARKAMIŞ A 5a, 1–2 §4 see above (8).

- d) (i) *ni-pa-wa/i(-)* (KARATEPE 1, §LXV 351 Hu; KARKAMIŞ A 6, 9 §30; [A 25 b, 1 §2]; A 31, 4 §11; CEKKE reverse, 10 §21; MARAŞ 14, 5 §14; BOYBEYPINARI 1, IID §6, IIC §9; BOYBEYPINARI 2, IIIB 2 §§12–13, IVC 2 §§16, [17a], IVB 2 §7 b, [c], IVB 3 §18, IVC 3 §19; MALPINAR, 5 §§19, 20, 22; 6 §27; ADIYAMAN 1, 3 §§4–6; ANCOZ 2, 2 §2; 7, D §§10, 11, 13; KULULU 1, 3 §8 (× 3); SULTANHAN stele, 5 §20, top, 2 §§[38], 39, base top, F 1 §40, F 3 §§47–8, 4 §49; KARABURUN, 2 §7, 3 §9; KULULU 5, 5 §7 b, c, d, f; KULULU 2, 3–4 §5 b, c, d; İVRİZ 2, 6 §20, 7 §§21–5; ASSUR letter a, 3 §10; c, 4 §9; e, 2 §§9, 14; f+g, f 2 §13, g “3” §32, g “1” §42); *ni-i-pa-wa/i(-)* (BOYBEYPINARI 2, IIIB 2 §11; [TELL TAYINAT 2, fragm. 11]).
- (ii) *ni-pa(-)* (ANCOZ 7, B §5, C §§7, 9, D §12; ANKARA, 2 §6).
- (iii) *ni-pa-wa/i(-)* (KARATEPE 1, §LX 334 Hu, LXXII a 377 Hu and Ho, KARKAMIŞ A 6, 9 §29; A 31, 5 §14; CEKKE reverse, 10 §22; KARKAMIŞ A 13 a, 1 §3, 4; A 18 c, 2 §4; BOYBEYPINARI 1, [II A §7], II B §8; [KAYSERİ, 2 §4, 3 §6]); *ni-i-pa-wa/i* (KARATEPE 1, §LXXII a 377 Hu); *ni-i-pa-wa/i(-)* (KARATEPE 1, §LXXII b 379 Hu).
- e) Possible examples of simple negative used as disjunctive.
- (i) *NEG₃+i* (KARKAMIŞ A 6, 8 §28); *NEG₃-i* (ibid., §27).
- (ii) *ni(-i)(-)* (*ni-wa/i-ta* KARATEPE 1, §LXXI 373 Hu [Ho]; *ni-wa/i* MALPINAR, 5 §21; *ni-i* KULULU 5, 4–5 §7 a, c; cf. ASSUR letter c, 3 §14).

3.2 *NEG₂(-a)-pa*, *NEG₃-sa-pa*, *ni/ni(-i)-pa(-)*

Alternative spellings with *scriptio plena* or *ni* vs. *ní* do not indicate different words. On the other hand *NEG₂-pa(-)*, *NEG₃-sa-pa*, *ni/ní(-i)-pa(-)* clearly are different forms and must be read differently, presumably as *napa*, *nispa*, *nipa*.¹⁸ As we have seen the *-wa/i(-)* which normally follows is not part of the disjunctive, but the *-pa(-)* connective clearly is, since it is almost always present even when the disjunctive occurs in the middle of the clause, while normally the clitic *-pa* follows the first orthotonic word. In all instances the first element matches one of the negatives: on the one hand the factual negative *NEG₂(-a) = na*, on the other the prohibitive negatives *NEG₃-sa = nis* and *NEG₃(-i) = ni*. The question is whether *napa* and *nipa*, the two most frequent forms, have different meanings or syntactic functions. Once again we can appeal to the formulaic nature of the texts, as already done by Hawkins (1975:148). The disjunctives normally occur in the curse which often forms the final part of our inscriptions: “Whoever does X / If someone does X, or does Y, or does Z, ... him/to him the god(s)

¹⁸ Our writing *napa*, *nipa*, *nispa*, etc. is purely conventional and does not imply that the labial is voiceless. In Cuneiform Luwian the clitic *-pa* is written with a single stop after vowels (cf. Melchert 2003:208; differently Melchert 2002:230); in Lycian, where the disjunctive is *kibe* (Lycian B) or *tibe* (Lycian A), clearly *-be* is the equivalent of *-pa* and we also have *sebe* ‘and’, but cf. the negatives *ne-pe* and *ni-pe*, which may represent a different particle. These data do not necessarily point to an original voiced stop (lenition may have happened at any stage and the generalization of lenition may be lexically determined). On the other hand it is likely that our main disjunctives are /naba/ and /niba/.

will punish / will do something in retaliation.” The crimes committed by the potential malefactor tend to be the same in different inscriptions. A standard crime involves removing the original name from the stele or the rock, sometimes with the aim of replacing it with one’s own. See for instance:

- (22) KARKAMIŠ A 11a, 6 §25 (= 1975 cit. 53b, *CHLI* II.9)

(If in future they shall pass down to (one) who shall ...)

INEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tá á-ma-za á-ta₅-ma-za* ARHA MALLEUS-*i*

“or shall erase my name ... (against him may Tarhunzas ...).”

- (23) KARKAMIŠ A 6, 9 §29 (= 1975 cit. 51, *CHLI* II.22)

(If this seat shall pass down to any king, who shall ..., or ...)

IN_i-*pa-wa/i-tá á-ma-za á-ta₅-ma-za-*’ |REL-*i-sá* |ARHA

“MALLEUS”-*la<-i>*

“or who shall erase my name ... (for him may Nikarawas’ dogs eat up his head).”

- (24) BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV B 3, §18 (*CHLI* VI.2)

ni-pa-wa/i-ta á-ma-za tá-ti-ia-za ¹*á-za-mi-sa á-ta₅-ma-za* ||ARHA

MALLEUS-*i*

(He who shall ... or ...)

“or shall erase the name of my father Azamis ... (for him may ATA Kubaba ...).”

Other parallels can be found in Hawkins 1975 but there is little doubt that NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* and *ni/ní(-i)pa-wa/i* occur in identical constructions (see also (28) below). The question then arises of what determines the choice. With more evidence than we had in 1975 it now looks as if *napa(wa)* is attested earlier than *nípa(wa)* and indeed, with one exception,¹⁹ is limited to the first centuries of the Late Period. In KARKAMIŠ, NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* belongs to the period of Katuwas (10th century or early 9th century), while *ní-pa-wa/i* appears first with Yariris (end 9th century, beginning 8th century). This is interesting because Yariris’ regency is also associated with other writing developments such as the end of the earlier practice for which an initial <a> can be written at the end of a word (Hawkins 2003:150–61). If this is so we should not expect to find *ní-pa-wa* in the Empire texts (see n. 16) and we also understand why *ni/ní(-i)pa-wa/i* is so much more frequent than NEG₂-*pa-wa/i*. Since NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* is phonetically different from *ni-pa-wa/i* we are dealing with an instance of lexical replacement rather than graphic change. This is all the more certain because, even when NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* is no longer written, NEG₂(-a) remains as the main (or only) negative of assertion.

¹⁹MARAS 14 has clause-internal NEG₂-*pa* and NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa* as well as clause-initial *ni-pa-wa/i(-)*, though it is late. It may well be an attempt at archaism. The restoration [NEG₂ (?)]-*pa-wa/i* in BOYBEYPI-NARI 2, III A 2 + IV D 2 §14 in the middle of a string of clauses which begin with *ni-pa-wa/i(-)* now seems very unlikely. It is possible that collation may show ‘*ni-i*’-*pa-wa/i*.

3.3 The *wa*-particle

NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* and *ni/ni(-i)-pa-wa/i* normally start a new clause, which, as we have seen, accounts for the regular presence of the *wa*-particle. Its absence in the rare occurrences of NEG₂-(*a-*)*pa* and *ni-pa* may be casual, since *ni-pa(-)* can occur in initial position in the clause (ANKARA, 2 §6, ANCOZ 7, B §5, C §§7, 9, D §12 = App. B 38) and *-wa* is occasionally omitted in other clauses too (cf. *CHLI* 195), but NEG₂-*a-pa* in MARAŞ 14 and TELL AHMAR 2 joins two nouns inside the main clause, i.e. to all effects and purposes the syntax of the disjunctive is parallel to that of the ‘and’ connective, the clitic *-ha*:

- (25) MARAŞ 14, 3 §5 (*CHLI* IV.5; App. B 34)

a-wa/i | *mi-i-sa* | INFANS-*ni-i-sa* | REL-*sa* | *i-zi-i-ia* + *ra/i* NEG₂-*pa*
| (“INFANS.NEPOS”) *ha-ma-si-sa* NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa* ||
| “INFANS.NEPOS”-REL-*la-sá*

“(He) who shall become my son, or grandson, or great-grandson (literally ‘or he (will be) great-grandson).”

- (26) TELL AHMAR 2, 8 §18 (= 1975 cit. 56a, *CHLI* III.1)

... *á-ma-wa/i-sá* | FRATER-*la-sa* | NEG₂-*a-pa* | FRATER-*la-sa*
| INFANS-*ni-sá*

“... brother or brother’s child”

Note that in (25) *-wa* is absent between the first two nouns but the third noun (‘great-grandson’), though syntactically isofunctional, is introduced by *-wa* and the clitic subject pronoun *-as*. From this point of view ‘or’ and ‘and’ behave in the same manner; *-ha* ‘and’ is a clitic which can join two nouns or two clauses; in the former case there need not be other particles involved. On the other hand e.g. KARATEPE 1, §LXXIII 399 Hu, Ho uses *-ha-wa* in nominal coordination: (May celestial Tarhunzas, the celestial Sun, Ea and all the gods delete) *á-pa* | REX-*hi-sá* | *á-pa-há* “REX”-*na* | *á-pa-há-wa/i* | CAPUT-*ti-na* “that kingdom and that king and (-*ha-wa/i*) that man.”²⁰

We may be tempted to assume that the disjunctive coordination of two nouns calls for *nāpa* or *nīpa* and the omission of the omnipresent *-wa* but this is not always so, as shown by other texts. Cf.:

- (27) KULULU 1, 2-3 §§8-9 (*CHLI* X.9)

| *wa/i-ti* || | *za-ia* | DOMUS-*na-’* | REL-*sá* | *tu-wa/i-ti-i* | *wa/i-zi-ti-[i]*
| *ni-pa-wa/i* | *á-ma-ta-’* | *ni-pa-wa/i* | *la-hi²-zi-i* | *ni-pa-wa/i*
| *wa/i-ia-ni-[si²-]i* | *tu-wa/i* | + *ra/i* | -*sà-za-’*

“(He) who shall demand these houses from Tuwatis
or the AMATA or the LAHIZI (?) or the vineyard of vine(s) ...”

²⁰ In the Assur letters the repeated requests to send some numbered items yield ASSUR letter a, 3-4 §10: 3-*zi-i* | *ni-pa-wa/i* || 4-*zi* | (“*78”) *a-ru-ti-zi* ‘3 or 4 ARUTIs’ and ASSUR letter c, 3-4 §9 4-*zi* || | *ni-pa-wa/i* | 5-*na-’* | (“*78”) *a-ru-ti-na*, ‘4 or 5 ARUTIs (acc. sing.).’

From this point of view what looks to us as nominal connection is treated as clausal connection.

3.4 NEG₃-*sa-a-pa*

While in 1975 the only forms of disjunctive that we recognized with certainty were *napa(wa)* and *nipa(wa)*, recent discoveries have added *nispa(wa)*, attested only in two early inscriptions of the Late Period. A difficult example is found in:

(28) TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §§33–4 (Hawkins 2006b, App. B 16)

**a-wa/i-tu-ta* LOCUS-*ta₄-wa/i-za* |NEG-*sa* CUM *u-sa-la-li-ti*
á-na(REGIO)-*i-ta-pa-wa/i* |NEG₃-*sa-a-pa* |(PES₂)-*i-ti* |*za-a-na*
 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*na* ¹*ba-mi-ia-ta-si-i-na* |*wa/i+ra/i*-*273-*na*

“(He who shall erase Hamiyata’s name or (NEG₂-*pa-wa/i*) who shall desire evil ... for him may this Tarhunzas of the Army become a lion; may he swallow down his head, wife and child).

To him may he (the malefactor? or the god?) not USALALI the ...

nor may he (the malefactor) go to the land A. (in order) to ... this Tarhunzas of Hamiyatas.”

The first clause has a prohibitive negative of the archaic type (*nis*); the second must have a negative meaning. This would allow a translation such as “and/but let him not go ...,” but grammatically it would not explain the double presence of the *pa*-connective both as a clitic after the first word and in NEG₃-*sa-a-pa*.²¹ If *nispa* means ‘or’ we have a justification for the second *pa*. The negative meaning may be carried over from the previous clause (see above p. 107) or at this stage may still be carried by *nispa*. The comparison with the contemporary (29) speaks in favour of the first possibility, but a neutralization of ‘nor’ and ‘or’ is also possible:

(29) BOROWSKI 3, 4–5 §§9–10 (CSLI III.2, App. B 37)

NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i-ta* **a-mi-i* |INFANS-*ni-i* |REL-*sa* |ARHA |CAPERE-*i*
 |NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i-ta* |*á-ta₅-ma-za* |REL-*sa* |ARHA |MALLEUS||-*la-i*

“or who shall take it away from my child,

or who shall erase (my) name (for him may this Tarhunzas ...)”

This is part of the account of the crimes which the malefactor may commit. The relative pronoun in both clauses obliges us to take *nispa* as a disjunctive ‘or’, since a prohibitive negative would be impossible; a negative meaning would also be impossible; cf. (22), (23), (24) above. The inevitable conclusion is that here *nispa* means ‘or’

²¹The spelling NEG₃-*sa-a-pa* is puzzling, but *-a-* may simply be a space filler. To treat *-a-pa* as a separate word is difficult in a text which carefully divides words (in Hawkins 2006b:16 a word divider before NEG₃-*sa-a-pa* is missing in the transliteration). There is a remote possibility that the spelling is due to contamination with NEG₂-*a-pa* found e.g. in TELL AHMAR 2 = (26) above. All these inscriptions, (29) included, are by Hamiyatas.

rather than 'nor' and synchronically cannot be treated as a sequence of prohibitive negative and connective.

3.5 Alternative disjunction strategies: *man* ... *manpa*; REL-*i*(?) ... REL-*i-pa*(?); *nipa* ... *nipa*; *ni* ... *nipa*

The standard curses which appear at the end of many inscriptions have two compulsory elements: the hypothetical list of the evil actions which the malefactors may perpetrate and the mention of the punishment which they would incur as a result. An additional topos is a statement about the nature or status of the malefactor; this often takes the form of alternatives of the type "if he is a king or a lesser man," "whether he is a king or a prince ...," etc. A common way of indicating the alternative is with *man* ... *man* ... clauses:

(30) KARKAMIŠ A 2, 5–6 §14 (CHLI II.13)

(In future he who shall ... these temples)

**a-wa/i-sa* | *ma-na* REX-*ti-sa* ||

| *ma-pa-sa* REGIO DOMINUS-*sa*

| *ma-pa-sa* *₃₅₅-*li-sa*

"whether he (is) a king, and/but whether he (is) a country lord, and/but whether he (is) a priest" (may Tarhunzas of Karkamiš ... against his paternal house ...)"

Cf. also KARKAMIŠ A 3, 1–2 §17 a, b, c, d, e, 3 §19 a, b; BABYLON I, 5 §§11–12 and in a different context, 3 §§5–7; ALEPPO 2, 5 §§19–20; ANKARA, 2 §§7–8.²²

It is of course possible to translate *man* with 'if', but, however we translate it, we must note that in the series of *man* clauses, the second, but not the first, has a *-pa* connective, while the first *man* need not be clause-initial.

A different strategy with *kwi* ... *kwipa* is found once in:

(31) TOPADA, 8 §§35, 37 (CHLI X.12)

wa/i-sa REL-*i*[...] REX-*ti-sa* ...

REL-*i*[...] *pa-wa/i-[sa]* POST + *ra/i-[sa]* CAPUT-*ti-[sa]*

"((He) who shall *smash* ...), if he (is) a king (may the gods *smash* his person [and] his land), if/or he (is) a lesser person, (may the gods *smash* his person and his house.)"²³

²²There is a striking (early) example also in ALEPPO 6, 7–8 §§7–9 (to be published by Hawkins). For EMIRGAZI I, §§31–2 see (41) below. Note that here we have examples of exclusive disjunction in contrast with the majority of inclusive disjunction occurrences elsewhere. The distinction does not seem to have formal expression.

²³See Melchert 2002:228; the text may be complete but after REL-*i* there may be space for e.g. *m/i*, though this would be difficult to understand.

Yet another way of expressing the same topos is with an 'or' phrase as in:

- (32) SULTANHAN base top, 3 §§48–9 (*CHLI* X. 14)
ni-pa-wa/i-sa-' LEPUS + *ra/i-ia-li-sa*
ni-pa-wa/i REX[
 "(He who covets this ARMA, or (if) a ... woman ... brings it away (?))
 or (if) he (is) a governor
 or a king [(him ... he shall smite ...)]"
 (33) KARKAMIS A 19 c, 9 (*CHLI* II.67, App. B 36)
 ... RE]X-ti-sa [N]EG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa* REGIO [DOMI]NUS-[i]a-sa [N]EG₂-*pa-wa/i-* [
 "whether he (is)] a king or he (is) a country lord or he (is) [...]"

Cf. also KARKAMIS A 27 s (*CHLI* II.69).

A variant of this 'whether ... or ... or' construction is found in:

- (34) KULULU 5, 4–5 §7 a b c d e f (*CHLI* X.20, App. B 39)
 "(He who shall make ... to these houses ...)"
wa/i-sá ni-i || REX-ti-sá
ni-pa-wa/i-sá (FEMINA) *ha-su-sa₅ + ra/i-sa*
ni-pa-wa/i MAGNUS + *ra/i[-za?]-sá*
ni-pa-wa/i [...] *sa₄-ti-i* << + *ra/i* >> -*sa*
wa/i-sá ni-i VIR-ti-sa
ni-pa-wa/i FEMINA-ti-sa ||
 "whether (s)he (is) a king, or (s)he (is) a queen, either great or little (?),
 whether (s)he (is) a man or a woman (to him/her let these gods come fa-
 tally.)"

If *ni-i* occurred only in *a* where we expect *ni-pa* we could think of a mistake but the repetition of the pattern in *e* excludes it.²⁴ Clearly *ni* ... *nipa(wa)* ... corresponds to *man* ... *manpa(wa)* ... The meaning must be 'whether ... or' or 'if ... if ...'; *ni* matches the prohibitive negative but in English at least any negation would be out of place. Other examples of *ni* ... *nipa* meaning 'either ... or' exist. We may wonder whether they are due to the casual omission of the first *-pa-*, but the fact that in both cases they seem to start a sequence as in KULULU 5 speaks against it:

- (35) KARATEPE 1, §§LXXI, LXXII 373–8 Hu [Ho] (*CHLI* I.1, App. B 40)
ni-wa/i-ta ("VAS") *á-la/i/u-na-ma-ti a-ta* AEDIFICARE-MI-ri + *i-i* ||
ni-pa-wa MALUS-*ta₄-sa-tara/i-ri + i* ||
 "whether he shall block them up from covetousness,
 or from badness (or ...)."

²⁴The sentence has a level of complexity marked by the presence of a subject pronoun in the first two phrases, but not in the second two. Presumably 'great or little(?)' refers both to the potential king and the potential queen. We would have expected a subject pronoun in the last phrase.

- (36) MALPINAR, 5 §§21–2 (*CHLI* VI.3, App. B 41)

(or if any inferior man shall erase them)

ni-i-wa/i u-si-na-si-i-sa

ni-pa-wa/i [...

“whether a eunuch, or ...”

Above in §2.3.3 we argued that in (14a) (ASSUR letter e, 2–3 §13–4), again a late text, we have another instance of *ni* ... *nipawa* meaning ‘either ... or’ and following a negative clause.

Finally, we must remain in doubt about the correct interpretation of:

- (37) KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §§27–8 (= 1975 cit. 51, *CHLI* II.22, App. B 42)

|zi-i-pa-wa/i |“SCALPRUM”-*su-wa/i-ti-i* |“SCALPRUM”-*su-na-*’ |NEG₃-*i*
CUM-*ní*’ARHA |*tà-ia*

|*ta-sà-pa-wa/i-*’ *ta-si* |NEG₃+*i* CUM-*ní*’ARHA |*tà-ia*

|*ni-pa-wa/i-ta* |*á-ma-za* |*á-ta₅-ma-za-*’ |REL-*i-sá* |ARHA “MALLEUS”-*la*⟨-i⟩

“(If this seat shall pass down to any king, who shall SCRIBA + RA/I(-)*tà-i*)
—let him **not** take away a stone from these stones,²⁵
nor take away a stele for a stele—
or who shall erase my name ...”

In view of the examples of *ni* ... *nipa(wa)* quoted above it would be possible to suggest the tentative translation offered in *CHLI* which interprets NEG₃-*i* ... NEG₃+*i* ... *ni-pa-wa/i* ... as “either ... or ... or”. However, the spelling NEG₃+*i*/NEG₃-*i* is unique as is the construction without a *-pa* in the second clause. Above we have returned to the 1975 translation of §§27 and 28 as parenthetic with a prohibitive value of the negatives NEG₃+*i*/NEG₃-*i* which take the expected place before Preverb + Verb.²⁶ In favour of this view are the two almost contemporary parenthetic clauses which appear in the curses of MARAŞ 14 = (15) above and İSKENDERUN and which cannot be interpreted otherwise:

- (38) İSKENDERUN, 4–5 §6 (*CHLI* IV.3, App. B 17)

za-pa-wa/i ¹*la+ra/i+a-ma* |*á-ta₅-ma-za* |*ni-sa* |*wa/i-na-ha* |*la-si*

“((He) who shall ... it/them)

—do **not** take *away* (?) this Larama name—(the gods will prosecute him.)”

3.6 The Empire Period and the Transitional Period: REL+*ra/i-pa-*, etc.

As already mentioned, we have no evidence in the Empire Period or the Transitional Period for a disjunctive of the type discussed above. However, there are three possible

²⁵For the translation of *zi-i-* (= *zin*) see Goedegebuure 2007:323.

²⁶Elsewhere NEG₃ only occurs in the more archaic form NEG₃-*sa*; the exception is NEG₃ of KARKAMIŠ A 30b, r §1 (II.42), where, however, we require a factual negative before a relative and a preterite. We cannot exclude that in this archaic or archaizing inscription we are dealing with an undifferentiated NEG, which legitimately stands for the later NEG₃.

strategies to indicate disjunction. Asyndeton is always possible, sometimes joined to specific syntactic alternations (chiasmus), though we can never be certain whether we are dealing with disjunction or simple coordination. Cf.:

- (39) EMİRGAZİ I, §§7–10 (Hawkins 1995:88, App. A 1)
zi/a-la-tu-wa/i-ha-wa/i zi/a STELE sà-ka-tà-la-i(a) NEG-sa
REL-i(a)-sa-ha
ARHA NEG-sa REL-i(a)-sa-ha CAPUT+SCALPRUM
tara/i-zi/a-ni-wa/i-ti-wa/i-tà NEG-sa REL-i(a)-sa-ha
*zi/a-i(a)-ha-wa/i-tà *461-tà ARHA NEG-sa REL-i(a)-sa-ha tu-pi*
 “And in future this stele *damage* let no one,
 let no one remove (it),
 TARZANU it let no one,
 and these . . . let no one erase.”

The presence of *-ha-* ‘and’ in the last clause may imply that the two preceding chiastic and asyndetic clauses are to be understood as ‘and’ clauses, but in view of the similar formulae in the Later Period where we find NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* or *ni-pa-wa/i*, we might expect ‘or’ clauses.

The second possibility is provided by *man* clauses, which in the earlier texts are reasonably well attested. They may introduce full hypothetical clauses as in:

- (40) EMİRGAZİ I, §16 (Hawkins 2006b:54–5, App. A 2)
ma-pa-wa/i-tà (MONS) ASCIA sà-ka-tà-la-i(a)
 “But if one damages it/them (on?) Mount ‘Axe’ . . .”

Otherwise they may introduce alternatives:

- (41) EMİRGAZİ I, §§31–2 (Hawkins 2006b:55–6)
 (And he who will put a . . . on Mount Sarpa)
ma-wa/i-sa [...]
*ma-wa/i-sa ‘VITELLUS’.*285*
 “if/whether he (is) . . .
 if/or he (is) a hunter (?) . . .”

Note that in the Later Period the second occurrence of *man* would almost certainly be followed by *-pa*, which makes us wonder whether here we simply have two hypothetical clauses in asyndeton. Pragmatically there is little or no difference between ‘if’ and ‘or’ in this context.

The third possibility is best documented in a text of the transitional period:

- (42) KARAHÖYÜK, C II §§22–3 (= 1975 cit. II, *CHLI* V.1)
REL-i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i i(a)-ma REL-i(a)-sa |CAPUT-ti-sa a-mi-i(a)
DOMUS-ni-i(a) REL+ra/i-i(a)-pa |URBS+MI-ni-i(a) tara/i-pa-a-ti
 “Whatsoever man shall TARPA- on my house or city . . .”

The construction with *-pa* but no *-wa/i* is parallel to the later use of $\text{NEG}_2(-a)-pa$ when it joins two nouns as in (25) and (26) above; the difference is that here *-pa* is preceded not by a negative, but by $\text{REL}+ra/i$ that elsewhere means ‘if’. This of course leaves us in doubt when we find earlier clauses such as:

(43) EMİRGAZİ 1, §§24–5 (Hawkins 2006b:55)

$\text{REL}-i(a)-sa-pa-wa/i$ REX $zi/a-i(a)$ STELE $sà-ka-tà-la-i(a)$

$\text{REL}+ra/i-pa-wa/i$ $tà-na$ NEG- wa/i $á$

‘The King who damages these stele,

if/or does not make (them) holy (?) (for him may the gods . . .)’

One could argue that if $\text{REL}+ra/i$ were understood as ‘if’, we might expect to find $*\text{REL}+ra/i-pa-wa/i-sa$ with an overt *-as* ‘he’ subject, but perhaps we should acknowledge that our knowledge of Empire syntax is too shaky for this type of statement.

To sum up: the evidence for the Early Period is defective but there is little doubt that disjunction can be indicated – through asyndeton or *man*-phrases or (in the Transitional Period at least) through clauses introduced by $\text{REL}+ra/i-pa$. However, we emerge with the impression that there is not yet a fully grammaticalized way of doing so. More texts may change this view.

3.7 Disjunction: A summary

The first question is when and whether disjunctive coordinators existed.²⁷ In the Empire and Transitional Periods we have very little evidence, but we find a use of $\text{REL}+ra/i-pa$ which is ambiguous in (43) (EMİRGAZİ 1) where we could argue that $\text{REL}+ra/i$ is a subordinator which can be rendered with ‘if’ (or ‘as’), though a coordinating ‘or’ would also be a possibility. On the other hand the use is reasonably clear in (42) (KARAHÖYÜK) where $\text{REL}+ra/i-pa$ acts as a disjunctive coordinator between two nouns (Noun + $\text{REL}+ra/i-pa$ + Noun).

In the Late Period $\text{REL}-ri+i$ is a subordinator (‘if’, ‘as’) and in disjunctive function we find first $\text{NEG}_2(-a)-pa(-wa/i)$ (= $napa(wa)$), which is then replaced by $nipa(wa)$. These two forms seem to be equivalent, i.e. appear in the same formula, without a recognizable meaning or distribution difference. Both $napa(wa)$ and $nipa(wa)$ act as noun coordinators and as clause coordinators. The distinction is not always clear because e.g. in (25) above $napa$ is clearly a noun coordinator as in (26) but again in (25) the following coordinated noun seems to require a new clause with a subject pronoun. As clause coordinators normally $napa(wa)$ and $nipa(wa)$ occur at the start of the clause and are immediately followed by the clause clitics.

Twice we have a third disjunctive coordinator $nispa(wa)$: in (29) this form is used in the same way as $napa(wa)$ and $nipa(wa)$, but in (28) it is more difficult to understand, though as we have seen, ‘or’ is a possible meaning.

Something more can be said about the coordinators of negative clauses. We have a few examples of *na-ha* . . . *na-ha* ‘and not . . . and not’ (i.e. ‘neither . . . nor’) joining either two nouns in the same clause or two clauses which repeat the same verb (cf. (7)

²⁷For some of the terminology used here we refer to Haspelmath 2007.

above). We also have in (8) an instance of a negative clause followed by a second clause (with a different verb) which starts with NEG-*pa-wa/i*; if this is not the grammaticalized disjunction *napa(wa)* (see p. 111) it **may** provide evidence that *-pa* is the standard connector not subject to the limitations of *na-ha ... na-ha*. On the other hand we now have reasonably clear evidence for a negative clause with *ni* (*manuha*) followed by an 'or' clause which has negative meaning: see (14a) and (14b) (ASSUR letter e and letter f). Does this mean that *nipawa* or the other disjunctives have or preserve negative meaning? This seems unlikely in view of their clearly non-negative use elsewhere, of their use with another negative in the clause (e.g. KARKAMIŠ A 31, 5 §15), of the use of *nipawa* with the imperative (p. 107), and of the fact that in these circumstances carrying over of negative meaning from the previous clause seems plausible, given the Hittite parallels.

3.7.1. In 1975 we were worried by the similarity between the negative NEG₂(-a) and the disjunctive NEG₂(-a)-*pa(-wa/i)* which did not introduce negative clauses; we feared that this would demolish the case for the interpretation as negatives of the relevant signs. On the other hand on formal grounds we recognized that (i) there was adequate evidence for a *na* value of NEG₂, (ii) next to NEG₂(-a)-*pa(-wa/i)* 'or' there was NEG₂ for which a 'not' value was more than plausible, (iii) NEG₂(-a)-*pa-wa/i* alternated with *nipawa* 'or', and (iv) next to *nipawa* there was *ni*, the prohibitive negative. In other words it was difficult not to link the disjunctives and the negatives. The new evidence puts this link beyond doubt, since we now have a disjunctive NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i* (= *nispawa*) next to the archaic prohibitive negative NEG-*sa, ni-i-sa* (= *nis*) as well as some instances of *ni* in disjunctive function. In addition there is now adequate evidence for a syllabically rather than logographically written *na* negative. One may argue that this does not provide a total proof of an etymological link between *napa(wa)*, *nipa(wa)*, *nispa(wa)* and the negatives *na*, *ni*, *nis*, though it makes a very strong case for it, but spelling and form speak at the very least for a synchronic link between the negatives and the disjunctives. In 1975 we provided some (sketchy) evidence that such links (etymological, synchronic or both) between disjunctives and negatives were not unparalleled (Morpurgo Davies 1975). Typological studies have made remarkable progress since then but we still seem to lack a full study of disjunction which includes diachronic data (cf. Mauri 2008a). However, it is now more frequently acknowledged that negators, interrogative and hypothetical elements play a role in marking disjunction (cf. most recently Mauri 2008a:43, 2008b) and a link between disjunction and unreality is also acknowledged. To pursue the matter further would call for another extensive paper and one which, now that the data have been collected, is indeed needed. Here we can only repeat that to find a disjunction marker based on the combination of a negation and a connective particle (*-pa*) is not surprising from a typological point of view,²⁸ just as is not surprising to find alterna-

²⁸When we find *ni* used as disjunctive (always in late texts) we may be tempted to think that this is an early usage previous to the grammaticalization of *nipa*. On the other hand we should keep in mind the possibility, in our view more plausible, that *ni* is a back-formation from *nipa ... nipa* on the basis of constructions like NEG₂-a ... NEG₂-*pa-wa/i* ... in (8).

tive disjunctive strategies based on asyndeton or on hypothetical connectors (*man* ‘if’, REL+*ri-i* ‘if’).

A point which should be highlighted concerns the general development of disjunction markers in Anatolian. Our new evidence for Hieroglyphic Luwian reveals, in spite of its limitations, a form of development in the language. Perhaps oversimplifying one can state that in the Empire Period we cannot identify a grammaticalized disjunctive marker, though there are strategies to indicate disjunction: asyndeton and ‘if’ constructions. However we interpret EMİRGAZİ 1, by the time of KARAHÖYÜK it looks as if REL+*ra/i-i(a)-pa* indicates disjunction. Soon after we encounter another grammaticalized form which is much better attested: NEG₂(-a-)*pa(-wa/i)*: *napa(wa)* ‘or’. A third form NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i* is roughly contemporary. Within a reasonably short period a replacement emerges: *nipa(wa)*. We cannot of course exclude that *nipa(wa)* too existed from the beginning of the Late Period, but we have no evidence for it. Either way, we seem to be witnessing the creation of several grammaticalized forms to indicate disjunction which coexist with alternative strategies (*man* ... *manpa* and possibly REL-*i* ... REL-*i-pa*) until one of them prevails. If we now turn to the other Anatolian languages we find a series of different forms: *naššu* ... *našma* in Hittite, *tibe* in Lycian A, *kibe* in Lycian B. Of these the Hittite forms are likely to include a negative (cf. *natta* ‘not’) and *našma* certainly includes -*ma*, which functionally corresponds to -*pa*. Lycian *tibe/kibe* correspond to REL-*i-pa* (Melchert 2002). In other words we have evidence that disjunctive coordinators were created independently in the various Anatolian languages, though similar strategies were followed in all of them. Remarkably, however, Hieroglyphic Luwian with its limited attestation still offers the best evidence for the process of grammaticalization which led to the creation of these forms. In their turn the negatives and the disjunctives provide us with remarkable evidence for the internal diachrony of Hieroglyphic Luwian itself.

Appendix

This appendix lists the evidence for the negatives which was not considered in Hawkins 1975. The examples collected here include a few from the Empire Period (A), but are mostly from the Late Period (B). Of these a first group includes texts which are included in the *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. I (CHLI): B 1–3, 8–15, 17–28, 30–1, 33–5, 36–42. A second group is formed of texts which became available since 2000: B 4–7, 16, 26, 29, 32.

Within B the order roughly follows that of the 1975 list: D.: *na* syllabic, ‘not’ (B 1–3); E.: NEG₂(-a), ‘not’ (B 4–11); F.: NEG₂-*a-ha* ... [NEG₂-*a-ha*], ‘neither ... nor’ (B 12); G./H./I.: negative + relative or indefinite pronoun (B 13–15), J.: prohibitive NEG₃-*sa*, NEG₃-*sa-a-pa*, *ni(-i)-sa*, *ni(-i-i)* (B 16–27), + indefinite pronoun (B 28–30); K.: NEG₃(-i), see under M.; (L.: no new examples); M.: disjunctives: NEG₂(-a)-*pa-wa/i*, NEG₂(-a)-*pa* ‘or’ (B 31–6), NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i* (B 37), *ni-pa(-wa/i)*, *ni-i* ‘whether ... or’ (B 38–41). Possibly not in disjunctive function NEG₃-*i* ... NEG₃+*i* (B 42). To save space we have not included in the appendix the evidence for *nipawa* ‘or’, but a complete list of the occurrences of the various forms of negatives and disjunctives built on negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian is given above in §2.1 and §3.

“I will **not** hasten . . .
 but mine you do **not** praise . . .
 but now **not** . . . with . . . will I PUGNUS.PUGNUS the KAPARA. . .
 to me he did **not** give one silver (shekel?) of silver.”

(B 6) IVRIZ 2, 7 §24 (*CHLI* [X.46]). NEG₂-*a*. See App. B 4b

(B 7) TELL AHMAR 6, 4 §10 (edition: Hawkins 2006a). NEG₂-*a*. See (3) above.

(B 8) TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 12, line 5 (*CHLI* VII.2: 375)

. . .]NEG₂-*a* (LITUUS)*ti-ia-ri+i-ia-[-?]-i*

“ . . .] does **not** watch[. . . ”

(B 9) KARKAMIŠ A 31, 4–5 §§14–15 (= 1975 cit. 53c [as A 32], *CHLI* II.26). NEG₂.

(B 10) KARKAMIŠ A 5a, 1 §§3–4 (*CHLI* II.45: 183).

NEG₂-*a ma-nú-ha*. See (8) above. In §3 the verb has not been identified and in §4 DEUS . . . is uncertain.

(B 11) KARKAMIŠ A 21b, 5 §6 (*CHLI* II.32)

NEG+*a-pa-wa/i-mu* REL-*zi* BONUS[. . .

“(. . .] she (?) [Kubaba?] caused to embrace [me?])
 (those) who (were) **not** dear to me.”

Text and interpretation uncertain.

(B 12) ÇİFTLİK, 2 §§3–4 (*CHLI* X.11)

. . .] NEG₂-*a-ha tá-ti-i-zi* [. . .

. . .] AVUS-*ha-zi* (AEDIFICARE)*ta-ma-ta*

“ . . .] **neither** the fathers [built it]
 [nor] the grandfathers built [it]”

(B 13) ANCOZ 7, C §8 (*CHLI* VI 16): NEG₂ REL-*sa*. See below, App. B 38.

(B 14) KARKAMIŠ A 30h, 1 §1 (*CHLI* II. 42)

‘(DEUS)*ku*’ + AVIS (*256)*ka*-*282-*na* NEG₃ REL-*i-sa-ha su-su-tá*

“**No one** kept filling Kubaba’s granary . . . ”

NEG₃ (or NEG?) for NEG₂: archaic or archaizing? See n. 6.

(B 15) MARAŞ 2, §2 (*CHLI* IV.10)

a-wa/i |*á-mi-na* | ‘FEMINA’-*ti-na* | VAS-*tara/i-na* | NEG₃-*wa/i* REL-*sa*²¹ *a-ta*
 [x]-*pa-ha*

“I who did **not** . . . my woman’s image”

Identification as negative relative clause seems the least difficult option. NEG₃-*wa/i* must stand for NEG₂-*wa/i* (= *nawa*); see n. 6.

(B 16) TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §§33–4 (*CHLI* [III.11]; edition: Hawkins 2006a). See (28) above. NEG₃-*sa*. NEG₃-*sa-a-pa*.

§33 almost identical with KARKAMIŠ A 2, 5 §12 (= 1975 cit. 46; *CHLI* II.13). LOCUS-*ta₄-wa/i-za* and the verb *wasalali-/usalali-* remain unelucidated.

(B 17) İSKENDERUN, 4–5 §6 (*CHLI* IV.3). *ni-sa*. See (38) above.

(B 18) MARAŞ 14, 5 §8 (*CHLI* IV.5). *ni-i-sá*. See (15) above.

(B 19) ALEPPO 2, 4 §§15–16 (*CHLI* III.2)

wa/i-tú-ʾ | CAELUM[.] | *ni-i* INFRA-*tá* | PES-*wa/i-ti-i*
| (“TERRA”) *ta-sà-REL* + *ra/i-ti-pa-wa/i-ta* | (“*471”) ((*m*)*u²-ru-wa/i-tà-za* | *ni-i*
| SUPER + *ra/i-ʾ* | PES-*wa/i-ti*

“For him let not [. . .] come down from the sky,
and/or let not MURUWATANZA come up from the earth.”

Cf. KARABURÇLU, 4 (*CHLI* IV.13) . . . | *ni-i* | INFRA²-*ta²* | PES-*wa/i-t[i²* . . . “let him/ them not come down . . .”

(B 20) BOYBEYPINARI 2, IV A 3 §22 (*CHLI* VI.2)

wa/i-ta ni-i | *ha* + *ra/i-wa/i-x* (PONERE) *tu-wa/i-x*

“(and against him may the gods . . . in litigation . . .)
and may they not put . . .”

(B 21) SULTANHAN base top, F I §42 (*CHLI* X 14). *ni* + imperative. See (12) above.

(B 22) KARABURUN, 3 §13 (*CHLI* X.15). *ni manuha* + imperative. See (13) above.

(B 23) ASSUR letter e, 2–3 §§12–5 (*CHLI* XI.5). *ni* + imperative. See (14a) above.

(B 24) ASSUR letter g, “2” §51 (*CHLI* XI.6)

| *wa/i-[ri+i]-ia-sa-ta* | *ni-i-i* | ARHAⁱ | OCCIDENS(-) | *la/i/uⁱ-si-ti-i*

“let him not absent himself”

(B 25) SULTANHAN stele, E I §36 (*CHLI* X.14)

| *a-ta-pa-wa/i-na* | *ni-i-i* | *ma-ru-ha* | *pa-nu-wa/i-i* | TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa*
| *tu-wa/i+ra/i-sa*

“may Tarhunzas by no means let him drink in the vineyard.”

(B 26a) ASSUR letter f, 2 §§12–15 (*CHLI* XI.5). *ni* . . . *manuha* + (Preverb and) Verb. See (14b) above.

(B 26b) ASSUR letter f, 3 §17 (*CHLI* XI.5)

| *wa/i-na* | *ni-i* | REL-*sà-ha* LITUUS + *na-ri+i*

“(. . . that child . . .) let no one see her!”

(B 27) ASSUR letter c, 2 §5 (*CHLI* XI.3). *ni* + Preverb + *manuha* + Verb. See (18) above.

- (B 28a) ERKĪLET 1, 2 §3 (*CHLI* X.24)
 |*za-pa-wa/i-ta* |*ni* |REL-*i-sa-ha* |*sa-ni-ti*
 “(This stone I myself carved) and/but **let no one** overturn this.”
- (B 28b) ERKĪLET 2, 2, §2 (*CHLI* X.25). *ni kwisha*. See (2) above.
- (B 29) EREĠLĪ, C §4 (*CHLI* [X. 52]. Edition: Poetto 2002. *ni REL-ha*. See (19) above.
- (B 30) KULULU 1, 5–6 §§13–14 (*CHLI* X.9)
¹*tu-wa/i-ti-ia-pa-wa-ta* |*za-zi* |DEUS-*ni-zi-i* |*wa/i-su* |*ā-wa/i-tu*
wa/i-tā || |*ni-i* |REL-*ti-i-ha* |*pi-i[a]-a-i*
 “But for Tuwatis may these gods come well.
 Let him give it/them **to no one**.”
- (B 31) KARKAMIŠ A 13d, 4–5 §5 (= 1975 cit. 20, *CHLI* II.16)
 |NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-tā* || |*za-a-ti* | (“SCALPRUM”) *ku-ta-sa₅* + *ra/i-i* |REL- + *ra/i-i*
¹*ka-tu-wa/i*[...]
 “(he shall give nine / a ninth to him.) **Or** if to this orthostat Katuwas ...”
- The disjunctive interpretation corrects, following *CHLI*, that of 1975 cit. 20.
- (B 32) TELL AHMAR 6, 8 §30 (*CHLI* [III.11]; edition: Hawkins 2006a)
 |NEG₂-*a-pa-wa/i* ¹*ha-mi-ia-ta-sa-na* |NEPOS-*sa-ta-ni-i* |REL-*i-sa*
 |MALUS-*wa/i-za-²* |POST-*ni a-tā* |(VAS.ANIMAL) *za + ra/i-ti-ti-i*
 “or who shall desire evil for Hamiyatas’s posterity. ...”
- (B 33) TELL AHMAR 5, 8 §17 (*CHLI* III.3)
 |NEG₂-*a-pa-[wa/i]* ¹*ha-mi-ia-ta-[...]* |REL-[...] MALUS-*ta₄-hi-t[ā]-ti-²*
 |CUM-*ni* |PES₂(-)*wa/i-si-ti*
 “(He who shall overturn these granaries,
 or who shall come [against] Hamiyata [with] badness ...”
- (B 34) MARAŠ 14, 3 §5 (*CHLI* IV.5)
 NEG₂-*pa* ... NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa* ... See (25) above.
- (B 35) TELL TAYINAT 2, frag. 3 line 3 (*CHLI* VII.2)
 |**a-wa/i* NEG₂-*a-pa* REL-*i*[
- (B 36) KARKAMIŠ A 19c, 9 (*CHLI* II.67)
 NEG₂-*pa-wa/i-sa* ... See (33) above and cf. KARKAMIŠ A 27s.
- (B 37) BOROWSKI 3, 4–5 §§9–10 (*CHLI* III.2).
 NEG₃-*sa-pa-wa/i* ... See (29) above.
- (B 38) ANCOZ 7, B–D §§5–13 (*CHLI* VI.16)
ni-pa-tā² REL- + *ra/i hu + ra/i-x-x* INFRA ... || FINES-*hi-zi* REL-*sa*
 |*za-la-na* PONERE-*wa/i-i*

mu-wa/i PURUS.FONS.MI REL-*zi* |*pi-ia-ha*
ni-pa *ku-ma-sa-tara/i-na* REL-*na* *za-ti-ia-za* URBS+MI-*na-za* CUM-*ni*
i-zi-i-ha
wa/i-na |NEG₂ REL-*sa* |*i-zi-i-ti*
ni-pa |*za* MENSA |REL-*sa* ... (DEUS) (× 3) ... || “MALUS”-*ta₄-tara/i-ti*
 PRAE-*ha* CAPERE-*i*
ni-pa-wa/i-tà ARHA MALLEUS
ni-pa-wa/i-tà a-tá i-ma-ni-ti
ni-pa LOCUS-*ta₄-za* [(SA₄)]*sa-ni-ti-i*
ni-pa-wa/i-ta PURUS.FONS.MI ¹HÁ + LI-*ha tá-ti-ia-za* |INFANS-*ni-za-ha*
á-ta₅-ma-za ARHA MALLEUS-*i*

“(These cities ... (he) who takes away from the gods ...)
 or if anyone ... puts ZALAN the frontiers,
 which I Suppiluliumas have given,
 or the sacrament which I have celebrated for these cities,
 (he) who does not celebrate it,
 or who takes this table from before the gods ... with badness,
 or hammers it away,
 or ANTA IMANI’s it,
 or overturns (it) (in its) place,
 or hammers away the name of Suppiluliuma and Hattusilis, father and son,
 (against him may these gods be the prosecutors.)”

(B 39) KULULU 5, 4–5 §7 a–f (CHLI X.20). *ni* ... *nipawa* ... See (34) above.

(B 40) KARATEPE 1, §LXXI, LXXII 373–8 Hu [Ho] (CHLI I.1) *niva* ... *nipa-wa/i*. See (35) above.

(B 41) MALPINAR, 5 §§21–2 (CHLI VI.3). *niva* ... *nipawa* ... See (36) above.

(B 42) KARKAMIŠ A 6, 8 §§27–8 (= 1975 cit. 51 CHLI II. 22)

NEG₃-*i* ... NEG₃+*i*. See (37) above.

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Nochmals zu den *-yá-*Adverbien im R̥gveda

Heinrich Hettrich

1. Die vedische Sprache kennt eine Gruppe von Adverbien auf *-yá-*, die meist entweder von *u*-Adjektiven abgeleitet sind (*dhṛṣṇú-* „kühn“ → *dhṛṣṇuyá-*; *āśú-* „schnell“ → *āśuyá-*) oder letztlich ein Nomen oder Pronomen als Basis haben (*summayá-* „gnädig“ ← *sum-ná-* „Gunst“; *tvāyá-* „um deinetwillen“ ← *tvá-* „du“). Diese letzteren (pro)nominal derivierten Fälle gelten als haplogologisch vereinfachte Instrumentale (*vasūyá-* < **vasūyáyā-* zum Stamm *vasūyá-*). Sie stehen in engem Zusammenhang mit denominalen *yá-*Präsentien und nomina agentis auf *-yú-*; z. B. *vasūyá-* „Verlangen nach Gütern“ – *vasūyáti* „verlangt nach Gütern“ – *vasūyú-* „nach Gütern verlangend“; allerdings sind diese Bezüge oft semantisch schwankend und schwach belegt. Um diese denominalen Bildungen auf *-yá-*, vor allem um ihre Bedeutung, geht es in diesem Beitrag. Ein Beispiel zeigt

- (1) *ayám sá hótā yó dvijánmā* 1,149,5¹
viśvā dadhē vāryāni śravasyā
mārto yó asmai sutúko dadāśa

„Dies ist der Hotṛ, der als Zweimalgeborener alle wünschenswerten [Dinge] geschaffen hat wegen des Ruhmes [für den] Sterblichen, der, gut angespornt, ihm gehuldt hat.“

Wortbildung und Bedeutung dieser Adverbien werden unterschiedlich beurteilt. Die soeben skizzierte Einordnung ist diejenige von Wackernagel 1930:75ff. und Wackernagel und Debrunner 1954:244. Sie wird – wenn auch zurückhaltend – von Cardona (1968:1–47) übernommen und weiterentwickelt, besonders hinsichtlich der Voraussetzungen für die Haplogologie am Wortende.

Abweichend, allerdings begrenzt auf *tvāyá-*, äußert sich Insler (1966). Er sieht in *tvāyá-* eine neugebildete Lokativform, die zusätzlich auch dativische Funktion angenommen habe. Albino schließlich (2000) behandelt die von Nomina abgeleiteten *-yá-*-Formen und betrachtet sie als finale Dative.

Das beste Beispiel für Inslers These ist (2), das er (l. c. 223) übersetzt als „For what thing are thy friends, the Brahmans, eager, they who have placed their love upon thee, Indra?“

- (2) *kīm te brahmāno gṛhatesákhāyo* 5,32,12
yé tvāyá nidadbhūḥ kāmam indra

¹ Alle Textzitate stammen aus dem R̥gveda.

Dass dies der Sinn dieser Stelle ist, kann Insler durch zahlreiche inhaltlich parallele Stellen belegen; diese zeigen, dass *tvāyā* an dieser Stelle lokativische Funktion haben muss.² Indessen zeigen die für dativische Funktion in Anspruch genommenen Stellen von *tvāyā* diese Funktion nicht in gleicher Eindeutigkeit, sondern lassen sich ebenso gut als kausale Instrumentale verstehen, so z. B. (3):

- (3) *ādihāha yād vayām agne tvāyā* 4,2,14
paḍbhīr hāstebhiś cakṛmā tanūbhīḥ
 „Und was wir, Agni, deinetwegen
 mit Füßen, Händen, Leibern gemacht haben“

Und da die übrigen denominalen Bildungen auf *-yā* semantisch in die gleiche Richtung weisen (s. o. *śravasyā* in Beleg 1), wird man nach wie vor die Funktion dieser Formen von der Bedeutung des Instrumentals ausgehend zu bestimmen suchen.

Dabei muss allerdings auffallen, dass mit diesen Bildungen vielfach eine desiderative oder – wie Albino (2000:17) sie genannt hat – „kupitive“ Bedeutungskomponente verbunden ist. Sie kann z. B. in dem obigen Beleg (1) festgestellt werden. Diese Stelle übersetzt Albino (l. c. 125) als „Dies ist der Hotar, der ... alle wünschenswerten Dinge, um Ruhm [zu schenken], dem Sterblichen bringt, der ... ihm gespendet hat“; er sieht also in *śravasyā* und ebenso zumindest in einem Teil der übrigen *-yā*-Bildungen („in bestimmten Fällen“, l. c. 128; eine genauere Angabe fehlt) finale Dative, weist also die desiderative Bedeutungskomponente nicht dem Stamm, sondern der Flexionskategorie zu. Morphologisch bleibt diese allerdings rätselhaft.

Für einen beachtlichen Teil der *yā*-Bildungen scheint diese Lösung aufzugehen; exemplarisch seien noch zwei Stellen mit Albinos Interpretation angeführt:

- (4) *āsṛkṣata prā vājīno* 9,64,4
gavyā sōmāso āsvayā
śukrāso vīrayāśāvah
 „Die Rennpferde wurden losgelassen, die Somaströme,
 um Rinder und Pferde [zu erlangen], die hellglänzenden,
 schnellen, um Söhne [zu erlangen].“ (l. c. 122)
- (5) *huvé yād vām varivasyā gṛṇānāḥ* 1,181,9
 „da ich euch beide preisend anrufe,
 um freien Raum [zu erlangen]“ (l. c. 127)

2.1. Wenn man angesichts dieser unvereinbaren Äußerungen die denominalen *-yā*-Bildungen unter Einschluss von *tvāyā* noch einmal insgesamt betrachtet, so zeigt sich folgendes Resultat:

²Unter den weiteren Stellen könnte man am ehesten noch in 7,29,3 *viśvā matīr ā tatane tvāyā* lokativische Funktion annehmen: „Alle meine Gedanken habe ich zu dir ausgestreckt,“ s. Cardona 1968:33, aber ein instrumentalisches „... um deinetwillen ausgedehnt“ o. ä. wäre nicht ausgeschlossen.

- a) Abgesehen von den *tvāyā*-Fällen wäre in der Mehrzahl der Belege eine Interpretation als *dativus finalis* grundsätzlich möglich, außer an den schon angeführten Stellen (1), (4) und (5) noch in 1,61,5 *śravasyā*; 1,97,2 *suksetriyā*, *sugātuyā*, *vasūyā*; 1,165,1 *vasūyā*; 1,181,9 *śravasyā*; 1,183,2 *vapusyā*; 7,18,7 *gavyā*; 7,18,11 *śravasyā*; 7,99,3 *daśasyā*; 8,46,10 *gavyā*, *āśvayā*, *rathayā*; 9,82,2 *vedhasyā*; 9,96,16 *śravasyā*; 10,70,1 *devayajyā*.
- b) Allerdings liegt eine desiderative Funktion nicht vor an den Stellen mit *tvāyā* sowie an den folgenden Stellen mit denominalen -yā-Bildungen:

- (6) *tvām agne prathamó mātariśvana* 1,31,3
āvīr bhava sukratūyā vivāsvate
 „Du, Agni, werde zuerst dem Mātariśvan offenbar,
 dann mit guter Geisteskraft dem Vivasvant!“

- (7) *sām ṛbhūbbhiḥ pibasva ratnadhébhiḥ* 4,35,7
sākhīnir yām indra cakṛṣe sukṛtyā
 „Trink mit den geschenkbringenden Ṛbhus zusammen,
 die du wegen ihrer Kunstfertigkeit zu Freunden gemacht hast!“,

außerdem 2,10,6 *vacasyā*; 4,1,12 *vipanyā*; 4,35,8 *sukṛtyā*; 4,35,9 *svapasyā*.

- c) Und schließlich gibt es auch den Fall, dass eine desiderative Komponente zwar vorhanden, aber die Deutung als Finalbezug trotzdem ausgeschlossen ist, so in

- (8) *evā nṛbhir indrah suśravasyā* 1,178,4
prakhādāḥ pṛkṣó abhi mītrīno bhūt
 „Auf diese Weise übertrifft Indra mit den Männern
 auf der Suche nach gutem Ruhm die im Vertrag Stehenden,
 der kraftvolle Anbeißer.“ (Gotō)

- (9) *trimsācchatam varmiṇa indra sākām* 6,27,6
yavyāvatyām puruhūta śravasyā
vṛcīvantaḥ śārave pātyamānāḥ
pātrābbindānā nyarthāny āyan
 „Hundertunddreißig gepanzerte Vṛcivat's verfielen miteinander
 an der Yavyāvatī aus Ruhmsucht [deinem] Geschoss, o vielgerufener
 Indra; [wie] die, die ihre Geschirre zerbrechen, machten sie einen
 Fehlgang.“,

außerdem 7,23,1 *śravasyā*(?); 8,66,3 *brahmanyā*.

2.2. Für das Verständnis dieser differenzierten Beleglage ist es hilfreich, zunächst das Verhältnis der Relationen ‚Kausalität‘ und ‚Finalität‘ untereinander zu klären. Dies kann an Beispielen aus dem Deutschen geschehen:

- (a) *Das Kind isst äußerst langsam, weil es das zu-Bett-Gehen hinauszögern will.*
- (b) *Das Kind isst äußerst langsam, damit es das zu-Bett-Gehen hinauszögert (hinauszögern kann);*
- (c) *~, um das zu-Bett-Gehen hinauszuzögern.*

Die Beispiele zeigen, dass desiderativer Kausalsatz und Finalsatz referenzidentisch sein, also den gleichen Sachverhaltskomplex einschließlich der verbindenden Relation bezeichnen können. Anders ausgedrückt bezeichnet der Finalsatz den Zweck, zu dem der Sachverhalt des Hauptsatzes vollzogen oder der Hauptsatz geäußert wird; er entspricht damit einem Kausalsatz, soweit dieser einen Wunsch als Begründung des Hauptsatzes enthält.

Doch trifft die Gleichsetzung begründender Wunsch = Zweck nicht immer zu, wie die folgenden Sätze zeigen:

- (d) *Das Kind klettert vom Stuhl herunter, weil es seine Bauklötzchen aufheben will.*
~, damit es ... aufheben kann.
~, um ... aufzuheben.

aber:

- (e) *Das Kind fällt vom Stuhl, weil es seine Bauklötzchen aufheben will.*

Hier gibt es keinen äquivalenten Finalsatz bzw. finale Infinitivphrase: Die Ersetzungen **Das Kind fällt vom Stuhl, damit ... aufheben kann*, bzw. *~ um ... aufzuheben* sind sprachwidrig, da ein Finalbezug immer eine willentliche Handlung des Hauptsatzsubjekts oder Absicht des Sprechers impliziert. Für Kausalbezüge gilt diese Einschränkung nicht; der (desiderative) Kausalsatz geht deshalb über den Bezeichnungsbereich des Finalsatzes hinaus; Äquivalenz von desiderativem Kausal- und Finalbezug ist also nur gegeben, wenn der Hauptsatz eine willentliche Handlung des Subjekts bzw. Äußerung des Sprechers bezeichnet.

2.3. Dies bedeutet für die vedischen Beleggruppen (a) und (c): In Gruppe (a) kann der Bezug der *-yā*-Bildung zum Hauptsatz sowohl final als auch desiderativ-kausal verstanden werden, weil der Hauptsatz eine intentionale Handlung wiedergibt. Dagegen ist in Gruppe (c) nur eine kausale Lesart möglich, weil diese Hauptsatz-Intentionalität fehlt. Da aber die *-yā*-Bildungen in beiden Gruppen keine morphologischen Unterschiede zeigen, sind die Gruppen zusammenzufassen und die Belege einheitlich desiderativ-kausal und nicht final zu interpretieren.

Gegenüber dieser aus (a) und (c) vereinigten Gruppe bleiben die Unterschiede zu (b) bestehen: Dort gibt es keine desiderative Variante, und die Funktion der *-yā*-Bildung im Satz schwankt zwischen Kausalität und begleitendem Umstand.

Damit bleiben alle Bezüge von (a) bis (c) letztlich innerhalb des funktionalen Rahmens des Instrumentals³; insoweit verdient also die traditionelle Erklärung als Instrumental eines *yā*-Stammes (*-yāyā* > *-yā* durch Haplogologie) gegenüber Insler und Albino

³S. die Übersicht in Hettrich 2002:47ff.

den Vorzug. Für die Erklärung von *tvāyā* als kausaler Instrumental wurde oben schon die Stelle 4,2,14 angeführt; dies gilt auch für die übrigen *tvāyā*-Belege außer 5,32,12 und vielleicht 7,29,3 (s. o. Anm. 2); eine weitere Passage, die die Form gleich dreimal enthält, muss hier dazu genügen:

- (10) *āta ā yāby adbhvarām no ācchā* 1,101,8
tvāyā haviś cakṛmāsatyarādhah
tvāyēndra sōman suṣumāsudakṣa 1,101,9
tvāyā haviś cakṛmā brahmavāhah

„Von dort komm her zu unserem Opfer, um deinetwillen/wegen dir haben wir einen Opferguss bereitet, du, dessen Gabe wahr ist, um deinetwillen/wegen dir, Indra, haben wir Soma gepresst, du mit gutem Verstand, um deinetwillen/wegen dir haben wir den Opferguss bereitet, du der das Gedicht als Ehrung erhält, ...“

3.1. Allerdings kann die Instrumental-Erklärung nur beibehalten werden, wenn noch zwei weitere Fragen geklärt werden:

- Woher stammt die desiderative Bedeutungskomponente? Unter den Teilfunktionen des Instrumentals ist sie nicht vertreten.
- Wie erklärt sich das Nebeneinander von desiderativen und nicht-desiderativen Bezügen ohne morphologischen Unterschied?

3.2. Grundsätzlich bezeichnet das Nomen im Instrumental einen Gegenstand (Konkretum) oder einen Sachverhalt (Abstraktum), der bei dem Eintreten des durch den Kernsatz wiedergegebenen Sachverhaltes als präsent oder zumindest existent vorausgesetzt wird. Man vgl.

- (11) *yāh śāśvato māhy éno dādāhānān* 2,12,10
āmānyamānān chārvā jaghāna

„Der die großen Frevel begehenden alle nacheinander, ohne dass sie damit rechnen, mit dem Pfeil getötet hat, ...“,

wo Indra natürlich den Pfeil verfügbar haben muss, oder

- (12) *yāh puspīnīs ca prasvās ca dhārmanā-* 2,13,7
-dhi dāne ry āvānti ādhārayah

„Der du die blühenden und fruchttragenden (Pflanzen) nach der Ordnung, und die Ströme über den Weideplatz verteiltest, ...“ (Witzel-Gotō),

wo der beschriebene Sachverhalt (*ādhārayah*) die Existenz des *dhārman-* als Richtschnur voraussetzt.

Den Gegenpol zum derart charakterisierten Instrumental bildet der Dativ, wo, gerade umgekehrt zu Sätzen mit Instrumental, – im Falle des Dativs des Empfängers –

dieser erst dadurch ins Spiel kommt, dass der Sachverhalt auf ihn hin ausgerichtet ist bzw. – im Falle des *dativus finalis* – der durch das dativische Abstraktum bezeichnete Sachverhalt noch gar nicht existiert und erst ausgelöst werden soll.

3.3. Dieser klare Unterschied zwischen beiden Kasus wird nur in zwei Konstruktions-typen verwischt, und zwar einerseits bei der Bezeichnung des Agens in Nezessitäts-konstruktionen, was hier keine Rolle spielt,⁴ andererseits im Bereich bestimmter Ab-strakta, wo soziativer Instrumental und finaler Dativ miteinander konkurrieren und wo man von ‚Bezeichnungsübereinstimmung‘ (nicht: Bedeutungsübereinstimmung) sprechen kann. Man betrachte zunächst Dative der Abstrakta *āvas-*, *ūtī-* ‚Hilfe‘ und *śrī-* ‚Pracht‘ in Sätzen wie (13a)–(15a).

(13)	a. <i>viśve no devā āvasā gamann ihā</i>	1,89,7
	„Alle Götter sollen hierher zu uns mit Hilfe kommen.“	
(14)	a. <i>ācchā yó gāntā nādhāmānam ūtī</i>	4,29,4
	„der zu dem Zuflucht Suchenden mit seiner Hilfe kommt“	
(15)	a. <i>abhi vāṃ viśvā niyūtaḥ sacante</i> <i>spārhāyā śrīyā tanv`ā śubhānā</i>	7,72,1
	„Euch folgen alle Gaben, die ihr am Leib durch begehrenswerte Pracht glänzt“	

Diesen Belegen seien die folgenden mit den jeweiligen Dativen gegenübergestellt:

(13)	b. <i>asmatrā gantv āvase</i>	8,63,4
	„Zu uns soll er zur Hilfe kommen“	
(14)	b. <i>uśānā yāt parāvato` jagann ūtāye kave</i>	1,130,9
	„nachdem du mit Uśanas aus der Ferne zur Hilfe kamst, o Seher“	
(15)	b. <i>śrīyē rukmó nā rocata upāke</i>	4,10,5
	„Zur Pracht leuchtet [Agni] wie Goldschmuck in der Nähe.“	

Die Belege zeigen, dass Instrumental und Dativ zwar ihre jeweiligen Eigenbedeutungen (soziativ oder Art und Weise bzw. *dativus finalis*) tragen, aber trotzdem hier gleichartige, zumindest sehr ähnliche, Sachverhalte bzw. Bezüge bezeichnen. Dies ist wegen folgender Sonderbedingungen möglich: Abstrakta sind nominalisierte Zeichen zur Wiedergabe von Vorgängen oder Zuständen. Sie sind aber als Nomina hinsichtlich Modus und Tempus nicht definiert, geben also keine Auskunft darüber, ob der SV real oder imaginär, ob er geschehen oder erst zu erwarten bzw. gewünscht ist. So wird in den Beispielen (13a)–(15a) mit Instrumental die vorgegebene Existenz der entsprechenden Begriffe aufgrund der Kasusbedeutung ausgedrückt; gleichzeitig lässt aber die fehlende Tempus- und Modusmarkierung zu, dass der Hörer implizit diese Begriffe auch auf die Zukunft bezieht. Darin liegt letztlich der Grund für

⁴S. dazu Hettrich 1990:64ff.

die gelegentlich vorgeschlagene, aber als solche unzutreffende Bestimmung von *ūtí* als auch formaler dativus finalis (zuletzt Albino l. c., dagegen Balles 2006:246 Anm. 389). M. a. W.: In den Belegen (13b)–(15b) liegen denotative und eindeutige dativi finales vor, aus den Instrumentalen in (13a)–(15a) kann der Hörer eine entsprechende, zukunftsbezogene Zweckbestimmung implizit entnehmen.

4. Auf diese Weise dürfte sich auch die „desiderative“ Bedeutung mancher -yá-Bildungen erklären: Denotativ stellen – zumindest ursprünglich – alle denominalen -yá-Bildungen kausale Instrumentale dar. So könnte man das desiderative *varivasyá* in (5) und das nicht-desiderative *sukṛtyá* in (7) noch parallel übersetzen als „wegen des freien Raumes“ und „wegen ihrer Kunstfertigkeit“; die desiderative Bedeutung resultierte dann aus dem zunächst nur implizit möglichen Bezug auf die Zukunft in (5), der kontextbedingt in (7) nicht möglich ist. Dieser bei entsprechender Kontextvoraussetzung zunächst nur implizite Bezug entwickelte sich dann zur expliziten denotativen Bedeutung, die dann „rückwirkend“ auf nahestehende Ableitungen (denominale Präsensstämme auf -yá-, nomina agentis auf -yá-; s. o. §1) übertragen wurde.⁵ Damit war dann eine Herauslösung aus dem ohnehin defektiven, nur rudimentär ausgeprägten Flexionsparadigma verbunden, die sich als Einschränkung der vollen Instrumentalbedeutung auf die kausale Teilfunktion äußerte. Diese Herauslösung war um so leichter möglich, als durch die haplogologische Verkürzung des Ausganges -yáyā zu -yá auch eine formale Sonderstellung zustandekam, die zur Bildung weiterer Formen auf -yá auch ohne Basis auf -yáyā führen konnte. Eine indirekte Bestätigung dieser Annahme bieten die Instrumentale, die nicht durch Haplogie betroffen wurden, sondern den regulären Ausgang -yáyā beibehielten, dementsprechend nicht auf die Teilfunktion ‚kausal‘ eingeschränkt wurden und auch andere Instrumental-Funktionen zeigen;⁶ z. B. *vacasyáyā* in 4,36,6 (limitativ); 10,113,8 (kausal); *vīpamyáyā* 1,119,7; 3,28,5; 6,16,34 (überall Begleitumstand); *sukṛtyáyā* 1,20,8 (kausal); 1,83,4; 9,48,1; 10,94,2 (überall Begleitumstand); 3,60,3; 4,35,2 (beide Male Art und Weise). Und lediglich in 1,128,6 (*śravyáyā*) sowie 10,72,1 (*vīpamyáyā*) hat sich die neu entwickelte desiderative Bedeutungskomponente über die haplogologischen Formen hinaus durchgesetzt.

Im Zuge der Herauslösung der haplogologischen Formen aus dem Paradigma dürfte auch *tvāyá* als adverbiale Form des Pronomens der 2. Person neugebildet worden sein, die dementsprechend auf die kausale Funktion begrenzt blieb⁷ und dadurch in deutlichem semantischem Gegensatz zu der regulär paradigmatischen Form *tváyā* steht, sich andererseits von den übrigen -yá-Bildungen nur dadurch unterscheidet, dass sie nicht zu einem Abstraktum als Grundwort gehört. Und daraus, dass der implizierte Zukunftsbezug kontextabhängig war und nicht hergestellt werden musste, erklärt

⁵Vgl. die Grammatikalisierung von Implikaturen in der Vorgeschichte des Tocharischen, die Hackstein (2003; 2004:106ff.) beschreibt.

⁶Vgl. die Übersicht bei Hettrich (2002).

⁷Eine Ausnahme bleibt Belg (2) mit seinem Lokativ-Bezug. Allerdings muss man mit solchen singulären Abweichungen rechnen, wenn eine entsprechende Form nicht mehr in ein funktionierendes Paradigma mit klar zugeordneten Funktionen eingegliedert ist. – Auf andere formale Instrumentale mit Lokativ-Bedeutung weist Cardona (1968: l. c. 35f.) hin.

sich auch das ansonsten schwer verständliche Nebeneinander von desiderativen und nicht-desiderativen *-yā*-Bildungen.

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Logographic Plural Markers in Hittite Cuneiform Texts

Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Eamus catuli

Throughout the Middle East in the three millennia prior to the Common Era the cuneiform system of writing, first associated with the Sumerian language, was used to write a variety of languages.¹ In some of these, Sumerian pluralizing suffixes were employed on nouns, especially if those nouns were represented by means of Sumerian (or in some cases Akkadian) words used as logograms. Studies have been made of the use of these suffixed markers in Sumerian itself,² and in the various periods and regional dialects of Akkadian.³ And since Akkadian was employed in written diplomatic correspondence in Hittite Anatolia, pharaonic Egypt, and the city-states of the West Semitic-speaking Levant, grammars of these text corpora have sometimes also included studies of the use of these so-called plural determinatives.⁴ Among these studies are two that focus on the Akkadian texts found at Boğazköy-Hattuša, the Hittite capital.⁵ But to date no attempt has been made to study *in extenso* the use of these markers in texts written in the Hittite language. What follows intends to fill that gap.⁶

In the Hittite grammar which our honoree and I authored it was stated: “While no regular rule for the selection of one of [the] Sumerian plural markers has been discovered, there is a marked tendency to use MEŠ with nouns denoting persons and

¹Abbreviations follow the *CHD*, the principal ones being the text-dating ones OH (Old Hittite), OS (Old Hittite Script), MH (Middle Hittite), MS (Middle Hittite Script), NH (New Hittite), and NS (New Hittite Script).

²See below in n. 125.

³See the works cited in nn. 125 and 126.

⁴See the works cited in nn. 105, 130, 131, 132.

⁵Labat 1932; Durham 1976.

⁶This study was begun early in October 2009 with only a short lead time until the deadline for submissions. At that time I had no knowledge of Mark Weeden’s dissertation (2007), which covers a much wider sphere than my study, but consequently with much less detail in the restricted area of my work. I thank Gary Beckman for alerting me to it and Mark Weeden himself for generously supplying me with a PDF of his dissertation about a week before I had to submit this article. His conclusions regarding the use of the plural markers in Hittite texts are similar to mine, but lack the fullness of my data and consequently needed some corrections.

𐎶𐎵.𐎶 with other objects.⁷ We also noted that, of the three markers (MEŠ, 𐎶𐎵.𐎶, and DIDLI), only the third was used exclusively on Sumerograms. The others might occur on either Akkadograms or even on syllabically written Hittite words. It will be the task of this article to elaborate on this summary statement and in the process to work out the rules for plural marker selection, both semantically and diachronically.

1 Old Hittite

1.1 The criteria in OS in general

In the earliest period of our written documentation, what is called the Old Script corpus, the choice between MEŠ and 𐎶𐎵.𐎶 was governed by the semantic category of the host noun. A collective sense for the examples with 𐎶𐎵.𐎶 might be possible in a few examples, but since in this period there was no contrast between MEŠ and 𐎶𐎵.𐎶 on the same noun, it is difficult to see this as a major influence on the choice of the marker.

1.2 MEŠ in OS

In Old Script (see chart, column A) the marker MEŠ (marked “M” in the chart) is reserved for persons, i.e., deities (DINGIR, DINGIR.LÚ⁸) and humans (LÚ.U₁₉.LU,⁹ LÚ,¹⁰ MUNUS,¹¹ DUMU,¹² DUMU.NITA,¹³ DUMU.MUNUS,¹⁴ ŠEŠ,¹⁵ NIN, DAM,¹⁶ LÚSANGA, SAGI, and ÉRIN¹⁷). Rarely appearing without LÚ determinative are <LÚ>SANGA.MEŠ,¹⁸ [...]UGULA <LÚ>GIŠBANŠUR.ME[Š? ...],¹⁹ [...]UGULA <LÚ>SAGI.MEŠ²⁰; see also *šuppaeš* LÚSANGA.MEŠ.²¹

⁷ Hoffner and Melchert 2008:24 (§1.44). The present study confirms this rule for OS texts and for a large portion of the MS and NS texts. It corresponds to the rule for old Sumerian texts (see below in §6.2).

⁸ KUB 43.30 iii 18; KUB 43.23 obv 1.

⁹ E.g., KBo 6.2 ii 13 (laws §38).

¹⁰ Both on LÚ as an independent logogram and as a determinative: KBo 22.1:9, 18 (LÚ.MEŠNAŠIŠIDITI); KBo 25.36 iii 10 (LÚ.MEŠALAN.ZU₉).

¹¹ KBo 16.72:7; both on MUNUS as an independent logogram and as a determinative.

¹² KBo 22.62 + 6.2 iii 16; KBo 22.2 obv 1, 18.

¹³ KBo 22.2 obv 7, 13.

¹⁴ KBo 22.2 obv 17; KBo 20.33+ rev 4.

¹⁵ KUB 36.106 rev 8.

¹⁶ KBo 20.1 ii 5, 6; KBo 20.50:8.

¹⁷ E.g., KBo 6.2 ii 12; KBo 22.2 rev 6. ÉRIN.MEŠ is a special case, inasmuch as ÉRIN only rarely occurs without MEŠ, and because in instances such as NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ the plural marker modifies ÉRIN, and not NINDA, which in OS otherwise takes 𐎶𐎵.𐎶, not MEŠ, as its plural marker.

¹⁸ KBo 20.33+ rev 6.

¹⁹ KBo 38.113 rev 1.

²⁰ KBo 38.113 rev 3.

²¹ KUB 60.41 obv 7.

1.3 Sumerogram attributive adjectives in OS

In OS no plural marker occurs on a logographic attributive adjective, as it does in post-OH texts (e.g., GAL.MEŠ,²² TUR.MEŠ/TUR.ḪI.A-*TIM*,²³ GÍD.DA.ḪI.A,²⁴ etc.), and when the adjective is written double (DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.GAL, DINGIR.MEŠ TUR.TUR), no plural marker is ever affixed. On the other hand, much earlier, in classical Sumerian (§6.2), when a plural noun was modified by an attributive adjective, the plural marker was placed not on the noun itself, but on the following adjective: *d i n g i r g a l - g a l - e n e* ‘the great(est) deities’.²⁵

1.4 ḪI.A in OS

In OS the marker ḪI.A covers the rest, including human and divine body parts (category 4 on the chart: ÉLLAG,²⁶ GAB,²⁷ GÌR,²⁸ SAG.DU,²⁹ ŠU,³⁰ ZAG.LU), animals (category 3: ANŠE.KUR.RA,³¹ AZ,³² GU₄,³³ GU₄.ÁB,³⁴ GU₄.MAḪ,³⁵ MUŠEN,³⁶ ŠAḪ,³⁷ ŠAḪ.TUR,³⁸ UDU,³⁹ UR.MAḪ), groups of captives (in group 5: NAM.RA⁴⁰), vegetation and inanimate objects (group 5: A, A.ŠA,⁴¹ GIŠBANŠUR,⁴² É,⁴³ GAL,⁴⁴ GIŠGIDRU,⁴⁵ GIŠGIGIR,⁴⁶ GÍR,⁴⁷ GIŠ,⁴⁸ GIŠ.DINANNA,⁴⁸

²²KUB 14.24:14; KBo 5.8 iv 22; KUB 8.53:14. GAL.ḪI.A is intentionally avoided for the adjective (see n. 167).

²³TUR.MEŠ KUB 30.36 ii 3; KUB 17.12 ii 8; KUB 57.102 iv 8; TUR.ḪI.A(-*TIM*) KBo 21.37 rev 7; KBo 21.2 iii 12; KBo 24.67:2.

²⁴GIŠGU.ZA GÍD.DA.ḪI.A KBo 4.9 i 25; M[U.KAM G]ÍD.DA.ḪI.A KUB 10.72 v 16.

²⁵Thomsen 1984:60 §69.

²⁶ÉLLAG.ḪI.A KBo 17.15 obv! 6.

²⁷UZUGAB.ḪI.A KBo 17.15 obv! 2.

²⁸GÌR.ḪI.A KBo 17.15 obv! 1; KBo 13.137:8; A-NA GÌR[.ḪI.(A-ŠU)] KUB 43.53 i 15' with OS dupl. KBo 17.17 obv! 3'; cf. in same line ŠU.ḪI.A ‘hands’.

²⁹SAG.DU.ḪI.A KBo 17.15 obv! 1.

³⁰KBo 17.17 obv! 5.

³¹KBo 25.122 iii 9.

³²KBo 3.22:61.

³³KBo 6.2 iii 9 (laws §53). Also in Akkadian text of OH Hattušili I letter to Tunip-Teššup (Salvini 1994; Hoffner 2009:75–80).

³⁴GUD.ÁB.ḪI.A KBo 25.122 iii 5.

³⁵GU₄.MAḪ.ḪI.A KBo 17.5 obv! 4.

³⁶MUŠEN.ḪI.A KBo 17.29 obv 3'.

³⁷ŠAḪ.ḪI.A KBo 20.16 i! 5.

³⁸KBo 6.2 iv 20 (laws §83).

³⁹UDU.ḪI.A KBo 6.2 iii 9 (laws §53);

⁴⁰NAM.RA.ḪI.A KBo 6.2 + ii 22 (laws §40).

⁴¹KBo 6.2 + ii 16 (laws §39).

⁴²GIŠBANŠUR.ḪI.A KBo 25.79 + KUB 35.126, iv 21.

⁴³É.ḪI.A KBo 6.2 ii 60 (laws §50); KBo 17.46 + 34.2, 5.

⁴⁴GAL.ḪI.A KBo 20.3 iii 5; KBo 17.9 + iii 19.

⁴⁵KBo 7.14 obv 15.

⁴⁶GÍR.ḪI.A KBo 17.46 + 34.2, 40.

⁴⁷GIŠ.ḪI.A KUB 29.1 i 26; KBo 25.79 + KUB 35.126, iv 14; KBo 20.23 rev 2'.

⁴⁸GIŠ.DINANNA.ḪI.A KBo 20.1 ii 8.

DUG⁴⁹HAB.HAB, ⁵⁰Ì.UDU, ⁵¹ÍD (only in OH/NS!), KASKAL, ⁵²GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA, MUL, ⁵³NA₄, NINDA, ⁵⁴NINDA.GUR₄.RA, NINDA.TU₇, ⁵⁵NUMUN, GIŠŠUKUR, ⁵⁶TÚG, ⁵⁷ÚKUŠ, ⁵⁸URU, ⁵⁹DUGÚTUL, ⁶⁰UZU, ⁶¹and ZÍZ⁶¹), and units of time (MU⁶²).

1.5 DIDLI in OS

In OS the marker DIDLI is distributive,⁶³ and is sometimes accompanied (redundantly?) by ĦLA (i.e., DIDLI.ĦLA⁶⁴). This marker is largely restricted to OS and OH/MS-NS texts.

1.6 E.NE in OS

The Sumerian pluralizing suffix *-e ne* which marks animate/personal nouns occurs twice in Old Hittite texts, once in Old Script (UGULA UKU.UŠ.E.NE KBo 7.14 obv 14), and once in a New Hittite copy (UGULA [U]KU.UŠ.SÁ.E.NE KUB 31.5:8). This suffix occurs once more in a post-Old Hittite Akkadian text from Ħattuša (see §3.8), but never again in Hittite contexts.

1.7 Syllabically written Hittite words in OS

In OS texts no examples of Sumerian plural markers on syllabically written Hittite or Luwian words are known to me. If they occur at all, they are rare, whereas they become common in the later periods, even occurring before the final syllabic sign of the word (see Hoffner and Melchert 2008:63 [§2.60], 432 [§31.11]).

⁴⁹DUG⁴⁹HAB.HAB.ĦLA KUB 43.30 iii 19.

⁵⁰Ì.UDU.ĦLA KBo 17.15 obv! 6.

⁵¹KASKAL.ĦLA KBo 25.13 ii 13; KUB 43.33 obv 2; contrast KASKAL.MEŠ in KUB 4.1 rev 27 (MH/MS).

⁵²KBo 6.2 iv 13 (MUL.ĦLA-*es*; NS copy KBo 6.3 iv 7 variant reads MUL.MEŠ).

⁵³NINDA.ĦLA KBo 22.1:13.

⁵⁴NINDA.TU₇.ĦLA KBo 16.71 iii 5.

⁵⁵GIŠŠUKUR.ĦLA KBo 17.1 + ii 15; GIŠŠUKUR.<ĦLA>A KBo 17.1 + i 23.

⁵⁶TÚG.ĦLA ‘garments’ KBo 17.1 + i 25.

⁵⁷ÚKUŠ.ĦLA KUB 39.64:5(!).

⁵⁸URU.ĦLA in KUB 36.108 obv 3, 4, 6.

⁵⁹DUGÚTUL.ĦLA in KBo 20.16 + i! 21; KBo 25.15 + :9.

⁶⁰UZU.ĦLA KBo 20.23 rev 4’.

⁶¹ZÍZ.ĦLA ‘wheat stalks’, of ‘types of wheat’ KBo 17.1 iv 20, 33.

⁶²MU.ĦLA KBo 22.2 obv 6; KBo 25.122 ii 2, 8.

⁶³URU.DIDLI (INA URU.DIDLI *hūmanti* KBo 6.2 ii 59; *nu* ^{URU}Nēši URU.DIDLI *wetenun* KBo 3.22:55; *nu* URU.DIDLI-ŠU [(*luhket*)] KBo 3.22:69); DINGIR.DIDLI (DINGIR.DIDLI-ša DUMU.MEŠ-nš A.AB.BA-*az sarā dāer* KBo 22.2 obv 4–5; *nu=šmaš* DINGIR.DIDLI-*es tamaīn karātan daier* KBo 22.2 obv 16).

⁶⁴URU.DIDLI.ĦLA KUB 36.108 obv 6, 8; and ĦUR.SAG.DIDLI.ĦLA.

2 Middle Hittite

2.1 MS continuation of OS rule with MEŠ

In new compositions in the Middle Hittite period which belong to traditional genres (such as prayers and treaties), we still see the retention of the categorical distinction of HIA and MEŠ (column B). Nouns denoting persons are almost always marked by MEŠ . Only with DINGIR.MAH and ŠEŠ do we see occasional intrusion of HIA alongside MEŠ . Nouns denoting animals, as opposed to humans, are still marked with HIA : KUB 23.72+ obv 41 (MH/MS), cf. also rev 6–8; KUB 14.1 obv 10–11 (MH/MS), cf. also KUB 23.72+ rev 64 (MH/MS); KUB 14.1 rev 51 (MH/MS). Exceptionally, when the plural of ANŠE.KUR.RA denotes horse troops, it takes MEŠ .⁶⁵

2.2 MS continuation of OS rule with HIA

Similarly, in MH/MS texts, when NAM.RA refers primarily to non-human plunder (category 5), it takes HIA as its plural marker: KUB 14.1+ obv 49 (MH/MS), cf. also obv 54, 55. The use of HIA here seems to mark NAM.RA as non-human, although the immediately following āššū-ya ‘and goods/possessions’ would seem to make that meaning redundant.⁶⁶ When NAM.RA refers to human booty (i.e., captives), it takes MEŠ . There are only nine cases in category 5 where MEŠ is attested in MS as well as HIA . And in two cases—*TE*. and *UNUTE*—only MEŠ forms are found. But since these terms are quite rare in MS, the chances are good that they are underrepresented statistically.

2.3 MH migrations from HIA to MEŠ

Already by the MH period (MH/MS) some of these host nouns migrated from the HIA class to the MEŠ one, notably some anatomical terms (category 4: GIR.MEŠ , $\text{QA-TE}^{\text{MEŠ}}$,⁶⁷ SAG.DU ‘head’ is attested with both markers), KUR.KUR.MEŠ when the focus is on inhabitants, ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ and GIGIR.MEŠ when the focus is on horse troops (humans), and some inanimate objects ($\text{UNUTE}^{\text{MEŠ}}$,⁶⁸ $\text{KUŠIŠ-PA-TE}^{\text{MEŠ}}$), the term NAM.RA.MEŠ which designated humans (captives), the word KASKAL.MEŠ ‘roads, routes’,⁶⁹ rarely ALAM.MEŠ when it denotes images of the gods.⁷⁰ But not all such nouns did; there are no exx. that I am aware of in MS for: $\text{*GU}_4.\text{MEŠ}$, *UDU.MEŠ , *MUŠEN.MEŠ , *ŠAH.MEŠ , *UR.MAH.MEŠ , *GAB.MEŠ , *ŠU.MEŠ (although $\text{QA-TE}^{\text{MEŠ}}$ exists), *ZAG.LU.MEŠ , *A.MEŠ , *A.ŠA.MEŠ , or *GIBANŠUR.MEŠ . Of course, this is an argument from silence: such forms may eventually turn up.

⁶⁵ See discussion of the meanings of the plural of ANŠE.KUR.RA in Weeden 2007:138–40.

⁶⁶ On the semantic categories reflected in NAM.RA GUD UDU in Hittite texts, what can also be called the “taxonomy of wealth”, see Watkins 1979.

⁶⁷ KUB 14.1+ rev 18 (MH/MS).

⁶⁸ E.g., KUB 17.21 i 16’ (MH/MS); HKM 113:2 (special use?).

⁶⁹ KUB 14.1+ rev 27 (MH/MS).

⁷⁰ KUB 17.21 ii 26 (MH/MS) right edge. Collated on N12061 and N12062 photos on Konk.

2.4 New MH examples with MEŠ

Given the limitations of our corpus, we are forced to concede that host nouns not yet attested with plural markers in our OS corpus but occurring in later periods might have also existed in the Old Hittite period. This is especially true of those whose consistent choice of plural marker matches the rules established for the Old Hittite period and occur in MS and NS copies of OH compositions. For ȚI.A this includes: [Ț]UR.SAG.DIDLI.ȚI.A,⁷¹ ȚD.DIDLI.ȚI.A,⁷² SÍSKUR.ȚI.A,⁷³ Ț.ȚI.A ‘grasses’,⁷⁴ GIŠkurtalli^{ȚI.A} ‘containers’,⁷⁵ tilipuri^{ȚI.A} ‘districts’.⁷⁶ For MEŠ it includes some new examples like: ARAD.MEŠ,⁷⁷ NIN.MEŠ(?),⁷⁸ SAG.GÉME.ARAD.MEŠ,⁷⁹ DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ,⁸⁰ and EN.MEŠ.⁸¹

2.5 MH compound Sumerograms (see also §3.6)

In the case of É.DINGIR.MEŠ ‘temples’ the explanation that the marker MEŠ is selected on the basis of the second component (DINGIR) being personal is supported by a passage from the MH/MS prayer of Arnuwanda: šu-me-en-za-an <<ŠA>> É.ȚI.A DINGIR.MEŠ-KU-NU (II) ku-e e-eš-ta na-at LÚ.MEŠ URUGa-aš-ga ar-ḫa pí-ip-pé-er “The Kaškaean men knocked down what houses of you gods existed” KUB 31.124 ii 10–11. Here the semantic contrast of É.ȚI.A (inanimate objects) to DINGIR.MEŠ (persons) is clearly marked by the different plural markers. With the eventual collapse of É.ȚI.A DINGIR.MEŠ to É.DINGIR.MEŠ (KUB 17.21 i 7 MH/MS), the marker of the first component was lost, and that of the second was retained.

2.6 The special case of NIŠ DINGIR

An interesting case is the MH/MS opposition of NIŠ DINGIR-LIM (designating the oath itself) from NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ (the deities of the oath). In this example the choice of the marker may have nothing to do with the component DINGIR, but rather the NIŠ, which in the second case is seen as a deity and in the first an inanimate element of speech. The NIŠ DINGIR-LIM is always grammatically the object of a transitive verb, while the NIŠ DINGIR.MEŠ is the subject of a transitive verb, i.e., it is an actor. One could, of course, simply call this personification (the oaths acting like persons). But even that would conform to the OH rule of plural marker selection.

⁷¹KUB 17.10 i 17 (MS).

⁷²KUB 33.4 + IBoT 3.141, i 14 (NS).

⁷³KUB 17.21 i 2', 19', 21' (MH/MS).

⁷⁴HKM 33:33; 66:35 (both MH/MS).

⁷⁵KBo 17.61 obv 16 (MH/MS).

⁷⁶KBo 16.47:28 (MH/MS).

⁷⁷KUB 23.72 + obv 38, rev 25, 38 (MH/MS).

⁷⁸NIN.MEŠ-*uš* KUB 1.16 ii 11 (OH/NS); NIN.MEŠ KBo 3.1 + ii 50 (OH/NS); KUB 19.26 iv 3 (NS).

⁷⁹KUB 23.72 + obv 41 (MH/MS).

⁸⁰KUB 23.68 + ABoT 58, rev 9 (MH/NS).

⁸¹KUB 23.11 iii 5 (MH/NS); KUB 13.3 ii 15 (MH/NS).

2.7 Multiple plural markers

Instances of double plural markers occur in MH/MS texts: ÉRIN.MEŠ.Ī.A KUB 14.1+ obv 21 (bis).⁸² Although one could explain the doubling as due to the rarity of ÉRIN occurring without MEŠ, it is difficult to explain why Ī.A was used, which according to the rules in the OH period was used to mark non-human and non-deity entities. Perhaps the thought here is that ÉRIN.MEŠ denotes an army, and the added Ī.A indicates all of the man's armies.

3 New Hittite

3.1 NH continuation of OS rule with Ī.A

As in the earlier periods, Ī.A continues to be used in the remaining categories (categories 3–6 in the chart): of animals, body parts, and inanimate objects:⁸³ A.ŠĀ.Ī.A* 'fields';⁸⁴ BI-IB-RI^{HI.A*} 'rhyta';⁸⁵ DI.Ī.A* 'court cases';⁸⁶ EZEN₄.Ī.A 'festivals';⁸⁷ GIŠGAG.Ú.TAG.GA.Ī.A* 'arrows';⁸⁸ [bal-k]_i^{HI.A*} 'grain crops';⁸⁹ IGI.Ī.A-ma⁹⁰ 'eyes' *passim*; KUR.KUR.Ī.A;⁹¹ GIŠMÁ.Ī.A* 'ships, boats';⁹² mehurri^{HI.A*} 'times';⁹³ MU(.KAM).Ī.A* 'years';⁹⁴ MUŠEN.Ī.A* 'bird(-oracle)s';⁹⁵ SÍSKUR.Ī.A;⁹⁶ GIŠTUKUL.Ī.A* 'weapons'⁹⁷ (no exx. of MEŠ in any period); TUP-PA^{HI.A*}

⁸² Also in rev 41, where again it is preceded by a genitive independent pronoun (*ammel-pat*). Elsewhere in this text ÉRIN.MEŠ occurs without Ī.A (obv 7, 9, 11, 16, 45, 46, 47).

⁸³ Examples marked here with * are unattested with MEŠ in any period of Hittite.

⁸⁴ KBo 6.4 iv 21–3.

⁸⁵ KUB 24.1 ii 1.

⁸⁶ KBo 3.3 iii 28, iv 2, 12.

⁸⁷ KBo 5.6 ii 14. Very often EZEN₄.MEŠ in NH texts: e.g., KBo 5.8 iv 21 (AM); KUB 24.1 ii 6 (compare EZEN₄.Ī.A in ii 3); KUB 13.4 i 42; KUB 8.69 iii 11.

⁸⁸ KBo 40.293 + 14.3, iv 38 [DŠ].

⁸⁹ KBo 4.4 i 44.

⁹⁰ IGLMEŠ only in one text, KBo 42.116:4'–6', a *šumma immeru* oracle from the NH period. Perhaps a foreign scribe, unused to Hittite spellings?

⁹¹ KBo 4.4 iv 61; KBo 5.8 i 37; KBo 2.5 iii 3 (all times as a location). URU.MEŠ found once in NH as a location KUB 21.17 ii 11, and once as 'the (people of the) towns' KUB 17.35 iv 17 (subject of *piškanzi*).

⁹² KUB 34.25:10'.

⁹³ KUB 40.1 rev! 16.

⁹⁴ KUB 43.50 + KUB 15.36, obv 6'.

⁹⁵ KUB 43.50 + KUB 15.36, obv 12. Cf. the apparently significant contrast *IŠTU* MUŠEN.Ī.A *IŠTU* SU.MEŠ:ya 'by means of augury and extispicy' KBo 4.4 ii 54, etc. (NH), also in KBo 4.4 ii 51.

⁹⁶ KUB 7.8 ii 11; KUB 30.51 + i 11', iv 19'; SISKUR.Ī.A KUB 58.79 iv 7. About 30 exx. of SÍSKUR.MEŠ, all (late) NH: e.g., KBo 2.13 obv 11; KBo 2.8 i 19; KUB 56.39 iv 25; SISKUR.MEŠ KUB 58.79 iv 6 (see SISKUR.Ī.A in iv 7).

‘clay tablets’;⁹⁸ TÜR.ĦI.A* ‘cattle pens’;⁹⁹ UD(.KAM).ĦI.A ‘days’;¹⁰⁰ URU.DIDLI.ĦI.A ‘towns’;¹⁰¹ ZAG.ĦI.A ‘borders’.¹⁰²

3.2 NH migration of ĦI.A to MEŠ

What is to be noted in these categories during the NH period is the substitution of MEŠ for ĦI.A. Out of 120 nouns in categories 3–6 found in NH texts, slightly over 40% show MEŠ along with ĦI.A, while slightly less than 10% show only MEŠ, and over 50% continue OH ĦI.A as the only plural marker. Combining the second and third groups, over 90% of the nouns in categories 3–6 taking Sumerian plural markers in NH continue to use, at least sporadically, the ĦI.A marker prescribed by the OH rule.

In Akkadian texts from Boğazköy, Durham notes the following: DUMU.MEŠ, GIGIR.MEŠ, AB.BA.MEŠ-ú-ka, a-wa-te^{MEŠ}, and in predeterminatives such as LÚ.MEŠDAM.GÀR.¹⁰³

3.3 NH migration of MEŠ to ĦI.A

In the NH period the plural marker ĦI.A was no longer excluded from covering humans and deities. There are fourteen nouns in categories 1 and 2 of my chart that show “H” either alongside of M or instead of it, compared with only two in the MH period. But many, if not all, of these can be seen as collectives. But in NH (or NS)—unlike in OS—ĦI.A marks the collective plural¹⁰⁴ of persons (categories 1 and 2; 35 items attested in NH):¹⁰⁵ (ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĦI.A ‘charioteers; horse-troops’;¹⁰⁶ BE-LU^{ĦI.A} ‘lords’;¹⁰⁷ URU^{Gašga}^{ĦI.A} ‘Kaškaeans (persons identified by URU)’;¹⁰⁸ GIDIM.ĦI.A] ‘spirits of the dead’;¹⁰⁹ ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠUT^{ĦI.A} ‘tribal troops’;¹¹⁰ KARAS.ĦI.A ‘troops’;¹¹¹

⁹⁷ KUB 19.11 iv 11.

⁹⁸ KBo 19.76 ii 9’.

⁹⁹ KUB 34.23 ii 7.

¹⁰⁰ KBo 4.4 iii 31, 62. Two exx. of UD.MEŠ ‘days’ in NH texts: KBo 10.7 i 21 and KBo 47.3:2’.

¹⁰¹ KUB 19.11 iv 16.

¹⁰² KUB 21.10 left 5’. ZAG.MEŠ ‘borders’ is found about 10 times in late NH copies: e.g., KUB 19.37 ii 18; KUB 19.55 obv 4; Bronze Tablet i 16, 18.

¹⁰³ Durham 1976:179–80.

¹⁰⁴ See also §6.4.2. Durham also observes that in the Akkadian texts from Hattuša ĦI.A can be used with “collectivities of persons” (NAM.RA.ĦI.A, ÉRIN.ĦI.A), and very rarely on “individual personal nouns” (1976:182).

¹⁰⁵ Entries marked with † do not also occur with MEŠ in NH texts.

¹⁰⁶ KBo 4.4 i 40, 43, ii 19.

¹⁰⁷ KBo 22.8:1’; KUB 19.30 iv 7.

¹⁰⁸ KBo 2.5 ii 4.

¹⁰⁹ KUB 14.29 i 29’.

¹¹⁰ KUB 19.11 iv 6; KUB 31.10 i 8. The MEŠ with ÉRIN follows the OS convention, but the ĦI.A with ŠU-TI shows the NH reassignment to the class of collectives.

¹¹¹ KUB 31.34 ii 4, 5 [DŠ]; KBo 5.6 i 18; KUB 14.16 i 21, 24.

[...*k*]ū¹¹² and *kūrur*¹¹³ ‘enemies’; LÚ.MEŠ¹¹⁴ *lapanalli*¹¹⁵ ‘shepherds’; NAM.RA.Ī.A ‘civilian captives’.¹¹⁶ In addition, it occurs on divine names when they represent in the collective plural a type of deity: ^dU.Ī.A ‘the storm-gods’, ^dZA.BA₄.BA₄.Ī.A ‘the warrior-gods’, ^dĪSTAR¹¹⁷ ‘the ĪSTAR-type goddesses’, etc. (see below in category 1 on the chart).

3.4 Possible meaningful distinction of MEŠ from Ī.A in NH

In MH/NS texts which retain sporadic examples of Ī.A alongside of MEŠ, it is often unclear whether a meaningful distinction is intended. For example, in KUB 13.8:4–5 it is not clear if by using MEŠ on É.MEŠ, in contrast to the following URU.Ī.A, the scribe wishes to indicate that É.MEŠ refers to ‘households’ (i.e., people) in contrast to the towns, seen as non-human locations. LÚ.MEŠ¹¹⁸ *ša-ri-(ku-)wa-za-kán ku-i-e-eš da-an-te-eš na-at QA-DU É.MEŠ-ŠU-NU URU.Ī.A-ŠU-NU (5) A-NA É.NA₄ pi-ya-an-te-eš* ‘The š.-men who were taken, were given to the Stone House community, together with their house(hold)s (and) their towns.’

3.5 New NH examples with MEŠ

Additional logograms appear for the first time, marked with MEŠ, some according to the OH rule (UN.MEŠ ‘persons’¹¹⁶), but others not (GIDIM.Ī.A, KARAS.Ī.A, GİS_{GU}.ZA.MEŠ, URPI¹¹⁹).

Logograms denoting units of time (category 6: ‘day’, ‘year’) use only Ī.A, even in the NH (NS) period.

3.6 NH compound Sumerograms

Sumerograms consisting of two components—NINDA.ÉRIN.MEŠ, É.DINGIR.MEŠ, etc.—may associate the plural marker with the second component. Thus, while NINDA and É according to the OH selection rule would take Ī.A, ÉRIN and DINGIR would select MEŠ. This principle needs testing in OS and MS texts.¹¹⁷ Available examples are NS and might prove nothing, since Ī.A seems to be displaced widely by MEŠ in the NH period.

On the other hand, an example like [...]UGULA(?).GİS_{BANŠUR}.M[ÉŠ? ...]¹¹⁸ ‘overseer of the table-men’, if correctly transcribed, appears to have a different explanation. This sequence is reconfigured from UGULA LÚ.MEŠ GİS_{BANŠUR}.¹¹⁹ The MEŠ modifies the UGULA, or perhaps the implied LÚ from the fuller formula, but definitely not the GİS_{BANŠUR}.

¹¹² KBo 4.4 i 20.

¹¹³ KBo 5.8 ii 11, 35.

¹¹⁴ IBoT 2.131 obv 42, rev 17, 22.

¹¹⁵ KUB 19.18 iv 24; KUB 14.15 iii 34; KBo 4.4 ii 37.

¹¹⁶ KUB 13.20 iv 8 (MH/NS).

¹¹⁷ É.DINGIR.MEŠ-K[UN]U ‘your temples’ KUB 17.21 i 7’ (MH/MS).

¹¹⁸ KBo 38.113 rev 1’ (OS); see UGULA GİS_{BANŠUR} in KBo 11.46 ii 5 (OH/NS), KUB 56.50 iii 3.

¹¹⁹ KBo 17.74 + iii 4 (OH/MS); KBo 20.67 + 17.88, ii 62 (OH/MS); KBo 23.99 i 23 (OH/MS).

3.7 MEŠ on compound Sumerograms

Compound logograms both of whose components are personal all select MEŠ rather than 𒀭. With compound logograms, the MEŠ is attached to the first noun, separating it from the second component: LÚ.MEŠ KÚR KBo 17.1 iv 4 (not LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ, as it appears later: KUB 17.21 + KBo 51.16 + ii 4 [MH/MS]); DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL vs. DUMU.LUGAL.MEŠ, DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL, MUNUS.LUGAL.MEŠ vs. *MUNUS.MEŠ LUGAL, etc.¹²⁰ In texts written in Hittite, as opposed to those written in Akkadian at Hattuša, I prefer to call these compound logograms, rather than logograms with predeterminatives, as Huehnergard does for Ugarit (Huehnergard 1989:88). Certainly, neither DUMU nor MUNUS is a predeterminative on LUGAL, although LÚ might be one on KÚR. My feeling is that the Hittite scribes, at least in the post-OH periods would have seen the entire chain of components as on one level.

3.8 E.NE in MH and NH

Durham notes three cases of LUGAL.E.NE ‘kings’, showing the Sumerian personal plural ending -e n e.¹²¹

4 Plural markers on Akkadograms

Examples of logographic plural markers with Akkadograms may first appear in MS copies: *Ú-NU-TE*^{MEŠ}.¹²² Taking the MEŠ marker are: *BELU*^{MEŠ}, *KUŠIŠ-PA-TE*^{MEŠ}, *QA-TE*^{MEŠ}, *TE*^{MEŠ}, *UNUTE*^{MEŠ}, and *URPI*^{MEŠ}. Others take 𒀭.A: *AŠRI*^{𒀭.A} ‘places’, *BI-IB-RI*^{𒀭.A} ‘rhyta’, *HIRITUM*^{𒀭.A} ‘moats’, *DUGKUKUB(I)*^{𒀭.A}, *PA*^{𒀭.A} (the abbreviated writing of the plural of Akkadian *parisu*), and *ŠUTI*^{𒀭.A} ‘tribal troops.’ Since these all occur in MS and NS, but mostly in NS, the OS rule apparently does not apply.

5 Plural markers on Hittite words

5.1 Neuter plurals in -i

Beginning already in the MH period, but becoming much more numerous in NH, are those Hittite neuter plural nouns ending in -i which take the 𒀭.A marker. In MS we find these examples: *halki*, *huvāši*, *kurtalli*, *tilipuri*; and in NS these additional examples: *aleli*, *arkunwarri*, *ešri*, *etri*, ^{DUG}*ḫarši*, ^{DUG}*ḫaršialli*, *ḫaršiḫarši*, *ḫaziwi*, ^{DUG}*ḫuppari*, *išḫiuli*, *kurpiši*, *kušiši*, ^{UZU}*kudurri*, ^{GIŠ}*mari*, *meḫurri*, *minumarri*, ^(DUG)*palḫi*, *puḫši*, *šurpešsarri*, ^{A.ŠA}*terippi*, *upati*, *zankilatarrri*, *zuppari*.

¹²⁰ But see LÚ.SANGA.MEŠ KUB 60.41 obv 7 (OS) above.

¹²¹ 1976:185.

¹²² E.g., KUB 17.21 i 16 (MH/MS); HKM 113:2 (MS).

5.2 Other neuter plurals

The neuter plurals in *-i* are the most common examples, but are by no means the whole story. All neuter nouns potentially mark their plurals with HIA in the NH period, if the forms would otherwise be identical with the singulars. But even in the case of nouns like *natar* ‘water’ with a distinctive plural *widar*, the plural form is occasionally marked with HIA (see *A-ar*^{HIA} below in the chart). In most cases one finds this marking on non-heteroclitic neuter plural nouns ending in *l*, *n*, or *r*. Neuter nouns or participles in *-n* taking this marker are *maškan* ‘gift, bribe’, *NINDA ān* ‘warm breads’, and [^{NINDA} ...]-*la-an*^{HIA} *kue pašiyannai* (KBo 24.68 iii 3). But even the heteroclitic neuter nouns ^{TUG}*kuwešsar*, *mukešsar*, *uppešsar*, and *LÚ-natar* (**pišnatar*) can take this marking in the plural.

6 Summary and Interpretation

6.1 The distribution in Hittite texts

The provisional results obtained from this survey of examples are the following: (1) In OH (represented most clearly by OS examples) nouns denoting persons (deities or humans) take *MEŠ*, and all others take HIA . (2) In MS the OS rule begins to relax, but there is still large-scale conformity to it, especially in categories 1, 2, and 3. And (3) in NS the OS rule is virtually ignored, with no clear new pattern emerging. The use of the marker HIA with Hittite neuter plurals in *-i*, although first attested in MS texts, might have existed also in OH. The motivation for its use in this situation is unclear.

In all periods, but especially in the heavily documented NH one, compound Sumerograms, in which one component belongs to the ‘personal’ category and the other to the ‘non-personal’, sometimes select for the first component (e.g., *EZEN*₄.*DUMU.MUNUS*. HIA) and sometimes for the second (e.g., *NINDA.ÉRIN*.*MEŠ*).

6.2 The Sumerian plural markers in Sumerian texts

Any noun¹²³ in a Sumerian text can be singular or plural according to context. Plurality can be indicated explicitly by a preceding number, in which case no other plural marker is necessary. Sumerian nouns comprise two morphological classes: animate and inanimate (Thomsen 1984:49 §37). The animate class contains only persons (i.e., humans and deities), but not animals, which we think of as ‘animate’. All other nouns—those denoting animals, plants, objects, abstract concepts, etc.—belong in the inanimate class. Only animate nouns take an explicit plural suffix. This suffix *-ene* was replaced in late Sumerian by the originally predicative *-meš*. The suffix *-meš* consists of the enclitic copula with plural suffix, and is used in predicates with the meaning ‘they are’. But in late Sumerian it comes to fill the same role as *-ene*. It

¹²³The following rules are abstracted from Thomsen 1984:59–63, which in turn builds upon Sollberger 1969 and Schramm 1983. For purposes of typographic clarity, I write the Sumerian words and suffixes found in unilingual Sumerian texts in expanded-spaced lower case, to distinguish them from the way they are transcribed as logograms in Akkadian and Hittite texts.

is in this latter function that it passed into use in early Akkadian writing. Inanimate nouns could occur unmarked as singulars and collectives. In addition inanimate nouns could be modified by a quasi-passive participle *ḫ i - a*, literally ‘mixed’, which can be rendered ‘various’ or ‘assorted’. This was not originally an independent form, but a suffix. Nouns of both classes when written doubly indicate totality (*l u g a l - l u g a l* ‘all kings’, *k u r - k u r* ‘all lands’). If a plural noun is accompanied by an attributive adjective, which always follows the noun, whatever plural marker is appropriate to the noun will be suffixed to the trailing adjective: *d i n g i r g a l - g a l - e n e* ‘the greatest gods’.

6.3 The Sumerian plural markers in early Akkadian (Old Akkadian, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian)

In native Sumerian texts the suffix *- m e š* and the word *ḫ i - a* were part of the spoken language itself and their use was guided by a native twofold perception of reality: personal and non-personal. When they passed into use by scribes for the writing of texts in the Semitic Akkadian language, where this perception did not exist, they became postpositional determinatives on Sumerian words used as logograms in these texts, and the selection of one or the other was simply a mimicking of the Sumerian pattern. It is likely that each Sumerian logogram was memorized together with its appropriate plural marker.

In Old Akkadian (see Gelb 1961:23) the plurality marker *MEŠ* is strictly confined to nouns denoting persons, and *ḪI.A* used with other nouns, usually with the notion of kinds or sorts. Old Assyrian made virtually no use of Sumerian plural markers. In Old Babylonian, on the other hand, both from the southern heartland of Babylonia and from areas to the west (Mari on the Middle Euphrates¹²⁴ and Alalakh in North Syria), Sumerograms denoting persons could be with *MEŠ*, and others with *ḪI.A*.

6.4 The source(s) of the Old Hittite scribal system

Since the Hittites borrowed the cuneiform writing system during the Old Hittite period, it stands to reason that the earliest scribal habits regarding choice of plural markers would mirror those of their teachers. Although it may not be definitively agreed upon among scholars, the current consensus is that those teachers emanated from some scribal school in North Syria, reflecting the writing habits of Old Babylonian rather than Old Assyrian. In fact, the rules which we have found operative in Old Hittite match rather well what is known of Old Babylonian writing, as represented by the massive text corpora from Babylonia itself¹²⁵ and Mari on the Middle Euphrates.¹²⁶ Those rules seem also to have been followed in the earliest (Old Babylo-

¹²⁴For the Mari evidence see Bottéro and Finet 1954:86–7 #404 (*ḪI.A*); 89 #333 (*MEŠ*); 106 (*MEŠ*). Exceptions to the Sumerian rule are: *KASKAL.MEŠ*, *GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ*, *GIŠ.TUKUL.ḪI.A*, *É.GAL.MEŠ*; but following the older rule: *ab-bi-ya^{MEŠ}*, and *LÚ^{MEŠ}-ga-gi^{MEŠ}*.

¹²⁵To the extent that an explicit plural marker was used, we find *LÚ.MEŠ*, *MUNUS.MEŠ*, *DUMU.MEŠ*, *GUD.ḪI.A*, etc.; see the CAD articles on *amēlu*, *sinništu*, *mānu*, *alpu*, etc., for the evidence.

¹²⁶See n. 126.

nian) texts from Alalakh.¹²⁷ But texts from Alalakh,¹²⁸ Emar,¹²⁹ Ugarit,¹³⁰ and Canaan during the 15th–13th centuries, like their contemporary texts from Ḫattuša, show loosening of the earlier rules, and in somewhat the same ways. ḪI.A retreats before MEŠ, with the latter spreading outside the semantic domain of the personal to animal, and inanimate objects.

6.4.1 The markers on Hittite words

If we found the Sumerian plural markers only on Sumerograms or Akkadograms, we might justifiably conclude that Hittite scribes used no rules—semantic or grammatical—to determine which to use. They could merely have been mimicking the patterns of spelling in Akkadian texts. But these markers did in fact begin to be applied to Hittite words in Middle Hittite. What guideline did the scribes have in this case? There seem to be no examples of MEŠ on any syllabically written Hittite word. ḪI.A was introduced on neuter plural nouns in the nom.-accus. case in order to distinguish the form from the identically written neuter singular (*waštul*^{ḪI.A}). From this original use, it became common to mark neut. pl. collectives of nouns that were common gender in the singular (*ḫalki-*, ^{DUG}*palḫi-*), and in the case of *ḫalki-*, even when the noun was not collective in the plural (*ḫal-ki*^{ḪI.A-us}). Although it is tempting to see the restricted use of ḪI.A on neuter plurals as a reflection of the Sumerian animate-inanimate division of noun classes, it is more likely that the marker was to disambiguate otherwise identical writings of neuter singular and plural forms. Therefore, the conditions under which plural markers appear on Hittite nouns probably offer us no guide as to what new rules Hittite scribes might have employed on plural marking of logograms in the post-OH period.

6.4.2 The ḪI.A marker on divine names

The examples of ^dU/^dIM.ḪI.A, ^dZA.BA₄.BA₄.ḪI.A, etc., represent categories rather than plurals of individual deities. They are therefore collectives by nature, and take the ḪI.A in its original Sumerian sense and usage as ‘mixed’—‘various X-deities’. This variation from the expected pattern is not influenced by the grammatical gender of the divine names, but by the phenomenon of collectivity. It is likely that a similar

¹²⁷In Old Babylonian texts from Level VII Alalakh the following examples are diagnostic: ÉRIN.MEŠ, ARAD.MEŠ, GÉME.MEŠ, SANGA.MEŠ, LÚ.MEŠ, DUMU.MEŠ, DINGIR.MEŠ, UGULA.DAM.GÀR.MEŠ, UGULA.IŠ.MEŠ, Ì.LÁ.E.MEŠ, but *a-wa-te*^{MEŠ}; GUD.ḪI.A, SÍG.UDU.ḪI.A, SILA₄ Ū UZ₆.ḪI.A, MUŠEN.ḪI.A, ZÍZ.ḪI.A, TÚG.ḪI.A, DUG(.)KAŠ.LUGAL.ḪI.A, DUG.GAL.ḪI.A, ^{GI}SPAN.ḪI.A, GI.ḪI.A; URU.KI.DIDLI. All cited examples but *a-wa-te*^{MEŠ} conform to the Old Babylonian and Old Hittite rules. Alalakh texts from later periods diverge, just as their Hittite counterparts do.

¹²⁸The OB patterns had broken down in the 15th–13th centuries all over the Levant, including Alalakh (Wiseman 1953:20; Giacomakis 1970:25–6 §2.22, where unwisely no distinction is drawn between the older Level VII texts and the later ones).

¹²⁹Information drawn from Ikeda 1995; Ikeda 1998; and Seminara 1998.

¹³⁰For Ugarit, see the thorough amassing of evidence in Huehnergard 1989:86–90. Since these texts derive from after the Old Babylonian (and Old Hittite) period, the results are as expected.

concept explains ^{URU}*Gašga*^{HLA} ‘Kaška troops’, *GIDIM.HLA* ‘spirits of the dead’ and *KARAŠ.HLA* ‘armies, troops’. Although in some cases the identity of the underlying Hittite noun is unknown, accompanying adjectives, pronouns, etc., showing grammatical agreement can sometimes eliminate the explanation that the form in Hittite was a neuter plural (= collective). But the collective sense remains determinative for the choice of *HLA*. In some of these cases it appears that *HLA* has taken over the force of the reduplicated (i.e., doubly written) Sumerian noun, namely, the idea of totality (see above in §6.2). In some cases this is explicit in the Hittite: ^d*U.HLA* *humantes* ‘all the storm-gods’, etc.

CHART OF MARKER DISTRIBUTION

Semantic Category	A = OS	B = MS	C = NS
1. Deities			
DINGIR	M	M	M
DINGIR.LÚ	M	M	M
DINGIR.MAH	—	H, M	H, M
^d U/ ^d IM	—	—	H ¹³¹
^d ZA.BA ₄ .BA ₄	—	—	H
^d ISTAR	—	—	M ¹³²
^d Hebat-LUGAL	—	—	H
^d Tēlipinu	—	—	H
2. Humans			
ANŠE.KUR.RA ‘horse troops’	—	M ¹³³	M, H
ARAD	—	M	M
BELU	—	M	M, H ¹³⁴
DAM	M	M	M
(LÚ)DUB.SAR	—	M ¹³⁵	M ¹³⁶
DUMU	M	M	M, H ¹³⁷
DUMU.DUMU	M	M	M
DUMU.MUNUS	M	M	M, H ¹³⁸

¹³¹The divine names pluralized with *HLA* in the NH period were intended to indicate groups of deities, in the collective sense, translatable by ‘the various X-gods’. See §6.4.2.

¹³²Rare: KBo 2.17 obv 12.

¹³³Representing troops in KBo 14.18:9 and KBo 22.8:1.

¹³⁴*BE-LU*^{HLA} KBo 22.6 i 20; KUB 23.11 ii 35; around 60 examples in NS. I have not found that this writing is “predominantly attested in texts originating in the reign of Hattušili III” (Weeden 2007:146), although the copies of many *might* date from that reign. EN.*HLA* KUB 11.32+ iii 12, and two other occurrences in NS, one of which is unpublished, Bo 4120.

¹³⁵LÚ.MEŠ DUB.SAR.MEŠ HKM 52.13.

¹³⁶Only in GAL DUB.SAR.MEŠ.

¹³⁷Rare: 4 DUMU.*HLA* KUB 1.1 i 9 (Hattušili III; with duplicates B and C reading DUMU.MEŠ).

¹³⁸Rare: EZEN₄ DUMU.MUNUS.*HLA* VS 28.111 rev 4.

DUMU.NITA	M	M	M, H ¹³⁹
EN	—	M	M, H
ÉRIN	M	M, M+H ¹⁴⁰	M, M+H ¹⁴¹
GAŠAN	—	—	M
URU ^{GAŠA} H.I.A ‘Kaška troops’	—	—	H
GIDIM	—	—	H
KARAŠ (referring to troops)	—	—	H
<i>kururi</i> ‘enemies’	—	—	H
LÚ	M	M	M
LÚ.KÚR	—	M	M, H ¹⁴²
LÚ.ULU ₁₉ .LU	M	—	—
LUGAL	—	M	M, H ¹⁴³
LÚ.SANGA	M ¹⁴⁴	—	M
MUNUS	M	M	M
MUNUS.LUGAL	—	—	M, H
NAM.RA (persons)	—	—	M, H
NIN	M	—	M, H
SAG.GÉME.ARAD	—	M	M
SAGI	M ¹⁴⁵	—	—
ŠEŠ	M	M, H	M, H
ŠUTI ‘tribe; tribal troop’ ¹⁴⁶	—	—	H
UN ‘person’ ¹⁴⁷	—	M	M

3. Animals

ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA	—	—	H, ¹⁴⁸ M ¹⁴⁹
ANŠE.KUR.RA ¹⁵⁰	H	H, ¹⁵¹ M	H, M

¹³⁹Rare: KUB 42.82:8’ (see ŠEŠ.H.I.A in this text: 6’, 11’); note also Weeden 2007:303–4.

¹⁴⁰KUB 14.1 obv 21, rev 41; HKM 7:21; 17:23; 19:11; 26:13; etc.

¹⁴¹ÉRIN.MEŠ.H.I.A fairly common in NH.

¹⁴²MEŠ in KBo 3.1+ i 27 (MS dupl. has H.I.A), 29; KUB 23.11 ii 31; and *passim* in NH and NS. The ratio of occurrences in NS for MEŠ and H.I.A is 105:38, contradicting Weeden’s claim (2007:303) that NAM.RA’s plural marker is most frequently H.I.A in NS.

¹⁴³Rare: KBo 18.22 obv 7.

¹⁴⁴SANGA.MEŠ without LÚ determinative in KBo 20.33+ rev 6. With determinative KUB 60.41 obv 7 (OS).

¹⁴⁵UGULA.SAGI.MEŠ KBo 38.113 rev 3’.

¹⁴⁶See §3.3 and §4.

¹⁴⁷The writing of *antubšatar* as UN.MEŠ-tar, and the ergative UN.MEŠ-anza suggests that the MEŠ expresses a collective idea.

¹⁴⁸In at least one case, 1-NU-TUM ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA.H.I.A KUB 13.35+ iii 9, the H.I.A marks a collective, since 1-NUTUM indicates the numbered item is a set.

¹⁴⁹Unique in KUB 13.35+ i 32.

¹⁵⁰ANŠE.KUR.RA is often plural even without a marker.

¹⁵¹In ÉRIN.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.H.I.A KUB 23.72+ rev 64 the latter could be either horse troops or horses. If the latter, it would be a case of preserving the old preference of H.I.A for non-human.

AZ	H	—	H
GU ₄	H	H	H, M
GU ₄ .ÁB	H ¹⁵²	H	H, M ¹⁵³
GU ₄ .MAḤ	H	H	—
MÁŠ.GAL	—	H	H
MÁŠ.TUR	—	—	H ¹⁵⁴
MUŠEN	H	H	H
PIRIG.TUR	—	—	H
ŠAḤ	H	—	H
ŠAḤ.TUR	H	H	H
UDU	H	H	H, M
UDU.NÍTA	—	—	M
UDU.U ₁₀	—	—	H
UR.BAR.RA	—	—	H, M
UR.GI ₇	—	H ¹⁵⁵	H
UR.MAḤ	H	—	H, M
UR.TUR	—	—	H, M
4. Body parts			
ÉLLAG	H	—	—
EME	—	H	H
GAB	H	H	H
GEŠTU	—	H	—
GÌR	H	M	M
IGI	—	H	H, M ¹⁵⁶
KA×U	—	H	H
KIR ₁₄	—	H	—
NÍ.TE	—	—	H, M
SAG.DU	H	H, M	H, M
ŠU	H	H	H, M
UMBIN	—	—	M ¹⁵⁷
ZAG.LU	H	H	H
ZU ₉	—	H	H
QA-TE	—	M ¹⁵⁸	—

¹⁵²KBo 25.122 iii 5; KUB 43.27 i 7.¹⁵³Rare: KBo 40.250:6.¹⁵⁴KUB 24.7 ii 15.¹⁵⁵Bo 3742 ii 2'.¹⁵⁶Rare: KBo 42.116:4', 5', 6'.¹⁵⁷Contrast G¹⁵UMBIN 'wheel', which in NH takes either marker.¹⁵⁸QA-TE^{MES}.ŠU KuT 33 (Wilhelm 2002:342–3) i 16; KUB 32.49a ii 11, 17 (MS).

5. Inanimates

A(-ar)	H	—	H, M ¹⁵⁹
A.ŠÀ	H	H	H
AD.KID	—	—	H ¹⁶⁰
ALAM	—	H, M ¹⁶¹	H, M
<i>aleli</i>	—	—	H
<i>alpa</i> ^{HLA}	—	—	H
AN.ZA.GÀR	—	—	H ¹⁶²
<i>arkuwarri</i>	—	—	H
AŠRI	—	—	H
GIŠBANŠUR	H ¹⁶³	H	H, M
BIBRI	—	H	H
DI	—	—	H
DUG	—	—	H
É	H	H	H, M
É.GAL	—	H	H
KUŠE.SIR	—	—	H, M ¹⁶⁴
<i>ešri</i>	—	—	H
<i>etri</i>	—	—	H
EZEN ₄	—	H	H, M
GIŠGA.ZUM (i.e., KAŠSUM)	—	—	H
GIŠGAG.Ú.TAG.GA	—	—	H
GAL ¹⁶⁵	H	H	H
(GIŠ)GEŠTIN	—	—	H
GIŠGIDRU	H	H	H
GIŠGIGIR	H	H	M
GÍR	H	H	H, M
GIŠGÍR.GUB	—	H, M ¹⁶⁶	H, M ¹⁶⁸
GIŠ	H	H	H, M
GIŠ-ru	—	—	H
GIŠ.DINANNA	H	H	H
GIŠGU.ZA	—	—	M ¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁹For A-ar^{HLA} see KUB 12.57 + KUB 12.55, i 7. A-ar^{MEŠ} is rare: RS 25.421:46.

¹⁶⁰In UNUT AD.KID.HLA KBo 37.3 + KUB 28.87 rev 8.

¹⁶¹Rare: KUB 17.21 + ii 26.

¹⁶²KBo 22.98:7'; KUB 48.104 ii 6.

¹⁶³MEŠ only in UGULA GIŠBANŠUR.MEŠ 'overseer of the table-men' KBo 38.113 rev 1', obv [7'].

¹⁶⁴Rare: KBo 15.13:2.

¹⁶⁵The noun GAL 'cup' avoids the MEŠ marker in all periods in order to distinguish the noun from GAL 'large', which always takes MEŠ in the plural.

¹⁶⁶Depending on the date of the script of KBo 32.108(:3').

¹⁶⁷Rare: KUB 6.45 + iii 4.

GUNNI	—	H, M ¹⁶⁸	H, M
ḪA.LA	—	—	H
DUGḪAB.ḪAB	H	H	H
<i>ḫalki</i>	—	H	H
<i>ḫalkueššar</i>	—	—	H
DUGḫarši	—	—	H
DUGḫaršialli	—	—	H
<i>ḫaršiḫarši</i>	—	—	H
(MUNUS)ḫazziqara ¹⁶⁹	—	—	H
<i>ḫaziwi</i>	—	—	H
<i>ḫekur</i>	—	—	H
ḪIRITUM	—	—	H ¹⁷⁰
DUGḫuppari	—	—	H
ḪUR.SAG	—	H, ¹⁷¹ M ¹⁷¹	M ¹⁹⁸
<i>ḫuwāši</i>	—	H	H
Ì.UDU	H	—	—
ÍD	H	H, ¹⁷² M ¹⁷³	H, M ¹⁷⁴
<i>ileššar</i>	—	—	H
IM ‘wind’	—	H	H, ¹⁷⁵ M ¹⁷⁵
IM ‘clay’	—	—	H
INBI	—	H	H
<i>išḫiul(i)</i>	—	—	H
ISPATE	—	M	H ¹⁷⁶
KANNUM	—	H ¹⁷⁷	H
KASKAL	H	H, M	H, M
KIN	—	—	H
GIŠKIRI ₆ (.GEŠTIN)	—	H ¹⁷⁸	H, ¹⁷⁹ M ¹⁸⁰
KISLAḪ	—	—	H

¹⁶⁸Three out of four times in the same text: MEŠ in KUB 29.8 i 4, 5, 11, versus ḪA.LA in i 6.

¹⁶⁹[MUNUS.MEŠ²ḫ]ḫazziqara^{ḪA.LA} KUB 46.27 obv 4, is a neut. pl. collective form, see Hoffner 1998.

¹⁷⁰KUB 8.63 + KBo 53.5, iv 19.

¹⁷¹HKM 41:10'; KUB 12.63 obv 25, 31 (see ḪA.LA in 30); KUB 15.34 i 1, 45, etc. Weeden (2007:303) claims ḪA.LA is used exclusively on this logogram in MS.

¹⁷²Even as oath deities (e.g., KBo 8.35 ii 12).

¹⁷³Also as oath deities.

¹⁷⁴As oath deities.

¹⁷⁵As inanimate objects (KUB 24.1 iv 15), but occasionally as personified beings in myths (HT 25 + KUB 33.111, ii/iii 3').

¹⁷⁶[IŠ-PA-T]I^{ḪA.LA} KBo 22.98:7', variant to ^{KUŠ}IŠ-PA-DU KUB 36.67 obv 18. Both Pecchioli Daddi (2003) and Akdoğan (2007) read the trace as -]U^{ḪA.LA}.

¹⁷⁷GA-AN-NU-UM^{ḪA.LA} KBo 17.75 iii 19 (MS?).

¹⁷⁸KBo 16.27 ii 15 (MH/MS).

¹⁷⁹KBo 3.1 ii 57 (OH/NS); VBoT 58 i 10 (OH/NS); KUB 26.41 + obv 16 (MH/NS).

¹⁸⁰KUB 21.29 iv 15 (MH/NS); KUB 24.3 + iii 4 (MH/NS).

NA ₄ KIŠIB	—	—	H
DUGKUKUB	—	H ¹⁸¹	H
KUR	—	H	H, M
KUR.KUR	—	H	H, M
(TÜG) <i>kuressar</i>	—	—	H
<i>kurpiši</i>	—	—	H
<i>kurtalli</i>	—	H	—
<i>kušiši</i>	—	—	H
UZUKUDURRI	—	—	H
LÚ-natar	—	—	H
[...-]la-an ^{H1.A} (neut. pl.)	—	—	H
GIŠMÁ	—	—	H
GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA	H	H, M ¹⁸²	H
GIŠ <i>mari</i> ¹⁸³	—	—	H
<i>maškan</i>	—	—	H
<i>minumar(ri)</i>	—	—	H
GIŠMÚ.SAR	—	—	H ¹⁸⁴
<i>mukešsar</i>	—	—	H ¹⁸⁵
MUL	H	—	H, M ¹⁸⁶
NA ₄	H	H	H, M
NAM.RA	H ¹⁸⁷	H, M ¹⁸⁸	—
(DUG)NAMMANTUM	—	—	H
TÜGNÍG.LÁM	—	M	H, M
NINDA	H	H	H ¹⁸⁹
NINDA a-a-an(-da) ¹⁹⁰	—	H	H
NINDA.GÚG	—	—	H
NINDA.KU ₇	—	—	H, M
NINDA.GUR ₄ .RA	H	H	H, M
NINDA.TU ₇	H	—	H
NINDA.SIG	—	H, M	H, M

¹⁸¹ KBo 17.75 i 52; VBoT 24 i 19.

¹⁸² KUB 38.51 (MS) has H1.A in ii 1, and MEŠ in ii 8.

¹⁸³ The form GIŠ*ma-ri*^{H1.A} can either be a neut. pl. collective of the common gender Hittite noun *mari-*, or an Akkadogram IZ-MA-RI^{H1.A} without a predeterminative.

¹⁸⁴ KUB 7.1 i 19 (OH/NS).

¹⁸⁵ Bo 69/509 obv 3 (NS).

¹⁸⁶ KBo 6.3 iv 7 (NS) replacing MUL.H1.A in KBo 6.2 iv 13 (OS).

¹⁸⁷ Of persons: KBo 6.2 + ii 22 (laws §40).

¹⁸⁸ Referring to persons: HKM 24:37.

¹⁸⁹ Interesting that there is no example of NINDA.MEŠ, despite the occurrence of this marker on NINDA.KU₇, NINDA.GUR₄.RA and NINDA.SIG in the NH period.

¹⁹⁰ For NINDA a-a-an^{H1.A} see references in HW², HED, and AlHeth. For NINDA a-a-an-da^{H1.A} see KBo 24.41 iv 17.

NUMUN	H	H	M ¹⁹¹
PA. (for <i>PARISU</i>)	—	H	—
(DUG) <i>palhi</i> ¹⁹²	—	—	H
GIŠPAN	—	—	H, M ¹⁹³
GIŠPÊŠ	—	H ¹⁹⁴	—
PÚ	—	H, ¹⁹⁵	H ¹⁹⁷ , M ¹⁹⁶
<i>puḫši</i>	—	—	H
GIŠSERDUM	—	H ¹⁹⁷	—
<i>šiyattal</i>	—	—	H
ŠIPTUM	—	—	H ¹⁹⁸
SÍSKUR	—	—	H
ŠÀ.GAL	—	—	H
GIŠŠÚ.A	—	H	H
GIŠŠUKUR	H	H	H
ŠUM	—	—	H ¹⁹⁹
<i>šuppešsarri</i>	—	—	H
DUG ²⁰⁰ <i>šuwatra</i>	—	—	H
TE. (for <i>TÊRTU</i>)	—	M ²⁰¹	M
A.ŠÀ ²⁰² <i>terippi</i>	—	—	H
<i>tilipuri</i>	—	H	—
TÚG	H	H	H, M ²⁰²
GIŠTUKUL	—	H	H
<i>turi</i>	—	—	H
Ú	—	H	H
ÚKUŠ	H	—	H, M
GIŠUMBIN	—	H	H ²⁰³
UNUTE	—	M	H, M
<i>upati</i>	—	—	H
<i>uppešsar</i>	—	—	H
URPI ‘cloud’	—	—	M ¹⁷⁶

¹⁹¹Rare: KBo 19.26:3.¹⁹²This form *palhi*^{HL.A} is a neut. pl. collective of the com. sg. noun (DUG)*palhi*.¹⁹³Rare: KBo 33.40 obv 18.¹⁹⁴KBo 5.7 rev 38 (MS).¹⁹⁵Even when personified (KUB 23.77a obv 9 [MS], KBo 12.31 iv 14 [NS]).¹⁹⁶Even when not personified (KUB 33.13 ii 18 [OH/NS]).¹⁹⁷KBo 5.7 rev 38 (MS).¹⁹⁸KBo 31.8 iv 1 (NS).¹⁹⁹KUB 24.1 ii 21 (NS).²⁰⁰DUG²⁰⁰*šuwatra*^{HL.A} KBo 29.65 i 3; KUB 27.59 + KBo 29.66 with dupl. KBo 29.68.²⁰¹Rare: KBo 18.132:6.²⁰²Rare: KUB 22.70 obv 9, 78; rev 15 (see TÚG.HI.A in 16).²⁰³Contrast UMBIN ‘fingernail’ which in NH takes MEŠ.

URU	H	H	H, M ²⁰⁴
DUGÚTUL	H	H	H
UZU	H	—	H
wašši	—	—	H
waštul	—	H	H
ZAG	—	—	H
zakkiuš (com. pl.)	—	H	—
zankilatar(ri), zakilatar	—	—	H
ZÍZ	H	H	H
zuppari/u	—	—	H
6. Units of time			
meḫurri	—	—	H
MU	H	H	H
MU.KAM	—	H	H
UD	—	H	H
UD.KAM	—	—	H
7. Finite verb forms			
HUL.MEŠ-šer (idalawessēr)	—	—	M

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²⁰⁴Rare: KUB 21.17 ii 11.

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Sûre Duhitár's Brother, the "Placer of the Sun": Another Example of *-e* < **-as* in Rigvedic Phrasal Sandhi

Stephanie W. Jamison

It gives me great pleasure to offer this small token to my friend and colleague Craig Melchert. I only regret that my own limitations prevent me from making a contribution in his area of greatest expertise, but rest happy in the knowledge that Craig enjoys a philological puzzle wherever it is found.

Perhaps the most famous sandhi form in Vedic is found in the precious expression *sûre duhitâ* 'daughter of the sun' in RV I.34.5, a phrase considered by many¹ to contain not the dative it appears to be, but rather a genitive² of the old 'sun' word *svâr-*: **sûras* > **sûraz*, with the sandhi product of **-az* as *-e* before a voiced dental—as is familiar in *internal* sandhi in a variety of forms, such as the impv. to $\sqrt{\text{as}}$ 'to be': *edhi* (< **az-dhi*); the weak perfect to $\sqrt{\text{sad}}$ 'sit': *sedur* (< **sa-zd-ur*); and the famous noun *medhâ* 'wisdom' (< **m̥z-dhâ*; cf. Av. *mazdā*).³ The phrase occurs only once, in an Áśvin hymn,

I.34.5d *tristhām vām sûre duhitâ ruhāḍ rātham*

"The Daughter of the Sun mounted your three-stationed chariot,"

in a passage referring to the old myth of the Sun's Daughter's marriage.⁴ I have discussed the formulaics of this myth elsewhere (Jamison 2001); it is not surprising to find archaic frozen expressions in this context.

The expression is, however, entirely isolated even within its formulaic context. In another passage, also concerning her marriage and also in an Áśvin hymn (VII.69.4), the phrase is found in modernized form with the undoubted genitive, *sûro duhitâ*,

¹Cf., e.g., Wackernagel 1896 [1957]:338 (and Nachtr. 191); Wackernagel 1930:314; Renou 1952:103 (somewhat cautiously, though in 1962:2 ad RV I.34.5 he weakly favors a locative to the thematic stem). Discussed at length by Oldenberg (1909:36–7 ad RV I.34.5), who rejects the genitive interpretation. Rejected also by Pirart (1995:59). Debrunner (1954:416) in passing seems to take it as a locative. However, Witzel (1989:187) presents it as fact, without comment. Although earlier scholars were divided about the genitive interpretation, it seems to be generally accepted among Indo-Europeanists today.

²Presumably remade from an even earlier one found in Old Avestan *xšnyf* (e.g., Y.44.3, see below).

³For further examples see Wackernagel 1896 [1957]:37–9.

⁴A remarkable fact about this passage is that the caesura of this Jagatī line breaks the syntagm apart, a phenomenon that might seem to be an argument against seeing the preservation of an old phrasal sandhi here. Moreover, it appears in a rather banal Áśvin hymn that is fixated on the number three, which again might be taken as evidence against the archaism of the passage. However, I think these two facts together may suggest why the old sandhi was preserved only here. I would argue that in this hymn the poet gathered up all the verses beginning with "three" associated with the Áśvins. The rest of the pāda was uninteresting to him, and he therefore didn't modernize it. If he had cared about the story itself, he would have adjusted the sandhi of the phrase, as in VII.69.4 cited below.

and the more common way of identifying the same referent is with the derivative noun *sūrya-*, so *sūryasya duhitā* (III.35.15, IV.43.1, IX.1.6, IX.113.3, also in the opposite order *duhitā sūryasya*). And we should also note the even more common expression *divo duhitār-* ‘daughter of Heaven’ (also regularly *duhitār divāḥ*), in which the sandhi product of the underlying *divās* is always *o*.

Despite its isolation, the genitive interpretation of *sūre duhitā* seems pretty robust, supported as it is not only by the numerous examples of *e* from **az* before dental in *internal* sandhi just noted, but also by the *external* sandhi product *e* < **az* in eastern dialects of MIA, beginning with the Aśokan inscriptions (e.g., Kālsī, Jaugaḍa *mige* < *mīgaḥ*). In these MIA dialects this *-e* is not conditioned by phonological context, but has been generalized for all forms in final **-as*, just as *-o* was similarly generalized in more western dialects and in Avestan. The general assumption is that this geographical dialect feature has resulted from opposing patterns of generalization of an originally phonologically conditioned development. Nonetheless, even though there is relatively little scholarly doubt currently about the source of *sūre* in our expression, it would be nice to have another supporting example within Vedic, and this is what I will suggest I have found, in somewhat disguised form.

RV IX.97 is a composite Soma hymn, distinguished by being the longest hymn in the RV, with fifty-eight verses attributed by the Anukramaṇī to eleven different poets, mostly belonging to the Vasiṣṭha clan. Verse 38⁵ reads as follows:

IX.97.38 *sā punānā ūpa sūre nā dhātóbhē aprā rōdasī vī śā āvaḥ*
priyā cid yāsyā priyasāsa ūtī sā tū dhānam kārīṇe nā prā yaṃsat

The subject, as usual in the IXth Maṇḍala, is Soma, both exhilarating ritual drink and powerful divine king. Most of the verse is easily comprehensible, save for the portion of pāda a following the caesura—that is, *ūpa sūre nā dhātā*. I give a translation for the rest of the verse:

“He, being purified, ... has filled both world halves, and he has disclosed (them). (He) with whose help the winners of dear things (win) dear things, he will extend spoils as if to a victor.”

The standard interpretation of *sūre* here is that it is the locative to the thematized stem *sūra-* also meaning ‘sun’. So, e.g., Grassmann (1873:s.v.), followed by Lubotsky (1997:s.v.). There is no doubt that such a thematic stem exists,⁶ even though there can be doubt as to which of the forms identified as its nom. sg. *sūras* might actually be genitives of the *svār-* stem. There is also no doubt that its locative sg. *sūre* exists, since it appears 9× in the locative absolute *sūra ūdite* ‘on the sun having arisen’ (III.15.2, etc.), a formulaic variant of *ūdītā sūryasya* ‘at the rising of the sun’ (6×: I.115.6, etc.), with *-ti-* stem abstract + gen., rather than double loc. with ppl.⁷

⁵Attributed to Parāśara Śāktya, who is also credited with I.65–73 by the Anukramaṇī.

⁶Consider the unambiguous dative and ablative forms *sūrāya* (1×) and *sūrāt* (1×), as well as the compound *sūra-caḥśas-* ‘having the sun as eye/having the eye of the sun’.

⁷Which once has the genitive of the *svār* stem: *ūdītā sūra(h)*. Interestingly the Pp. gives *sūre* here.

However, a locative makes little sense in our context and has tied translators and commentators into interpretational knots, as we will see. It would also be possible to take it as a dative sg. of the *svār-* stem,⁸ but this scarcely improves the semantics. Or, as I will suggest, it might also reflect an underlying genitive **sūras*, with the *-e* sandhi product before a voiced dental. Despite the textual complications that arise from such an interpretation, it provides a much more satisfying semantic solution. I will argue that the text presupposes an old fixed formula **sūre dhātār-* (or *dhātār-*, see below) "Placer of the Sun," and that since the syntagm was broken up by the simile particle *ná*, its real character was misunderstood and the old sandhi was therefore preserved.⁹

Before pursuing my own solution further, we should examine what other Rigvedic interpreters have done with this phrase. Mostly it comes out having to do with laundry. I give the translations of the relevant parts of the three most authoritative modern commentators, Geldner, Oldenberg, and Renou, also of the medieval commentator Sāyaṇa:¹⁰

Oldenberg (1912:188): "Er sich reinigend, wie wer (etwas) in die Sonne legt (und dadurch reinigt) . . ."

Geldner (1951:99): "Sich läuternd wie einer, der in die Sonne legt, hat er beide Welten erfüllt."

Renou (1961:49): "Le (*soma*) se clarifiant a emplí les deux mondes, (les plaçant) pour ainsi dire sous le soleil."

Sāyaṇa: *punānaḥ pūyamānaḥ sa soma indram upagacchati/tatra dṛṣṭāntaḥ/sūre na yathā sūre dhātā saṃvatsara upagacchati/saṃvatsaro vai dhātā*¹¹

Both Oldenberg and Geldner state explicitly that the simile *sūre ná dhātā* has to do with putting garments into the sun to bleach them, a practice to which the purification of soma is being compared. Here is Geldner's comment: "Der Dichter denkt bei seinem Vergleich wohl an das Reinigen und Bleichen der Wäsche." Frankly I think this is ludicrous,¹² especially given the high-level, cosmogonic diction of the rest of the half verse, and their recourse to sun-bleaching bespeaks a certain desperation induced

⁸This proposal would encounter the further problem that the only recognized form of the dative to this stem, *sūre* in IV.4.8, has final accent. However, since the genitive is regularly accented *sūras*, this is not a major problem. Cf. Wackernagel 1930:314 for these contrasting accentuations.

⁹Preservation because of misunderstanding/inattention was exactly the reason I advanced for the preservation of *sūre dubitā* (above, n. 4).

¹⁰Cf. also Pischel's interpretation (*Vedische Studien* 3.194, cited by Lüders 1951:259); he supplies *tamvām* (on the basis of IV.16.14) and translates "Indem er sich läuterte, gleichsam als wolle er sich in die Sonne stellen, erfüllte er Himmel und Erde," dismissing previous interpretations.

Griffith's rendering (1889–92:518), which assumes that the simile only includes *sūre*, with *dhātā* belonging to what follows, is uncharacteristically closer to sense than some of the others: "Cleansed near the Sun as 'twere, he as Creator hath filled full heaven and earth," though it reduces the simile to a vague approximative.

¹¹The italicized words are the original Rigvedic text, the roman Sāyaṇa's glosses and interpretations. Cited from Müller 1890:787.

¹²A view shared by Lüders, who discusses this phrase and previous interpretations (Lüders 1951:259–60), making the dry and non-politically-correct comment, "Dass der vedische Inder seine Wäsche bleichte, möchte ich bezweifeln; der heutige Dhobi kennt jedenfalls, soviel ich weiss, die Bleiche nicht." He locates the problems in previous interpretations in their taking the simile with *punānaḥ*, rather than with what

by the problematic *sūre*. In contrast Renou's interpretation follows that of Lüders (see n. 12). Both Lüders and Renou take the simile with what follows it, rather than with *punānāḥ*; this avoids the imaginative flights of the washing, but produces at best a bleached (sic ...) simile, and one that renders the agent noun as a vague participial adjunct, which Renou conceals in one of his trademark parentheses. Sāyaṇa for his part introduces a new character in the simile, the year (*samvatsara*) as placer, but evades indicating what he thinks this has to do with the sun, though his gloss *sūrye* makes it clear that he considers *sūre* a locative.

I will here forego further discussion of the philological pros and cons of these various proposals and their adduced (and quite distant) Rigvedic parallels, and proceed to my own suggestion. As noted above, I propose that we have reflected here an old formula, "Placer of the Sun" **sūraz dhātār*, whose referent is a god engaged in cosmogonic activity. As so often in the IXth Maṇḍala, Soma's actions during his purification are compared grandiosely to such cosmic phenomena, and in service of such comparison the old formulaic phrase "Placer of the Sun" was broken up by the simile marker *nā*, which paradoxically allowed the formula to be preserved, since its transparency had been lost and it could not be modernized. I would therefore render the half-verse "He [= Soma], (though) being purified nearby (*ūpa*), has filled both world-halves like the Placer of the Sun."¹³

The verb phrase underlying this agentive expression is reasonably well attested in the RV and seemingly formulaic: *svār [sūryam] dhā* "place the sun." Compare a few instantiations of it in the RV, noting that in several of the examples *svār* is immediately followed by the simile marker *nā* as in our passage:¹⁴

follows. His own interpretation: "Er, sich läuternd, hat beide Welten erfüllt, (sic) gleichsam in die Sonne stellend."

Tichy (1995:340) takes *sūre* as a locative with the agent noun, and supplies 'light' as the object of *dhātā*: "So hat er jetzt beim Läutern in seiner Eigenschaft der Sonne gleichsam noch (Licht) hinzugeben ...," which is certainly an improvement on the bleaching suggestion, but which requires supplying a word not found in the passage.

¹³It is not entirely clear which god is referred to, nor does it really matter, but I would suggest Indra. He regularly fills the two worlds (III.30.11, VI.46.5, etc.), and though I have not yet found a passage in which he "places" the sun, he often engages in formulaically related activities, e.g., VIII.89.7 (etc.) *ā sūryam robayo divi* "you caused the sun to mount in heaven"; VIII.12.30 *yadā sūryam amūṣṇ divi ... ādhānyāḥ* "when you upheld yonder sun in heaven ..."

¹⁴Notice also that the initial of *nā* is always retroflexed after *svār*. This close sandhi effect might indicate that our simile is a particularly common and frozen one, but the situation is more complex than that. On the one hand, in general simile-marking *nā* does not retroflex after *-r*; compare, e.g., similes with *dyātūr nā* (I.8.5, II.2.5, IV.21.1, etc.), as well as, e.g., I.39.1 *śocir nā*, I.61.12 *gūr nā*; this discrepancy would support a notion that the *svār nā* simile has a special status. However, *svār* has a general retroflexing effect: it always retroflexes a following *nā*, which would mean that our particular formula does not have special status but is treated like all *svār* similes, as well as enclitic pronouns following *svār* (I.170.9, VII.90.6 *svār nah*). It does not retroflex other accented words, however (I.52.9 *svār mṣācaḥ*, VIII.46.8 *svār nṛbhīḥ*).

with *svār*-¹⁵

V.66.2 *svār nā dhāyi darsatām*

"(It) has been placed like the sun lovely to see."

IX.113.7 *yāsmiñ loké svār hitām*

"In which world the sun has been placed ..."

I.148.1 *nī yām dadbhūh ... svār nā citrām*

"Whom [= Agni] they have installed (lit., put down), like the brilliant sun."

with *sūrya*-

V.63.7 *sūryam ā dhattbo divi ...*

"You two [= Mitra and Varuṇa] place the sun in heaven."

V.85.2 *divi sūryam adadhāt ...*

"He [= Varuṇa] placed the sun in heaven."

X.88.11 *yadā ... ādadhūh ... divi devāḥ sūryam ...*

"When the gods placed the sun in heaven."

There are also periphrases with the same value, as in

V.40.8 *ātrih sūryasya divi cākṣur ādhāt*

"Atri placed the eye of the sun in heaven."

Particularly telling, perhaps, is a passage in the hymn immediately following the one with which we are concerned, in which the phrase, with *svār*, is used in a simile, in which Soma is the subject of the frame, just as in our passage.

IX.98.8 *yāh sūriṣu śrávo bṛhād dadhé svār nā haryatāh*

"The delightful one [= Soma], who **has placed** lofty fame, **like the sun**, among the patrons ..."

It would not be surprising if this were an inherited formula; the Gāthās attest a similar, if indirect, formulation. Notice the even more archaic genitive of the sun-word here.

Y.44.3 *kasnā x̥ṃg str̥m̥cā dāt̥ aduunānam*

"What man set the course of the sun and the stars?"

Thus, my interpretation of *sūre nā dhātā* as containing a disguised genitive of the word for 'sun' makes formulaic sense and also makes contextual sense of an otherwise messy passage. However, there is a major grammatical difficulty: the accent of the agent noun conflicts with the syntactic analysis I am suggesting. As is well known (see, e.g., Tichy 1995:passim, esp. 82ff.), root-accented *tar*-stems generally take verbal rection, and we should expect an accusative here; it is suffix-accented *tār*-stems that

¹⁵Possibly also III.31.19 *svās ca no maghavan sātāye dbāh*, though I interpret this as "you have set us up to win the sun." Also, with middle verb forms, VII.90.6 ... *yé dādbate svār nah* "they who ... confer their sun(light) upon us" and X.8.3 *ny ādhvare dadhire sūro āryah* "(him) have they set down in the rite as the sun's undulating flood."

take genitives. This is easily, and frequently, demonstrated with contrastive pairs like *dātār-/dātār-*, as in the following passages in the same hymn, with awkward translations attempting to bring out their syntactic differences:

- VI.23.3 *dātā vāsu suvaté* . . .
 “He is one who gives goods to the presser.”
 VI.23.10 *indro rāyó viśvāvārasya dātā*
 “Indra is the giver of all-desirable wealth.”

Indeed, the other root-accented form of *dhātār-* in the RV does take the accusative:

- VIII.7.35 *dhātāra stuvaté váyaḥ*
 “(The Maruts) establish vital energy for their praiser.”

And at least one suffix-accented form of *dhātār-* takes a genitive (though most are used absolutely):

- I.123.5 . . . *yó aghāsya dhātā*
 “who is the institutor of evil . . .”

Though this “wrong” accentuation poses a distinct problem for my interpretation, I do not consider it an insuperable obstacle. For one thing, the supposed syntactic complementary distribution is not watertight, as *tar-*stems not infrequently show up with the “wrong” case. For my purposes root-accented form(s) with genitive are the crucial parallels, as in the following examples:¹⁶

- III.45.2 *sthātā rāthasya* . . .
 “mounter of the chariot . . .” (cf. X.59.1)
 I.66.3 . . . *jētā jánānām*
 “conquerer of peoples”
 X.49.3 *ahám śúṣṇasya śnāthitā* . . .
 “I am the piercer of Śuṣṇa.”

But it is useful to remember that the reverse also occurs, accusatives with suffix-accented stems, as in

- VII.57.2 *nicetāro hi marūto gṛṇāntam praṇetāro yājāmānasya mánma*
 “It’s surely the Maruts who take note of the singer, who lead forward the thought of the sacrificer.”

So a root-accented *dhātār-* with genitive in my formula *śúre dhātār-* would have precedents and parallels. But I would also point out that the accent of this agent noun is not entirely clear textually. It ends the first pāda of its verse, and, as is usual, sandhi is applied across the pāda-break in the *saṃhitā* text, yielding . . . *dhātāóbbhé* . . . The Pādapatha of course reads *dhātā/ā/ubhé*, but I wonder if the original text read instead **dhātóbbhé*, with a suffix-accented *dhātā* having its accent absorbed and obscured by the

¹⁶Note also that the feminine root-accented *tar-*stem *jānitṛī* also takes genitive, as in I.124.5 *gávāṇi jānitṛī* “genetrix of cows.”

initial accented vowel of the next pāda. The sequence *óbbhé* (*jóbbhā*) several times opens pādas (cf. VIII.64.4, IX.70.5, I.124.5; cf. also non-initial VI.46.5), and the redactors may have felt that in a sequence **dhātóbbhé* the first word lacked accent because doubly accented *óbbhé* was already a standard unit. On the basis of other forms of root-accented *dhātār-* they may have added an initial accent. Or, alternatively, the underlying sequence could simply have been **dhātā + ubbhé*, without pāda-initial preverb *ā*, which would also yield *dhātóbbhé*, but on the basis of other pāda-initial *óbbhé* sequences, it was analyzed as containing an *ā*, again inviting indication that the first word, *dhātā*, had a separate accent.

If my analysis of *sûre ná dhātā* is accepted, we have now just doubled the number of examples of this archaic outcome of external sandhi. Or perhaps not—it was, I think, the first meeting of my first Rig Veda class with Stanley Insler (in 1971), reading, of course, RV I.1, when he proposed his analysis of the surface *āmredita divé-dive* in vs. 7 as containing a first-member ablative, hence **divás-dive* ‘from day to day’, with the same sandhi development as proposed for the *sûre* syntagms. I have always found this interpretation ingenious and semantically attractive, and if it belongs to the dossier, we would now have three examples of **-as* becoming *-e* in external sandhi before a voiced dental.

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The Luvian “Case” in *-ša/-za*

Jay H. Jasanoff

The nom.-acc. sg. of neuter nouns and adjectives in Cuneiform Luvian is often accompanied by a suffix *-ša*, which takes the form *-za* after dental stops, *n*, and *l* (e.g., *wār-ša* ‘water’, ^{UZU}*zār-za* ‘heart’ (stem *zār-*), *āš-ša* ‘mouth’, *ašrulāhi-ša* ‘femininity’, *ādduwal-za* ‘evil (adj.)’, *parattan-za* ‘impurity’ (stem *paratta-*)). Laroche, the first scholar to identify these forms as a distinct category, understandably found them puzzling. In the grammatical sketch accompanying his *Dictionnaire de la langue luvite* (Laroche 1959) he spoke of them as “pas encore élucidées,” but then went on to refer to a “case” in *-ša*—a practice that has persisted informally to the present day. By 1965, however, he had changed his mind. A list of corrigenda to the dictionary from that year instructed readers to replace the phrase “cas en *-ša*” by “possessif enclitique neutre *-ša* ‘son’ = hitt. *-šet*,” citing alleged *udar-ša* ‘its speech’ and *adduwal-za* ‘its evil’ (Laroche 1965:44). The idea was stillborn. Laroche never enlarged upon it, nor was it taken up by any other scholar. It can hardly be correct as it stands, for, as pointed out by Hawkins et al. (1973:37), if *-ša* was synchronically a possessive, “it would be difficult to see how in the long lists of substantives used in the rituals that indicate good and bad things, only the neuters are affected by it, while the common gender nouns are not.” In the half century since the *Dictionnaire* other suggestions have been put forward, none of them carrying much conviction. Starke’s analysis of *-ša* as a neuter plural ending (1990:45ff.) is simply wrong; the forms in question are grammatically singular in key examples.¹ Equally untenable is the view that *-ša* had an “animatizing” (Carruba 1982) or “quasi-ergative” (Ivanov 2001:137) function. As our honorand notes (Melchert 2003a:186f.), the overwhelming majority of the actual forms made with this suffix, like neuter nom.-acc.’s generally, are syntactically direct objects—precisely the opposite of what would have been expected if they had been created to fill a specifically agentive role.²

A major turn toward a proper understanding of *-ša/-za* was taken with Melchert’s analysis, first presented *apud* Arbeitman 1992:34, of the remarkable form *inagan-za*. The Luvian passage (KBo XXIX 6 Ro 22–31) reads as follows:³

- 22 *za-aš-pa-a-t-ta ku-wa-ti-in za-am-mi-ta-a-ti-iš* ^{NA}*h̄ar-ra-a-ti*[
 23 *a-ú-i-im-mi-iš a-ú-i-du-pa-aš-ta ma[-a]l-h̄a-aš<-ša-aš>-ši-iš* EN-*aš-b̄[a-ra-at-na-a-ti]*
 24 *wa-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a[-ti]*

¹The plural analysis of *-ša* actually goes back to Otten (1953:65), who did not, however, recognize that *-ša* and *-za* belonged to the same morpheme.

²The real ending that used to make neuter nouns “agentive”, of course, is the ergative marker *-antiš*, which alone renders them capable of serving as the subject of a transitive verb (Melchert 2003a:202).

³Text after Melchert 2001:46f.

- 25 *i-in-za-ga-an-za-pa ku-wa-ti-in ša-pí-ya-im-ma-an a-ú-i-du(w)a-[aš-ta*
 26 *wa-aš-ku-li-im-ma-a-ti ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši[-*
 27 *za-a-pa ku-wa-ti-in wa-aš-ḥa-ša-u-ra ku-wa-an-z[u-waʔ] a-a-t[*
 28 *ku-un-zu-ni-in-du ma-al-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš [EN-aš*
 29 *DUMU.MEŠ-ti DUMU³.MUNUS.MEŠ-ti ḥa-am-ša-ti ḥa-am[-šu-uk-kal-la-a-ti*
 30 *za-aš-pa ku-wa-ti-in ku-um-ma(-)aš^{NA}+a-aš-šu-u[š*
 31 *ku-um-ma-ya-a-t-ta u-ra-an-nu-un-du [*

The structure here is clear: we are dealing with a conjunction of the form “As A is X_a, let such and such ... ; as B is X_b, let such and such ... ;” and so on. There are four parallel formulas (ll. 22–24, 25–26, 27–29, 30–31) and four terms A, B, C, D. A, C, and D are of the form *za-* ‘this’ NOUN: *zaš zammitātis* ‘this flour’ (l. 22; nom. sg. com.), *zā wašḥašsaura* ‘these w.’ (l. 27; nom. pl. nt.), *zaš kummaš*^{NA} *āššus* ‘this holy pillar’ (l. 30; nom. sg. com.). B is *inzagan-za* (l. 25), which differs in structure from the other three; in context it can only mean ‘this i.’ or, with the meaning later established for *inzagan* by Melchert, ‘this inhumation’.⁴ *-za* here is a postposed demonstrative, the representative or replacement of preposed *zā* <*za-a*> (<**zat*>). The question then inevitably arises: is this *-za* the same as the “case” marker *-ša/-za*?

On first impression, the answer would seem to be yes. Formally, *inzagan-za* has the canonical look of a form in *-ša*; functionally, it is easy to see how such a complex could represent a survival, an exceptional instance of *-ša/-za* retaining its original value. On closer examination, however, the situation quickly turns out to be more complicated. A basic choice has to be made at the outset: do we identify the *-za* of *inzagan-za* etymologically with the “case” marker *-ša/-za*, thus projecting it back to a preform in **z-* (**so*? **sod*?); or do we see it as a cliticized form of the stressed pronoun *za-* (= Hitt. *ka-*), itself a reflex of PIE **ke/o-*?⁵ The two possibilities are mutually exclusive; there is no middle ground. Favoring **so(d)* (*vel sim.*) is the typologically attractive picture of a weak demonstrative losing its deictic value and slipping into the role, elusive and possibly discourse-linked, of the “case” in *-ša*. This is the scenario envisaged by Arbeitman (1992:23ff.), who argues for a post-IE nom.-acc. neuter demonstrative **sod* based on the familiar PIE **so-/to-* pronoun;⁶ it is also the view favored by our honorand (cf., e.g., Melchert 2009:151f.). But speaking for a derivation of *-za* from **ko(d)* (*vel sim.*) is the fact that the *-za* of *inzagan-za*, unlike the ending *-ša/-za*, clearly means “this” and actually substitutes for a stressed form of the demonstrative *za-*. Likewise supporting a derivation from **k-* is Melchert’s independent observation, now a quarter-century old (1984:28f.), that the cognate pronoun *ka-* ‘this’ (<**ke/o-*) regularly cliticizes to the nom.-acc. forms of neuter nouns in the other “minor” Anatolian language of the second millennium, Palaic (e.g., *ḥuwanḥuwanni-kat* ‘this *h.*’,

⁴Melchert’s derivation of this word from **en dhghōm* ‘in the ground’ (*vel sim.*; Melchert 2003b) establishes [tsk] as the treatment of PIE thorn clusters in Luvian. It also strengthens the probability that the “thorn” of such sequences was an affricate or stop + sibilant cluster in the parent language.

⁵For the development **k* > *z* in Luvian see Melchert 1987. At a talk given at Harvard in December, 2008, Melchert argued that the change was regular before front vowels and analogical elsewhere.

⁶But **sod* was not a PIE form; see below.

wūzanni-kat ‘this w.’, pl. *aškumāuwa-ga* ‘these pure meats’). The contrast between the two “readings” of *inzagan-za* is best seen in tabular form:

	putative source of -za in <i>inzagan-za</i>	historically same as Luvian “case” in -ša?	historically same as Luvian <i>za-</i> ‘this’?	historically same as Palaic <i>-kat</i> ?
1)	*-so(<i>d</i>)	yes ⁷	no	no
2)	*-ko(<i>d</i>)	no	yes	yes

Neither analysis is completely satisfying. The choice of *-so(*d*) “explains” the forms in -ša/-za, but at the cost of separating *inzagan-za* from stressed *za-* and the strikingly parallel construction with *-kat* in Palaic. The choice of *-ko(*d*) leaves our central problem—the origin of the “case” in -ša—without any resolution at all.

At this point we may step back and ask another question: how well (or poorly) do the *other* facts in the case of -ša square with the hypothesis that it was originally a demonstrative? A weakened demonstrative might have evolved into a definite article or—more likely in the present instance—some other indicator of old vs. new information, such as a topicalizing or focusing particle. Such elements are notoriously hard to pin down in poorly attested languages like Cuneiform Luvian; in this respect, at least, the elusive character of -ša is consistent, in a negative sort of way, with the theory of a demonstrative origin. Yet even a “fuzzy” meaning of -ša might have been expected to leave a trace in the raw distributional data—the list of particular words and syntactic environments where -ša is used and not used. Surprisingly, no such “census” has ever been taken.

Thanks to Melchert’s *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon* (1993); hereinafter *CLL*) and *Cuneiform Luvian Corpus* (Melchert 2001; hereinafter *CLC*), both conveniently available on line,⁸ it is a simple task to collect all the nom.-acc. sg. nt. forms in the Cuneiform Luvian corpus—some of them with -ša, some not. A complete list of such forms, if we had one, would be useful in a number of ways. In a philologically ideal world, it could be used to draw up a shorter list of words attested both with and without -ša; contexts favoring and disfavoring the suffix could then be compared and contrasted, and appropriate hypotheses formulated for testing against the rest of the neuter vocabulary. In practice, of course, no such procedure is remotely thinkable with the Luvian corpus, which has been characterized by one of its most eminent students as “very limited in extent, content, and vocabulary, and . . . not strikingly intelligible” (Hawkins 2003:139). The majority of continuous Cuneiform Luvian texts are fragments, the remains of a small original core of cultic songs and incantations, internally repetitious and repetitious from fragment to fragment. Many words and forms are recorded only once; even those that might be called “well-attested” are often known only from copies, repetitions, or echoes of a single passage.⁹

In short, there is not much chance that we will ever discover the lingering “true” meaning of -ša, if any, by close reading of minimally contrastive textual passages. But

⁷“Yes” here means “in principle possible.” In theory, the -za of *inzagan-za* could go back to *sod without being the source of -ša/-za.

⁸At <http://www.linguistics.ucla.edu/people/Melchert/webpage/AnatolianDatabases.htm>.

⁹To say nothing of those attested only in Hittite contexts; see below.

a corpus-wide overview can yield insights of a different kind. Just such an insight is the striking fact, apparently never noted before, that *the choice of -ša/-za in Cuneiform Luvian neuter nouns was almost entirely lexically and morphologically determined*. Some neuters always formed their nom.-acc. sg. in *-ša*; the rest, with only marginal exceptions, never did. From a synchronic point of view, *-ša* was neither the mark of a special case, nor a demonstrative, nor a discourse marker; it had no contrastive function at all.

By way of documenting this point, let us begin by considering a characteristic class of Luvian nouns, the neuter abstracts in *-ahit-* (*-āhit-*). These are a productive type, represented by over two dozen lemmata in *CLL*.¹⁰ Fifteen *-ahit-* stems are documented in the nom.-acc. sg.: *anāhi* ‘sample, taste’, *ānnarummāhi* (1×) ~ *-āhi-ša* (1×) ‘forcefulness, virility’, *ašrulāhi-ša* ‘femininity’, *atrāhi-ša* ‘nourishment’, *hantawadahi-ša* ‘position of supreme authority, kingship’, *haddulāhi-ša* ‘health’, *huitwalāhi-ša* ‘life’, *kunzigannahi-ša* (meaning unknown), *mašhāhi-ša* ‘growth, prosperity’, **ušantarahi-ša* ‘prosperity, well-being’, *urannihi-ša*¹¹ (meaning unknown), *wārannahi-ša* (meaning unknown), *wayahi-ša* (meaning unknown), *iunāhi-ša* ‘mobile wealth’, *zidāhi-ša* ‘manhood’. Surveying this list, one is immediately struck by how, with the exception of *anāhi* and the hapax *ānnarummāhi* (*-āhi-ša*), all end in *-ša*. These exceptions, moreover, are only apparent. *ānnarummāhi* occurs in a passage (KUB XXXV 133 ii 30; *CLC* p. 131) where it is coupled with the parallel *-ahit-* stem *huitwalāhi-ša*; the conjoined phrase *ānnarummāhi huitwalāhi-ša-ḫa* ‘life and strength’ shows a kind of *Gruppenflexion*, with *-ša* having scope over the first term as well as the second. The other seeming exception, *anāhi*, is a normal form with over two dozen citations in *CLL*, making it by far the best-attested *-ahit-* stem in the language. But these attestations are all in *Hittite* documents. Much of the Luvian vocabulary is attested in the form of Luvianisms in Hittite texts, which may be partly nativized loanwords or outright foreignisms. *anāhi* is a conspicuous instance of such a form, being recorded in a variety of ritual and festival texts, none of them actually composed in Luvian. While Luvianisms are invaluable as a source of lexical information, they cannot be used as evidence for the distribution of *-ša/-za* in Cuneiform Luvian proper. The less-than-transparent principles underlying the use of *-ša/-za* were clearly variable across the Luvian-speaking area; the only other “dialect” we control, Hieroglyphic Luvian, has made *-sa/-za* obligatory for all stems in all environments.¹²

If *anāhi* is eliminated from our data set, we must also eliminate *kunzigannahi-ša* and **ušantarahi-ša*, which are likewise known only from Hittite contexts. This still leaves a remarkable “corpus” of twelve forms in *-ahit-ša* and none in unextended *-ahit*.¹³ While it is true that most of the *-ahit-ša* forms are attested only once,¹⁴ the sheer lopsidedness of the 12 : 0 distribution makes it clear that for these words, at least, the

¹⁰To avoid an excess of orthographic variants, lemmata are cited in their *CLL* form.

¹¹< **-iyahi-ša*; cf. *CLL* s.v.

¹²Whether Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luvian should properly be considered dialects is an open question (cf. Melchert 2003a:171ff.). The relevant issues, though without mention of *-ša/-za*, are laid out by Yakubovich (2010:64ff.).

¹³Apart from *ānnarummāhi*; cf. above.

¹⁴The exceptions are *wārannahi-ša* (5×) and *iunāhi-ša* (6×), which always occur together in what are basically multiple copies of the same passage.

selection of -ša was not a matter of syntax, semantics, or pragmatics, but of morphology. The rule that emerges is starkly simple: *nouns in -ahit- formed their nom.-acc. sg. in -ša*.¹⁵ More such rules will be encountered below.

A striking contrast to the -ahit-nouns is offered by the three neuter nouns *tātariyamman-* ‘curse’ (*n*-stem), *hūrūn-/hūrūt-* ‘(false) oath’ (“*n/t*-stem”),¹⁶ and *taparu-* (meaning unknown) (*u*-stem), which are typically found together. A recurring phrase in the corpus is *taparu tātariyamman hūrūn* (nom.-acc. sg.), denoting a trio of evils that the accompanying ritual is intended to avert. Various grammatical configurations are encountered: the phrase may be pluralized (*tapāruwa hūrūta tatarriyamna* (in non-canonical order) KUB XXXV 39 ii 13) or transformed into a genitive adjective (*taparuwaššis tātariyamnaššis hūrūtaššis*, etc.); very occasionally, one of the three words appears separately from the others. In the nom.-acc. sg., there are nineteen unrestored instances of *taparu* in CLC, eight of *tātariyamman*, and sixteen of *hūrūn*; none at all are found of **taparu-ša*, **tātariyamman-za*, or **hūrūn-za*.¹⁷ Thus, just as the abstracts in -ahit- always take -ša/-za, the nouns *taparu*, *tātariyamman*, and *hūrūn* invariably lack it. Was the “resistance” of these forms to -ša/-za a purely lexical idiosyncrasy or a general property of *u*- and *n*-stems? The evidence, although scarce, suggests the latter. *taparu* is one of only two *u*-stems with an attested nom.-acc. sg. in Cuneiform Luvian; the other is the hapax *maddu* ‘wine’, likewise without -ša.¹⁸ Among the *n*-stems, *tātariyamman* and *hūrūn* (treating it as an *n*-stem for these purposes) are by far the best attested nom.-acc. sg. forms. But there are others: *wašumman* (1×) (meaning unknown), *zamman* (2×) (meaning unknown), NUMUN-an (= *warwalan*) (1×) ‘seed’, and *tāin* (2×) ‘oil’. The last of these, *tāin*, has an apparent variant [*t*]a-in-za (VBoT 60 i 7; CLL 179), our only seeming instance of an *n*-stem in -ša/-za. Neither the spelling nor the context of this form inspires total confidence in its authenticity.¹⁹ But even if it is a genuine counterexample, the descriptive rule remains overwhelmingly valid: *nouns in -u- and -n- formed their nom.-acc. sg. without -ša/-za*.

The aversion of *n*-stems to -ša/-za is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that thematic (“*o*-stem”) nouns, where the nom.-acc. sg. also ended historically in -n (*-an*

¹⁵So too for three other nouns in -it-: ^{GIS}kattaluzzi-ša ‘threshold’, *mūdāmūdali-ša* (meaning unknown), and *warpi-ša* (meaning unknown). But the nom.-acc. sg. of *mallit-* ‘honey’ is *malli* (3×), not **malli-ša*.

¹⁶For the unique stem formation of this word see Watkins (1993), amplified by Melchert (2004).

¹⁷Only forms attested in their entirety, or nearly so, are included in these statistics; if safe restorations were counted the number would be higher. It must be remembered, however, that the sixteen occurrences of (e.g.) *hūrūn* in our total do not amount to sixteen independent tokens. At most they show a) that the very slightly varying contexts in which the iterated phrase *taparu tātariyamman hūrūn* occurred in the original ritual did not call for -za; and b) that the possibly non-Luvian-speaking scribes who copied the original, given sixteen opportunities to modify unextended *hūrūn* (and who freely altered it orthographically: *hi-i-ru-i-un*, *hi-ru-i-un*, *hi-i-ru-un*, etc.), were never tempted to expand it to **hūrūn-za*.

¹⁸It is particularly interesting that *maddu* (KBo VII 68+ Ro ii 10; CLL 168) appears in a list where the preceding line contains the entry *paršul-za* ‘crumb’, with -za. With the possible exception of ^{GIS}tūru ‘wood’ (KBo XXIX 6 Vo 12), the other *u*-stem nom.-acc. sg. forms cited in CLL (*ziyadu(-ša)* ‘ladle’, ^{GAD}alalu(-ša) [meaning unknown]), are only attested in Hittite contexts. Nom.-acc. sg. *waššu* ‘good’, though occasionally substantivized, is basically an adjective (cf. note 20).

¹⁹The absence of scriptio plena is notable. The line is fragmentary; initial [*t*]a-in-za-pa-wa (boundary marking after Melchert) is followed by *duwaša*.

< *-om), show a pronounced affinity for *-ša/-za*. Melchert lists five such words: *haršan-za* (3×) (meaning unknown), ^(GIŠ)*maššan-za* (2×) ‘table’, *parattan-za* (1×) ‘impurity’, *mi(ya)šan-za* (4×) (unknown body part), *parnan-za* (3×) ‘house’. Here too the pattern is broken by a single token of a single word—*parnan*, in the broken context KBo XXXII 126 i 9. But again the general principle is clear: *neuter a-stem nouns formed their nom.-acc. sg. in -ša/-za (-an-za)*.²⁰

A further class associated with *-ša* are the *s*-stems, represented by *āš-ša* (3×) ‘mouth’, *ḫalliš-ša* (3×) ‘sickness’, *ḫāš-ša* (4×) ‘bone’, *kuppiš-ša* (2×) ‘bench, footstool’, *tappaš-ša* (1×) ‘heaven’, and *tāruš-ša* (5×) ‘statue’. Perhaps not accidentally, the only word that violates this pattern, *ḫupalliš* ‘scalp’ or ‘cranium’ (KUB XXXV 107 ii 14), is also the only one with a trisyllabic stem. For mono- and disyllabic stems, the rule is absolute: *neuter s-stem nouns formed their nom.-acc. sg. in -ša*.

In the case of the *r*- and *r/n*-stems, which are difficult to tell apart in Luvian, we find the first and only major group of neuter nouns where the presence or absence of *-ša/-za* is a matter of lexical rather than morphological choice. Very few of these words are attested more than once in the nom.-acc. sg., making them less informative as a class than the types discussed above. Yet even here the choices are consistent, in the sense (in large part trivial, to be sure, given the preponderance of hapaxes) that no word appears both with and without *-ša*. Forms with *-ša* are *āšḫar-ša* (1×) ‘blood’, *ḫārat(t)ar-ša* (1×) ‘offense’, *ḫuidumar-ša* (1×) ‘life’, *dūpadupar-ša* (1×) ‘punishment’ (*vel sim.*), *utar-ša* (7×) ‘word, spell’,²¹ *uwattar-ša* (1×) (meaning unknown), and *wār-ša* (3×) ‘water’; lacking *-ša* are *lammaur* (1×) (meaning unknown), *pāḫūr* (1×) ‘fire’, and *maššar* (1×) ‘favor’.²² The small number of substantival *l*-stems in Cuneiform Luvian seem to have behaved like *r*-stems: *paršul-za* (1×) ‘crumb, morsel’, but *šīwal* (1×; also *šeḫuwāl*?) ‘dagger’ and *ādduwāl* (1×) ‘evil (noun)’.²³

The results of our survey can be summarized as follows:

STEM TYPE	<i>-ša/-za</i> ?
1) <i>-alḫit-</i>	yes
2) <i>-u-</i>	no
3) <i>-n-</i>	no ²⁴
4) <i>-a-</i>	yes ²⁵
5) <i>-s-</i>	yes ²⁶
6) <i>-r-, -r/n-, -l-, etc.</i> ²⁷	assigned on a word-by-word basis

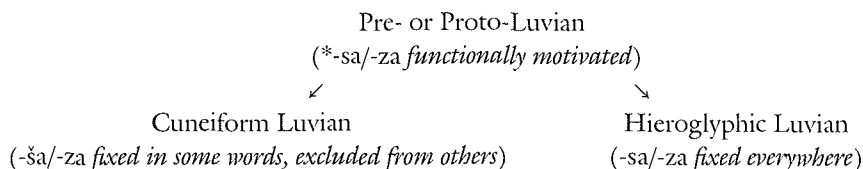
²⁰The frequency of adjectival stems, including participles and possessive adjectives, makes this an appropriate place to emphasize that only nouns proper seem to have selected for *-ša/-za* independently; adjectives show an apparent tendency, as yet unstudied, to “agree” with the noun they modify.

²¹Beside which must be ranged one instance of *ū-tar-ḫa* (KUB XXXV 101 Ro 7), with *-ḫa* ‘and’ standing in the position that might have been occupied by *-ša*.

²²It is impossible to know whether the hapax *ikkunwa[r]* ‘anointing’(?) (KUB XXXV 72 iii 8), which is broken off before the end of the word, was followed by *-ša*.

²³On the assumption that *CLL* is correct in separating this word from the corresponding adjective (cf. *at-tu[-wa-]al-zaū-tar-ša* ‘evil spell’ (KUB XXXV 54 ii 38)).

All this makes it clear why investigators have had such difficulty locating the synchronic function of -ša/-za: there was none. Whatever -ša/-za may originally have meant in Proto-Anatolian or Proto-Luvian, its only synchronic role in Cuneiform Luvian was to accompany the nom.-acc. sg. in some, but not all, neuter nouns; in the rest it was not employed at all. In Hieroglyphic Luvian, where -sa/-za is simply obligatory everywhere, it is plausible to suppose that the situation was once similar to that in Cuneiform Luvian, with a restricted, non-transparent distribution that was later extended. But the etymological, functionally rooted use of -ša/-za was probably lost before the two dialects separated:



The original motivation for our just-completed survey was Melchert’s interpretation of CLuv. *inzagan-za* as a sequence of NOUN + DEMONSTRATIVE—‘this inhumation’. The possibility of equating the -za of this form with the “case” ending -ša/-za raised an interlocking series of questions: 1) could clitic -za ‘this’ (i.e., the -za of *inzagan-za*) have been etymologically distinct from stressed za- ‘id.’? 2) if the stressed and clitic demonstratives were distinct, could -za ‘this’ and the “case” marker -ša/-za both go back to the same source, presumably a neuter demonstrative *sod? 3) specific scenarios aside, is the attested profile of -ša/-za generally favorable to the hypothesis of demonstrative origin? We can now consider these together.

The *logical* possibility of separating clitic -za ‘this’ from stressed za- is not, of course, at issue. But without very strong evidence to the contrary, it would be a major violation of Occam’s Razor to posit separate origins for a pair of synonymous and segmentally homophonous items that not only *could* go back to PIE *ke/o-, but which exactly match a pair of Palaic forms (ka- and -kat) that clearly *do* go back to this pronoun. The real question, then, is whether there is any compelling reason to prefer the “case” analysis of *inzagan-za* (i.e., the reading with -ša/-za) to the “Palaic” reading—the interpretation with -za < *-kod (vel sim.). Our distributional data are not favorable to the case analysis. *inzagan-* ‘inhumation’ is an *n*-stem, abstracted, as Melchert has elsewhere convincingly shown, from a phrase *endhğōm ‘in the earth’ (cf. n. 4). *n*-stems, however, are conspicuous for their *lack* of -ša/-za (cf. *hīrūn* (16×), *tātariyamman* (8×), etc.). If *inzagan-za* were an actual exemplar of the “case” in -ša/-za, it would not only be the only such instance where the suffix had an identifiable meaning; it would also be our only case (apart, perhaps, from *tain-za*) of -ša/-za added to an *n*-stem.

²⁴With the exception of *tain-za*; cf. above.

²⁵With the exception of *parnan*; cf. above.

²⁶With the exception of triyllabic *hupalliš-ša*; cf. above.

²⁷Here too belongs the hapax *zār-za* ‘heart’ (stem *zārt-*), remarkable for preserving the historically correct suffix form -za after -t- (contrast *-abi-ša* for expected *-*abiz(z)a* < *-*abit-ša*, etc.).

Thus, as far as the origin of *-ša/-za* is concerned, *inzagan-za* is best kept out of the picture. Naturally, *-ša/-za* could theoretically go back to a neuter demonstrative **sod* in any case, regardless of the status of *inzagan-za*. But without an *unambiguous* instance of *-ša/-za* serving in a demonstrative function, the arguments for starting from a pre-form **sod* effectively disappear. Anatolian notoriously lacks uncontroversial reflexes of the PIE **so-/to-* pronoun,²⁸ the nom.-acc. sg. nt. of which is in any case reconstructable as **tod*, not **sod*.²⁹ Even if it could lightly be assumed—and it cannot—that **s-* was precociously generalized at the expense of **t-* in Anatolian, the simple fact remains that there is nothing in the attested distribution of *-ša/-za* to suggest that it ever had demonstrative value. If anything, the opposite is the case: it would be surprising if an original demonstrative had become obligatory in the *-ahit*-stems, which are all abstracts (‘femininity’, ‘manhood’, ‘prosperity’, etc.), but not in concrete nouns like *tātariyamman* ‘curse’, *maddu* ‘wine’, *pāhūr* ‘fire’, etc.

Given the low explanatory power of the demonstrative theory, it behooves us to revisit older approaches to the problem. One early idea, briefly mentioned above (p. 167), was Laroche’s 1965 “possessive” theory, which compared Luv. *-ša/-za* to Hitt. *-(š)šet* ‘his, her, its’, the neuter 3 sg. possessive suffix. Rather improbably, Laroche tried to explain *-ša/-za* as a synchronic possessive marker—a possibility now excluded by the discovery that *-ša/-za* had no contrastive function at all. But the functional vacuity of *-ša/-za* in the attested forms of Luvian does not mean it could not have served in a possessive-marking capacity earlier. An insight into how a possessive clitic might have been weakened semantically into a Luvian-like placeholder is furnished by the “split genitive” construction of Old Hittite—the usage seen in expressions like LÜ.U₁₉.LU-*aš* ELLAM-*aš* KIR₁₄-*šet* ‘a free man’s nose’ (lit., ‘a free man’s his nose’), ^dIM-*naš* *šašanti-šši* ‘to the Storm God’s concubine’ (lit., ‘to the Storm God’s his concubine’); cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008:231ff. In an important study of these forms, Garrett (1998) showed that the split genitive was proper to inalienably possessed nouns, chiefly kinship terms (including *atta-* ‘father’, ^{LÜ}*gaina-* ‘relative’, and *šašant-* ‘concubine’) and body parts (including *aš* ‘mouth’, *ešhar* ‘blood’, *ištamana-* ‘ear’, *keššar* ‘hand’, *mene* ‘face’, *pata-* ‘foot’, *pittuliya-* ‘pain’, and fossilized *kirkar* ‘(at the) head (of)’ and *šēr* ‘(on) top (of)’). A distinction between two kinds of possession—one associated with objects inherently apt to be possessed, and the other with objects for which possession is marked and contingent—is found in many of the world’s languages. A scenario by which the alienable : inalienable distinction could have become grammatically significant in Hittite is easy to imagine. At what we may call “stage I,” juvenile acquirers of pre-Hittite would have encountered a universe of primary linguistic data in which relational terms like *attaš* ‘father’ rarely occurred without a possessor—either

²⁸The absence of the **so-/to-* pronoun was one of the original arguments for the Indo-Hittite theory; according to Sturtevant (1939), **so-/to-* was created within Indo-European proper after the separation of Anatolian from Indo-European proper.

²⁹Partial generalization of **s-* at the expense of **t-*, or of **t-* at the expense of **s-*, is found in many IE languages. But the nom.-acc. sg. **tod* was a remarkably robust form, with reflexes or modified reflexes in most branches of the family. Celtic, where **so-* has become the all-purpose demonstrative stem, is the only pre-medieval branch in which it would be safe to posit a neuter form of the type **so(d)*.

a stressed noun or pronoun (e.g., ¹*Appuwaš attas* ‘A.’s father’,³⁰ *šūnan attas* ‘the gods’ father’, *ammēl attas* ‘my father’), an unstressed 1–2 sg. or 1–3 pl. pronoun (*attas-miš*, *attas-šmiš*, etc.), or (in the unmarked case) an unstressed 3 sg. pronoun (*attas-šis*). Such learners, drawing the incorrect conclusion that “father” *had* to be possessed and that its basic form was *attas-šis*, could have experimented with substituting *attas-šis* for *attas* everywhere, wrongly generating (*inter alia*) the juvenile pre-Hittite equivalent of ¹*Appuwaš attas-šis*, and even **šūnan attas-šis* and **ammēl attas-šis*, in place of the older unsuffixed forms. Later, at “stage II,” another generation of speakers, or the same speakers further along in the acquisition process, would have repaired the apparent person and number agreement violations of stage I, producing the split genitive in its attested form (**šūnan attas-šis* → *šūnan attas-šmiš*, **ammēl attas-šis* → *ammēl attas-miš*).³¹

The Luvian “case” in -ša/-za, I would suggest, can be explained on the basis of an earlier linguistic stage at which Luvian had a split genitive construction like that of Old Hittite, possibly inherited from Proto-Anatolian.³² As our earliest texts make clear, possessives were restructured more rapidly and radically in Luvian than in Hittite. The enclitic possessive constructions, both the “normal” type and the split genitive, were abandoned, apparently prehistorically,³³ and replaced by the syntagma GENITIVE ADJECTIVE + POSSESSED NOUN (e.g., *malḥaššaššis EN-aš* ‘lord of the ritual, ritual client’, *tūwiš UD.KAM-iš* ‘your year’, dat. pl. *apāššanza waššinanza* ‘to his (= that

³⁰ Here and below, schematic examples are used to illustrate Hittite and Luvian constructions.

³¹ *attas* would also, of course, have been substituted for the overextended **attas-šis* in contexts where there was no possessor at all. Note that the split genitive is typologically comparable to clitic doubling in other languages: the stressed element renews and reinforces an insufficiently salient clitic. An actual example of the construction with a first person possessor is [a] *ḫunell-a lāmān-nit* ‘(and) my name’ (KUB I 16 iii 13), cited by Hoffner and Melchert (2008:ibid.).

³² Or alternatively, spread by diffusion as an areal feature.

³³ A case for the *survival* of the possessive suffixes in Cuneiform Luvian has been made by Carruba (1986), based on the passage KBo XIII 260 ii 1–4 (text after CLC):

- 1 *ḥa-at-ta-ra-am-ša-an a-ya-ta*
- 2 *mu-ḥa-at-ta-ra-am-ša-an a-ya-t[a]*
- 3 *pí-iz-za-ar-na-am-ša-an a-ya[-ta]*
- 4 *tu-u-ri-im-ša-an a-ya-ta*

The sense of these lines is obscure. The four nouns *ḥattara-*, *muḥattara-*, *pizzarua-*, and *tūri-* apparently denote tools or garden implements. Carruba takes the element -*šan* to be the animate acc. sg. of the possessive suffix (= Hitt. -*šan*), and -*ša* in a later line (iii 12–13 *pariyam-ša-tta tarzandu*) to be the corresponding neuter form added to a preposition (cf. Hitt. *pera-šet* < **peran-šet* ‘before him’). Given the opacity of the text and our still evolving knowledge of Luvian grammar, it would be going too far to deny the possibility of such an interpretation categorically. But there are good grounds for skepticism. All five instances of -*ša(n)* are confined to the single fragment KBo XIII 260; all are in Wackernagel’s Law position, suggesting the possibility of a sentential or “free” clitic; and all show the peculiar and unproductive sandhi **-an-sa-* > *-am-ša* (= [-ās-]), otherwise unknown in the Luvian corpus. The case for Carruba’s reading of *pariyam-ša*—with frozen sandhi and -*ša* synchronically reinterpreted as an object pronoun, not a possessive—is perhaps less difficult than the case for a possessive reading of the forms in -*šan*. It is noteworthy that the verb form *ayata* is unique as well: the normal 3 sg. pret. act. of *a(ya)-* ‘make, do’ is *ata*, a form abundantly attested both in this text (7×!) and elsewhere. See further n. 38.

one's) limbs', etc.).³⁴ But the loss of the possessive suffixes would inevitably have been a simpler process in some morphosyntactic contexts than others. Ordinary instances of contingent possession (e.g. pre-Luv. **hāwīš-šīš* 'his/her sheep', **maddu-ša* (< **sed*) 'his/her wine'), with a potentially freestanding noun (**hāwīš*, **maddu*) followed by an easily parsable possessive clitic, would have been relatively easy to modernize: the clitic could simply be replaced by a stressed pronominal possessor in the normal pre-head syntactic position (**hāwīš-šīš* → **apaššīš hāwīš*, **maddu-ša* → **apaššan maddu*).³⁵ In cases of non-contingent or inalienable possession, however (e.g., **tātīš-šīš* 'his/her father', **hāš(š)-ša* 'his/her bone'), the possessive suffixes would have had greater staying power. Here, assuming a pre-Luvian split genitive construction of the Hittite type, an enclitic possessive would have been present in *all* possessive expressions, even when an overt nominal possessor was on hand as well (cf. the Hittite type LÚ.U₁₉.LU-*aš* ELLAM-*aš* KIR₁₄-*šet*, as if, e.g., pre-Luv. **tappaššāššīš tātīš-šīš* 'father of heaven' or **wānaššan hāš(š)-ša* 'woman's bone'). To the learner of (pre-)Luvian at this stage, the grammar of possessive constructions would have presented difficulties. With freestanding nouns of the "inalienable" type statistically uncommon and the enclitic suffixes dropping out of use in alienable possessives (**hāwīš-šīš* ⇒ **apaššīš hāwīš*, etc.), the possessed forms **tātīš-šīš* and **hāš(š)-ša* could easily have been misidentified by language learners as the basic terms for 'father' and 'bone'.³⁶

It was just such a misinterpretation, I believe, that gave rise to the neuter "case" in *-ša/-za*. From a morphological point of view, animate inalienable expressions like nom. sg. **tātīš-šīš*, acc. sg. **tātin-šan(?)*, etc. were transparent: learners could see that they consisted of a case-marked noun and case-marked clitic, with **-š* . . . *-š* in the nom. sg., **-n* . . . *-n* in the acc. sg., and so on. The unambiguous parsing of **-šīš*, **-šan*, etc. as a declined element, together with its lack of any identifiable synchronic function, led to its simply being eliminated in the majority of settings, including the animate nom. sg. and acc. sg. But the nom.-acc. sg. of neuter inalienables was a special case. Here there was no formal contrast between **hāš(š)-ša qua* nominative and **hāš(š)-ša qua* accusative, and no transparent **-š*, **-n*, or other case ending to show that the element **-ša* actually agreed with **hāš(š)-* in case, number, and gender.³⁷ The result was an exceptional reanalysis: *-ša* was reconceived as an obligatory, purely grammatical morpheme that accompanied the preceding nominal stem in the nom.-acc. sg. — in effect, a case ending. As such, it could no longer remain stably and exclusively associated with inalienable nouns, which in no other respect still patterned as a grammatically relevant category. Inevitably, the appearance or non-appearance of *-ša/-za* in the paradigm of

³⁴The extension of the genitive adjective construction was only partial in Hieroglyphic Luvian, where the inherited genitive case is still preserved.

³⁵"Replacement" would have consisted in the gradual extension of the marked POSSESSOR + POSSESSED NOUN word order, where the possessor could be stressed for emphasis, into the domain of the unemphatic clitic construction, where the possessor was unstressable.

³⁶This was, of course, the very ambiguity that had earlier given rise to the split genitive at the Proto-Anatolian(?) stage.

³⁷To be sure, there would still have been agreement in the oblique cases (e.g., dat.-loc. **hāšši-šši*), from which speakers could have inferred the correct analysis. But such evidence would not have been salient, and speakers could easily have overridden it.

a given nominal stem came to depend less on the semantic feature of (in)alienability and more on the formal and/or associational features that the noun in question shared with other words that took -ša/-za. Thus arose the Cuneiform Luvian situation as we find it, with -ša/-za morphologically and lexically, but not semantically determined.³⁸

It is interesting to note that the historical link between -ša/-za and inalienable possession is still detectable in the distributional data of our survey. *ḫāš-ša* is one of six *s*-stems with a nom.-acc. sg. in -ša; the others include the body part *āš-ša* ‘mouth’, as well as *ḫalliš-ša* ‘sickness’ and *tāruš-ša* ‘statue’ (i.e., ‘sculpted image’), which can unforcedly be considered extended body parts.³⁹ It is no coincidence that the morphophonemically archaic *zār-za* ‘heart’ (cf. n. 27) is a body part. Among the *r*- and *r/n*-stems, the seven that take -ša include *āšḫar-ša* ‘blood’ and *ḫuidumar-ša* ‘life’, the latter an abstract of a type known to pattern crosslinguistically as inalienable (see below).⁴⁰ One of the five *a*-stems in our sample is *mi(ya)šan-za*, also a body part.⁴¹ Especially interesting are the twelve productively derived abstracts in -*ahit-*, all of which take -ša (-*alḫi-ša*). These words, like *ḫuidumar-ša*, denote “organic” attributes (“virility,” “health,” “prosperity,” etc.), which the accompanying ritual seeks to safeguard and/or secure. As noted by Heine (1997:10) and Nichols and Bickel (2005:243), terms for abstract properties recurrently pattern with the inalienable class in languages with an alienable : inalienable distinction. *paratta-* ‘impurity’ (nom.-acc. sg. -*an-za*) is another such term.

The end of the story is simply told. In Cuneiform Luvian, -ša/-za spread extensively in the stem types where it had an etymologically justified basis—most conspicuously the *s*-stems, *a*-stems, and (more hesitantly) the *r*-, *r/n*-, and other consonant stems. It also spread to adjectives, where the rules governing its use have yet to be thoroughly investigated (cf. n. 20). Other varieties of Luvian made other choices; Hieroglyphic Luvian, as is well known, eventually generalized -*sa*/-*za* everywhere. The variable distribution of -ša/-za in Luvianisms in Hittite texts confirms our suspicion that the distribution of *-*sa*/-*za* in Proto-Luvian must have been quite different from that in any actually attested form of the language.⁴²

³⁸This scenario assumes, in keeping with a conservative reading of the evidence, that the loss of the possessive clitics as a living category was a Proto-Luvian development. Since there is residual doubt on this score, however (cf. n. 33), it should be emphasized that the key restructuring event—the reinterpretation of **ḫāš(š)-ša*, etc. as unmarked nom.-acc. forms with an obligatory but meaningless “case” suffix—could have taken place even if *-*šāš*, *-*šan*, *-*ša*, etc. had retained their full possessive value with nouns of the noninalienable type.

³⁹Another *s*-stem body part, though only attested as a Luvianism, is *ḫappiḫ-ša* ‘limb, member’. The absence of -ša in *ḫupalliš* ‘scalp’ or ‘cranium’ is, as suggested above, probably a secondary effect of the length of the form.

⁴⁰Another *r(n)*-stem body part, though attested only as a Luvianism, is *šavatar-ša* ‘horn’. Garrett (1998:161) discusses a passage in which Hitt. *uttār* (“words > matter > plight”), the cognate of Luv. *utar-ša*, displays split genitive behavior.

⁴¹*parnan-za*, to the extent it could mean ‘home’ as well as ‘house’, would possibly be countable as another “inalienable” *a*-stem.

⁴²No counterpart of -ša/-za, so far as I am aware, has ever turned up in Lycian or any of the other “Luvoid” languages. If there is anything to discover here, the odds are high that the discoverer will be Craig Melchert.

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Revisiting the Origin of the Albanian 2pl. Verbal Ending *-ni*

Brian D. Joseph

Certain facts about the Albanian second person plural verbal ending *-ni* are clear: It occurs in nonpast contexts (present tense indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods) and it is found in both Tosk and Geg dialects.¹ Its origin, however, has long been a matter of some dispute. The reason for the lack of a consensus on the source of *-ni* is that it is ostensibly so different from its counterpart in numerous other Indo-European languages, where, for the most part, one finds a form that has an obvious connection to an ending with a nucleus of **-t-* (e.g. Greek *-te*, Sanskrit *-tha*, Latin *-tis*, Russian *-te*, and so on). The various views on the origin of *-ni* do not need to be rehearsed here, as Rasmussen (1985:48–52) gives a thorough and very useful summary. More to the point, though, Rasmussen notes weaknesses in all these views, and puts forward a very attractive alternative in which *-ni* derives from the free adverb **nū* in Proto-Indo-European, the word for ‘now’, originally providing some emphasis or immediacy to the verbal meaning but ultimately reanalyzed as a personal ending and unverbated with the verb.

Rasmussen provides compelling evidence for his account, including an explanation for the failure of Tosk rhotacism, which generally affected intervocalic **-n-*, to apply to *-ni*, since the *-n-* of **nū*, when the form was adjoined to an apocopated 2pl. **-t* from **-te*, would not have been intervocalic and would thus have been protected from the effects of rhotacism. Moreover, this account allows for a natural explanation for the exclusion of *-ni* from past tenses, since the meaning of **nū* is clearly presential. As a result, it can be concluded that Rasmussen offers what certainly appears to be the most solid source available for this otherwise etymologically recalcitrant ending. My goal in this brief note is first, by way of further strengthening his account, to adduce an additional piece of supporting evidence, and then, by way of refinement, to offer some alternatives to two key elements in it.

First, to the evidence that Rasmussen presents can be added one important way in which *-ni* exhibits behavior unlike a verbal ending and instead more like a free adverbial word. In particular, though not standard usage and only “rarely encountered

¹It is my great pleasure to be able to offer this small piece to honor here a friend I have known since my own graduate school days, back in the 1970s at Harvard, someone who has taught me (and others) much over the years with his insightful and always interesting studies. For the particulars contained herein, I owe thanks to Eric Hamp, who first enlightened me about the origin of *-ni*, but especially to Jens Elmegård Rasmussen for providing me with a copy of what I recognize as an entirely authoritative discussion of the subject (Rasmussen 1985), as it clarified my thinking on the matter and gave me a basis for offering these remarks that build on his analysis.

in the [standard] spoken language, and still more rarely in the written language,” according to Newmark et al. (1982:324), *-ni* can attach to various interjections and greetings to indicate that they are “addressed to a plural ‘you’ or politely to a singular ‘you’.” Among the plural forms found are the greetings *mirëditani* ‘good day’, *mirëmëngjesni* ‘good morning’, and *tungjatjetani* ‘hello’, and the exhortative interjections *forcani* ‘heave-ho!’ (cf. *forca* ‘powers’), *o burrani* ‘onward!’ (cf. *burra* ‘men’, with the vocative particle *o*), and a few others. Newmark et al. (1982:324) refer to these latter as “imperative interjections” that show “a kind of imperative force,” so that the use of the imperatival plural ending *-ni* admittedly has a certain synchronic rationale. Still, it is also the case that attachment to a nonverbal element such as a noun (*forca*, *burra*) or a univerted greeting (as with *mirëdita* and the others) of uncertain synchronic categorial status (even if derived historically from noun phrases or even, as in the case of *tungjatjeta*, sentences²) is on the face of it an unusual property for a verbal ending to show. Such synchronically unusual behavior often indicates that an element originally was something quite different from what its synchronic status would suggest at face value. In this case, then, it is reasonable to consider this unusual feature of *-ni* to be a trace of behavior appropriate to an element other than a verbal ending; in that way, the *mirëditani* (etc.) evidence can be seen as a reflection of combining possibilities that would be expected for a free adverbial, that is an element that could combine with any sort of phrase and would not necessarily be restricted to occurring only after a verb.

While it is not clear how widespread this usage is in the outlying Albanian dialects, whatever its range, this synchronic anomaly about what *-ni* can attach to receives a natural explanation in terms of Rasmussen’s hypothesis that it derives from the free word **nū*. In that way, the added evidence of *mirëditani* (etc.) provides further support for his account.

Second, Rasmussen assumes that the imperative was the pivotal form in the developments that led to a verbal ending *-ni* from an adverb **nū*. I agree with this point of departure for *-ni*, but see the relevant steps in a somewhat different light. In particular, rather than starting, as Rasmussen does, following Mann (1977:41), with **nū* adjoining to an inflected second person plural form in **-te*, I would like to suggest that an original opposition of a bare imperative singular (e.g. **bhere* # ‘carry!’) with an imperative singular modified emphatically by **nū* (e.g. **bhere* # # *nū* ‘carry (right) now!!’)³ was reinterpreted in terms of the other key opposition that a singular imperative enters into, namely that of number, singular versus plural. This reinterpretation would presuppose the absence, for whatever reason, of an overtly marked plural form. The free element **nū* as the differentiating element in the set of opposing forms would have come to signal plurality, once the interpretation of the opposition shifted from an original nonemphatic/emphatic to singular/plural. Note further that

²This is from the weak oblique pronominal *të* ‘(for) you’, plus the nonactive voice marker *u* and an optative (3sg.) of the verb *ngjat* ‘lengthen’, together with the noun *jeta* ‘the-life’ as subject, so that it is etymologically ‘May the life be lengthened for you.’

³Note, as a typological parallel to the sort of reinforcement or emphasis that Rasmussen posits as being behind the use of the temporal adverb **nū* with imperatives in the first place, the use of the spatial adverb *here* in English in (some) imperatives, such as *See here!*

rhotacism would not have been applicable to the *-n-* of **nū* in such a construction since it was word-initial, and word-initial **n* was never affected by rhotacism (even if initial **n* would sometimes be phrasally intervocalic if occurring after a vowel-final word in connected speech). Rasmussen (1985:53) recognizes this but ultimately rejects it since rhotacism is found only in Tosk whereas *-ni* is affixal in all of Albanian; he is perhaps overcautious here, since the necessary univerbation is banal enough to have occurred independently in Tosk and Geg.

This slightly modified account finds some support in the facts concerning infixation of weak pronoun forms in plural imperatives with *-ni*, facts that Rasmussen was aware of but interpreted in such a way as to be irrelevant to his account. My contention is that, to the contrary, the infixation phenomenon is relevant and in fact can be viewed as supportive of Rasmussen's general approach to the origin of *-ni*.

The facts in question are that weak object pronouns are typically bound to the verb and positioned relative to the verb, occurring before most verbal forms, such as the present tense or subjunctive forms, e.g. (*unë*) *e hap* '(I) it open', i.e. 'I open it' or (*ju*) *e hapni* '(you all) (do) open it' or *të na shikojë* 'that he see us'; but when the verb is an imperative, the pronoun may occur after the verb, as in the singular form (*ti*) *hap-e* '(you,) open it!'⁴ But in the plural imperative, with the ending *-ni*, the weak pronoun does not occur at the end, after *-ni*, but rather occurs between the verbal stem and the ending, e.g. *hap-e-ni* 'you (all) open it!'

Rasmussen (1985:52) recognizes that this infixation pattern would have begun with singular imperative forms such as *hap-e*, and sees these as "generat[ing] new plurals of the type *hap-e-ni*," on the pattern of the "2sg and 2pl . . . *hap* : *hap-ni* [with] *-ni* simply added to the sg. form." This newly generated imperative with an infixed pronoun would have thus replaced or filled in for what must have been a missing (or completely opaque) overtly marked plural, the same sort of absence as is needed in the reanalysis posited above whereby a once-emphatic **nū* came to serve as a plural-marking **nū*.

Rasmussen is inclined not to consider this infixation pattern to be particularly old, since the oldest testimony for Albanian, the 1555 Missal of Gjon Buzuku, shows the pronoun positioned after *-ni* in plural imperatives, and the infixation seems to be generally lacking from "the Albanian of the colonies in Greece or Italy." If the infixation is not old, then the support for the "missing-old-plural-imperative" needed in the above reanalysis disappears, as it becomes instead a Balkan Albanian innovation and not a pan-Albanian one. However, Rasmussen himself notes the "precious Arberesh [Southern Italy Albanian] example of infixation of an object pronoun . . . reported by De Rada (1870:30)" and he admits that this "may indicate that infixation is not young after all." In fact, as seemingly straightforward as the creation of the infixation pattern might be, via the pattern noted above,⁵ it is surely just as straightforward, if not more so, to assume a regularization of pronoun placement to positioning after a

⁴I use hyphens here to show morphemic divisions, even though they are not part of the regular Albanian orthography.

⁵It is worth noting that this same sort of infixation of weak pronouns occurs in some Thessalian dialects of Modern Greek, as discussed in Tzártanos 1909, Thavóris 1977, and Joseph 1989; whether Albanian influence in some form played a role is not entirely clear, but the parallel is striking.

fully inflected form, as in Buzuku. Thus, I contend that De Rada's Arbëresh example should be given the weight that Rasmussen hesitatingly suggests it might, and that the dialect of Buzuku should be taken as innovative in regard to pronoun placement in plural imperatives. Viewed this way, the reanalysis of, e.g., **bhere* # # *nū* from emphatic to plural, in the light of an absent overtly plural form, becomes more plausible, as the infixation pattern also depends on the absence of an overt plural imperative.

There may be more to learn still about *-ni*, but it seems that the evidence pointing in the direction that Rasmussen posited is more than enough to allow it to be taken as received wisdom on the matter.

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Hittite *-apa*, *-šan*, and *-kan* as Actional Modifiers

Folke Josephson

The Hittite clitics *-kan* and *-šan* served as links between verbal actionality and case and specified the semantic content of local adverbs and of combinations of local adverbs and verbs. They had important relations to the local cases (Josephson forthcoming a).

-kan limits the verbal action initially and finally and refers to transgressing a limit. An important function of *-šan* is to indicate approach to a limit with or without final coherence. These functions can be observed with verbs of motion and when the clitics affect the semantics of directional local adverbs. PATH and GOAL are expressed with the PP and with the verb. DIRECTED PATH includes GOAL.

No Hittite local adverb/postposition/preverb possesses the allative meaning of Latin *ad*, but the clitic *-šan* can often be rendered by Latin *ad(-)* and Eng. *to*. *-šan* is common with the allative case and the dative/locative when it has dative function. Skt. *sam* possesses the allative meaning and function of Hittite *-šan* and the adessive function that also belongs to *-šan*. IE **som* refers to togetherness. Sanskrit *sam-* is a preverb and Hittite *-šan* is a clitic. Lat. *con-* is a preverb and Hitt. *-kan* a clitic. Latin *con-/co-* has terminative and ingressive meanings. Gothic *ga-* is functionally similar to Hitt. *-kan*.

Hitt. *-apa* shared the final slot in the chain of Wackernagel clitics with *-kan*, *-šan*, *-ašta*, and *-an*, and according to Hoffner and Melchert (2008:380) it has “terminative” (mostly “endterminativ”) meaning. Hoffner and Melchert (2008:382) accept the etymological connection of *-apa* with Lat. *op/ob-* that was proposed by Carruba (1964:429). If this is correct, we have one more example of a Hittite clitic corresponding to a prefix in another IE language.

The basic meaning of Slavic *na-* is surface-oriented. It indicates direction onto a surface and projects the verbal situation on a LOCUS or manifestation point (Van Schooneveld 1978, cf. Russell 1985:63). The locus is usually a surface, container or limit (Russell 1985:63). Important functions of *na-* are shared by Hitt. *-šan* (Josephson 1995:169). They are compatible with the notions of DIRECTED PATH and GOAL. The measure can be extensive, and EXTENDED PATH can be expressed by *-šan*. The meaning of accumulation that belongs to the basic meanings of *na-* is shared by Hitt. *-šan* and by cognates of *-šan* in other IE languages. This meaning is related to EXTENDED PATH and extensive measure.

Direction onto a surface, which is expressed by *na-*, is a common meaning of Hitt. *-šan*. This is an interesting fact because *-šan* has the fundamental meaning of togetherness, whereas Russian *na* means *on*. *-šan* has often been considered as having the fundamental meaning of Eng. *on*. Because it can indicate direction onto a surface, it

seems indeed to possess the entire range of meanings that belong to *na(-)*, but the interpretation of -šan as Eng. *on* should be seen as a consequence of the fundamental notion of togetherness that belongs to -šan. (Cf. the discussion in Hoffner and Melchert 2008:377.)

“Directional and measurement usages” of Slavic verbal prefixes were studied by Filip (2003). These are mostly of prepositional or adverbial origin and serve as SOURCE/GOAL modifiers. The telicity status of prefixed verbs depends on the spatial orientation that is indicated by directional prefixes. Only GOAL modifiers form quantized events. Russian delimitative *po-* develops an aspectual meaning like other telic modifiers.

Delimitatives refer to “perfective situations confined to a subjectively short period of time” (Flier 1985:41) and “to a certain portion of the action, regarded as small and temporally restricted” (Zaliznjak and Shmelev 2000:111). Tatevosov (2003:874) cites these authors and proceeds to discuss “aspectual and actional characteristics of *po-*verbs which they possess in addition to this quantificational contribution.”

Slavic preverbal *po-* is related to the preposition *po* and shows a variety of meanings. According to Součková (2004), there is only one *po-* which is distributive or delimitative. It measures an event and delimits it if it was not delimited before. If the event is already delimited, *po-* only measures it (Součková 2004:410). Another quantificational prefix, Slavic *na-*, is cumulative. (*Pro-* is perdurative.)

Bulgarian attenuative and distributive *po-* is a superlexical prefix and does not have the directional and cumulative meaning of *na-*. Russian delimitative *po-* and the directional and cumulative *na-* quantify in different ways. *po-* has a value of short temporal measure and immediate completion. Slavic completive *po-* refers “to situations that attain a resultant state without any further quantificational or qualificational refinements” (Tatevosov 2003:876). (Cf. Josephson 2006:94.)

po- as found in ORu. *po-iti* ‘go forth’ has ablative/ingressive function and profiles the inception of the motion. Ru. *po-* can express INCEPTIVE-PARTIAL TRAJECTORY and profiles the initial phases of the motion, a meaning that is not compatible with GOAL (Dickey 2007:341, 348). Hittite *pai-* is formed in a similar way and possesses a meaning like that of the Slavic verb (Josephson forthcoming b). The Hitt. verb may however contain *pe-* (**b₁poi-*) rather than *po-*. (Cf. Kloekhorst 2008:617–8.)

In Josephson forthcoming b I treat the relations between Hittite local adverbs/preverbs/adpositions, case, and the clitics and changes of meaning of directional adverbs that occur when these are modified by -šan or -kan. I discuss the locational and directional functions of -kan and -šan as they occur with local and directional adverbs and with the local cases and mention the model of Kracht (2002), who coined the term *mode* for the category that expresses the way in which an object moves and “can often be viewed as modifying the **path** of the trajector” (Kracht 2006:102). These *modes* are static, coinital, cofinal, transitory, recessive, and approximative. A system of locative adpositions belongs to stative, coinital or cofinal mode. There is a locative phrase (L), a mode phrase (M) and a determiner phrase (D). M and L form a unit which is normally represented by adposition or case. There are *localisers* and some *modalisers* which tend to form a unit that is typically either an adposition or a case marker.

In Hittite, the clitics that indicate location (PLACE) or direction (PATH) are qualifiers of local adverbs and are intimately connected with the local cases. The notions of PLACE and PATH are relevant to their use with verbs and local adverbs. As I mentioned in Josephson 1995, Hitt. *-kan* and *-šan* play the role of the normally abstract link between verbal actionality and case. They also demonstrate the difference between *configuration*, which is expressed by Eng. *at, in, on*, etc. and by Hittite local adverbs, and *mode*, which refers to the way in which an object moves, as explained by Kracht. After the OHitt. period the localiser *-kan* begins to play the role of a modaliser. Differently from the modalisers of Kracht, this kind of Hittite modalisers are not abstract entities. *-šan* also indicates a mode.

Important insights into *goal motion constructions* (GMC) were presented by Denis (2007) who states that “[e]xtended path ... has complex internal structure; it is the *to-PP*” (Denis 2007:11). He also states that “[s]ince *to-PPs* express an extended path and since their ‘mereological’ properties are transferred through composition to the event, the event expressed by the verbal complex *V + to-PP* is predicted to be an accomplishment (i.e., a durative, bounded, situation)” (Denis 2007:11). These observations provide an explanation of important functions of Hittite *-šan*, which expresses DIRECTED and EXTENDED PATH and serves as a goal modifier expressing gradual change. Kracht’s *approximative mode* is compatible with these notions and explains the use of *-šan* with allatives and datives and with directional adverbs. The lexical importance of *-šan* for the semantics of a combination of preverb and verb is illustrated by the vocabulary entry *katta-šan arnumar* ‘bringing to an end, termination’ (KBo 1.44 + obv. 13).

Hoffner and Melchert (2008:374) translate *-apa* by “up against something”, as does Boley (1989:69), and mention that it has some semantic affinities with *-šan* (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:377). They demonstrate that it also has a “terminative” function which developed from the local meaning. (Cf. Boley 1989:69: “the final point ... of an action marked by *-apa* is that the thing is up against something else, not ‘on’ it.”) Lat. *opprimo* with its two meanings ‘press against’ and ‘destroy’ is mentioned for corroboration of this fact (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:382).

Van Laer (1998:1043) noticed two meanings of Lat. *ob-*: 1) the notion of face-to-face (García Hernández 1980:174) which derived from the opposite orientation between *ob-* and the limit (Pottier 1962:130–1) and which does not always account for the full value of the preverb; 2) a semantic value of covering found in *operio*, *obliviscor*, *occulto* and some occurrences of *obduco*. The latter is seen by Van Laer as a specific value in the Latin system. There is also a meaning of obstacle and *recouvrement*, as in *operio* ‘shut’ (Van Laer 1998:1053). Haverling (2000:315–23) differentiates the spatial meaning of *ob-* from the actional function which emphasizes a change from one state to another.

Hitt. *-apa* brings the action up to a point of close contact at which it stops. *-apa uwa-* refers to arrival. Cf. Lat. (*pugnae*) *obvenio*. *-apa* occurs in many passages that contain *anda* (cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008:382) where there is establishment of close contact, as in the case of going up to a person in passages like *n-aš-ši-(a)pa anda iyann[iš]* (KUB 24.8 + i 43–4) and *anda-m(u)-pa tiyatten* (KBo 3.7 i 12–3). In these passages, *-apa* follows a dative/locative pronoun that refers to the person with whom

immediate contact is established. In passages where a dative/locative pronoun is followed by -šan, the person referred to by the pronoun is seen as a goal towards which the motion is directed. This function of -šan is in keeping with the approximative mode of -šan and the fact that it is found with the allative as well as the dative.

In LUGAL-i-pa le kuitki (KUB 11.1 iv 21) 'let there be nothing for the king' it is stipulated that nothing will be allotted to or fall to the share of the king. Lat. *obvenire*, as in *alicui provincia sorte obvenit* and *ei (ob)venit hereditas* 'the legacy fell to his share', shows a similar meaning. The goal is a human endpoint role (cf. Van Langendonck 1998:218). The dative/locative pronoun has the prototypical dative role of goal and possessor. *Obtingo*, as in *quod cuique obtigit id teneat*, and *obtineo* also express establishment of possession.

nu-šši-pa ŪL kuitki waqqari (KUB 24.8 + i 15) 'he wanted for nothing' (lit.: nothing was lacking for him) shows the negative meaning of not being in the possession of a person.

n-apa iyatar-mit udandu (KUB 43.60 i 12) 'may they bring my prosperity' expresses an order to bring prosperity back into the possession of the person to whom it rightly belongs. There is no dative pronoun, but the possessor is mentioned by means of the possessive -mit.

Laws 2.10: *anda-šše-ya apeniššuwān pāi* (KUB 29.23:14) shows a dative pronoun. Copy b of the text (KBo 6.11 i 19) shows *andan-apa apeniššuwān pāi*. Cf. Hoffner (1997:107 n. 346) who sees the connection between the clitic and the dative pronoun.

In the following examples -apa occurs with verbs meaning 'join', 'bind up', 'unite':

-apa anda hamank-: huišwatar-m(u)-apa anda hingani hamenkan 'Life for me is bound up with death' (KUB 30.10 obv. 20). Cf. Lat. *obligo*, *obstringo*.

-apa anda turiya- 'hitch up, harness'. Cf. Lat. *obtendo* 'hitch up horses'.

-apa tarupp- 'unite, be finished': *-apa ... taruptari* 'is completed' (KUB 41.42 iii 5', cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008:381), *-apa ... taruppanteš ešer* 'were united' (KBo 3.1 i 1-3). These are specific meanings of a verb that means 'collect'.

Termination is expressed by *-apa zinne-* 'finish off'. Cf. Lat. *oblangui* 'ceased (as a result of)' (Haverling 2000:315). Achieved purpose of the action of seeking is expressed by *-apa šanḫ-* 'seek out' with the meaning of 'avenge' (cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008:381).

An action qualified by -apa is exhaustive and reaches its full measure. -apa with *arai-* 'arise', which seems problematic to Hoffner and Melchert 2008:381, refers to getting into a standing position from a sitting position or in order to be ready to act, as in "I will arise and go now, and go to Innisfree." Lat. *oborior* (*tenebrae, lacrimae alicui*) represents the same IE verb with *ob-* having the same function as Hitt. -apa. Differently from *adorior*, which refers to direction and passage towards a goal, *oborior* implies immediate completion.

-apa haš(š)- 'open up', which occurs in *man lukkatta-ma t-apa haššanzi* (ABOT 9 + i 31), may seem to be a problem from a comparison with Latin. Lat. *aperio* 'open' is

related to *operio* ‘close’ like Skt. *apa-vṛṇoti* to *api-vṛṇoti* (cf. Van Laer 1998:1053–4), but Hitt. *-apa haš(š)-* has the meaning of *aperio*. A semantic function of *-apa* with *haš(š)-* can be excluded, and Hoffner and Melchert (2008:380) rightly see a “terminative” sense in this case. *Operio* has a lexical sense, as is shown by its opposition to *aperio*, but *-apa ... haš(š)-* refers to the complete measure of the process, and *-apa* is actional.

When *-apa* occurs with *ēd-* ‘eat’ it provides the meaning of “eat up”, and with *karap-* ‘devour’ it possesses the exhaustive transformative function that was described by Johanson (2000:69). Exhaustive transformative Lat. *comedo* has a different preverb, but OCS shows *obedati, obedat’* with *ob(o)-*. With transitive verbs of consumption the path is naturally bounded. The exhaustive transformative function of *-apa* with *ēd-* and *karap-* develops out of a strong sense of full measure and minimal path combined with strong transitivity. An exhaustive and transformative function of *-apa* is also found with *iya-* ‘make’ in: *nu-war-at-(š)ta karšandu na-at-apa*^{GIS} BANŠUR.MEŠ *iyandu* ‘Let them cut (a tree) down and make it into tables’ (KBo 22.6 iv 17–8), which shows a double object (cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008:380). There is real transformation of the tree into a product.

DIRECTED and EXTENSIVE PATH, which are typical functions of *-šan*, are not involved when *-apa* is used, but touching the goal and end of the path. *-apa* delimits and measures a short path, *-šan* a more extensive one. The meaning of achievement of a close-up position that belongs to *-apa* explains some overlapping with *-šan*, with its fundamental meaning of togetherness and the establishment thereof. Such an overlap is found with *waqqari* and a dative pronoun which can occur with *-apa* and with *-šan*. The historical replacement of *-apa* by *-šan* seems natural.

Limitation to a point is a fundamental function of *-kan*, and directed and extensive path are excluded by cofinal *-kan*. When *-apa* is found, the path is short but not nil. The cofinal meaning of *-kan* and the very short measure and exhaustive transformational power of *-apa* are close enough to explain why *-kan* could replace *-apa*. Cf. Lat. completive *con-*, which focuses on achievement (Haverling 2000:256), and *ob-*, which has an actional function that “emphasises a change, especially a sudden one, a leap into a new situation” (Haverling 2000:324), and the occurrence of *obticui* for *conticui* (Haverling 2000:321).

Russian *o-*, *ob(o)-* ‘against’ is found in the exhaustive transformative verb *obedat’* and in *obrot* ‘rein’ (fundamentally: against the mouth). Cf. Lat. *scutum ori obtendere*. It possesses both spatial meaning and actional function and is similar in this respect to Lat. *ob(-)* as analyzed by Haverling (2000:324) and to Hitt. *-apa*. The fit is perfect and the functional similarities are great. An etymological analysis including Slavic cannot be carried out in the present contribution, which is devoted to functional, semantic, and typological comparison.

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Possible Tocharian Evidence for Root Ablaut in PIE Thematic Presents?

Ronald I. Kim

orocce kässintse krent wašamontse

Throughout his distinguished career, Craig Melchert has contributed enormously to our understanding of all aspects of the ancient Anatolian languages, and of Indo-European as a whole. Craig's publications on Tocharian have also shed considerable light on that branch and helped to place its study in a firmer comparative context. I dedicate this contribution to him as a small token of gratitude for his many years of instruction, mentoring, friendship, and unbounded generosity.

1 PIE simple thematic presents in Tocharian¹

One of the strangest features of the Tocharian verbal system from the perspective of the classical Indo-European languages is the paucity of simple thematic presents, i.e. presents traditionally reconstructed with full-grade root, suffix consisting of the bare thematic vowel **-e/-*, and columnar root stress. Within the classification of Krause and Thomas (1960:198–200), this type is continued morphologically by the Class II presents, which are characterized by a suffixal alternation between TB */-a-/*, TA *-ä- ~ -Ø-* < PT **-a-* < PIE **-e-* (with palatalization of the preceding root-final consonant) and TB *-e-*, TA *-a-* < PT **-ē-* < PIE **-o-*.

Some two dozen verbs form Class II presents in Tocharian A and/or B, but the great majority of these continue other PIE thematic formations. For instance, the following verbs are inherited PIE **-ské/-* presents in which the suffix has been reinterpreted as part of the stem (Hackstein 1995:167–202, Ringe 2000:121–2):

TB */pask-/* 'protect, watch over' [TA *pās-*] < PT **paṣṣ-a-* ~ **pask-ē-* < PIE **ph₂-ské/-*, to **peh₂-* 'protect, herd (animals)' (cf. Hitt. *paḥṣ-*, OCS *pasetŭ*, Lat. *pās-tor* < **peh₂-s-*)

TB */nask-/* 'bathe' < PT **naṣṣ-a-* ~ **nask-ē-* ← PIE **snh₂-ské/-*, to **sneh₂-* (Ved. *snāti*, Lat. *nāre*)

¹An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Tocharian Centenary Conference sponsored by the Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow, 25–26 August 2008, and at the Arbeitstagung of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft held in Würzburg, 24–26 September 2009. I thank Martin Kümmel, Georges-Jean Pinault, and Jens Elmegård Rasmussen for their helpful criticism on those occasions, as well as Don Ringe for comments and suggestions.

Most other Class II presents likewise go back to PIE thematic formations with complex suffixes, such as iterative presents in $*-éy\text{-}$ or denominatives in $*-e-y\text{-}$; cf. e.g. TB *mely-*, TA *mal-yw-* ‘grind, crush’ < PT $*m\acute{e}l\text{-}w\text{-}y\text{-}$ < PIE $*molh_2w\text{-}éy\text{-}$ (Kim 2007a).

Ringe (2000:121–31; cf. Jasanoff 1998:313–4) has shown that only three Class II presents go back to (post-)PIE simple thematic presents, namely

TB *parām*, TA *pärtär* ‘carries, bears, takes (away, up), wears’ < PT $*p\acute{a}r\text{-}a\text{-}$ ~ $*p\acute{a}r\text{-}ē\text{-}$ < (post-)PIE $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}e\text{-}$ (see below for cognates);

TB *āsām*, TA pl. *ākeñc* ‘lead(s)’ < PT $*aś\text{-}a\text{-}$ ~ $*ak\text{-}ē\text{-}$ < (post-)PIE $*h_2éǵ\text{-}e\text{-}$ (Ved. *ājati*, Av. *azaiti*, Gr. *āyei*, Lat. *agit*, OIr. *aig*, ON *ekr*); and

TB *saim*, pl. *sāyem*,² TA *sōs* ‘live(s)’ < PT $*śaw\text{-}a\text{-}$ ~ $*śaw\text{-}ē\text{-}$ < (post-)PIE $*ǵʷih_3w\text{-}e\text{-}$ (Ved. *jīvati*, Lat. *vīvit*, Hom. *ζῶει*, OCS *živeti*), an anomalously formed denominative to PIE $*ǵʷih_3\text{-}wó\text{-}$ ‘living’.

In addition, several Class II presents and subjunctives reflect PIE root aorist subjunctives; see the examples below and in §5. These facts are of considerable interest for the prehistory of the subjunctive as well as the simple thematic present, and have figured prominently in recent discussions on the PIE verb; see among others Jasanoff 1998, 2003:224–7, Ringe 1998, 2000:136–8, Kim 2007b.

The striking dearth of clear reflexes of simple thematic presents in Tocharian is compounded by a rarely remarked morphological peculiarity of the first verb listed above, TB */pār-/*, TA *pär-* ‘carry’. The PIE present of the root $*b^her\text{-}$ is routinely reconstructed as $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}e\text{-}$ on the basis of Ved. *bhárati*, Av. *baraiti*, Gr. *fépei*, Lat. *fert* (1sg. *ferō*), OIr. *beir*, Go. *baúrip*, OCS *bereti*, Arm. *berē*; scattered forms point to an original Narten present $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}$ ~ $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}$,³ but the simple thematic present must have been well established by the time of the last common ancestor of the non-Anatolian languages. Such a preform would have given PT $*p^h\acute{a}r\text{-}a\text{-}$ ~ $*p^h\acute{a}r\text{-}ē\text{-}$, with palatalization of the initial consonant by the root vowel $*e$ in pre-PT.

In TA, where the nonpalatalized and palatalized labials $*p$ and $*p^h$ (also $*m$ and $*m^h$) merge unconditionally, PT $*p^h\acute{a}r\text{-}(y)\text{-}$ would develop regularly to $p(\tilde{a})r\text{-}$, as in 3sg. *pärtär*, 3pl. *prantär*, ger. I *präl*, inf. *pärtsi*. In TB, however, the expected reflex of PT $*p^h\acute{a}r\text{-}(y)\text{-}$ would be *‘pir-’*, with PT $*p^h\acute{a} >$ TB *pi*. Cf. the following, taken from Kim 2009:55–6:

PIE $*h_2p\acute{e}los$ (Gr. *ἄπελος*) > PT $*p^h\acute{a}l\text{-}$ > TB *püle* ‘wound’ [TA *päl*]

PIE $*p\acute{e}nk^we$ > PT $*p^h\acute{a}ñśa >$ *piñśa* > TB *piś* ‘five’ [TA *pän*]

PIE $*penk^w\acute{e} k\acute{o}mt$ (cf. Gr. *πεντήκοντα* with restored ending) > PT $*p^h\acute{a}ñśáka >$ TB *piśáka*, *pśáka* [*p^h\acute{a}śáka*] ‘fifty’ [TA *pñāk*, remade after *pän*]

²With generalized $-y\text{-}$ < PT $*w\text{-}$; see now Peyrot 2008:138–40.

³Cf. TA impf. mid. *pārat* ‘was carrying’ < $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}$, Mir. *biru* ‘sow’ < act. ptcp. fem. $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}nt\text{-}ib_2$, and Av. pass. *bairiia-* < $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}ye\text{-}$. On the evolution of simple thematic $*b^h\acute{e}r\text{-}e\text{-}$, see Jasanoff 1998:301–7, 2003:148–9, 224.

(post-)PIE **pénkʷtos* (or **penkʷtós*; cf. Gr. πέμπτος) > PT **pʷnktē* > TB *pinkte* ‘fifth’ [TA *pānt*]

It thus appears that the actually occurring TB */pʷr-/* of e.g. *parām*, pl. *parem*, ptcps. *preñca*, *premane*, ger. I *pralle*, impf. pl. *priyem* continues not PT **pʷrʷ(y)*-, but PT **parʷ(y)*-, with nonpalatalized root-initial **p*-.⁴

Ringe (1996:141), the first to explicitly recognize this problem, suggests that the regular palatalization of the initial consonant in PT **pʷrʷ(y)*- “was eliminated by analogy.” Since full-grade root occurs in all relevant forms of this verb, however, it is difficult to imagine an intraparadigmatic source for such an analogical change.⁵ Note that the following Class II subjunctives, which continue PIE root aorist subjunctives, preserve the expected palatalization of the root initial, even though the corresponding presents begin with a nonpalatalized consonant:

TB 2sg. *śämt*, 3 *śamn*, *śman(-ne)*,⁶ TA *śmäs*, pl. *śmeñc* ‘will/may come’ < PT **śamʷ-ǵ-* ~ **śam-ē-* < PIE aor. subj. **ǵʷém-ē-* to **ǵʷém-* ~ **ǵʷm-* (TB *śem*; Ved. *ágan*, GAv. *jān*, Arm. *ekn*); cf. Class X present TB *kānmaṣṣām*, TA *kumnäs* < PT **kʷam-naṣṣ-ǵ-* ~ **naṣk-ē-*

TB *lyustär*, inf. *lyuśi* ‘light (up), enlighten’ < PT **lʷasʷ-ǵ-* ~ **lʷawk-ē-* < PIE aor. subj. **léwḱ-ē-* to **léwḱ-* ~ **luk-* (Hitt. *lukta* [ix], *lukkatta*, Ved. ptcp. *rucāná-* ‘growing light’; Ringe 2000:132); cf. Class VIII present TB *luksām*, TA pl. *luksenē*⁷

Cf. also

TB Class II pres. *lyasām*, pl. *lyakem* ‘is, are lying down’, Class II subj. in opt. *ly(a)ś(i)*, v. n. *lyśalyñe* < PT **lʷasʷ-ǵ-* ~ **lʷak-ē-* < PIE aor. subj. **léǵ-ē-* (Hom. *λέκτο* ‘lay down’),

where the subjunctive has been extended to imperfective (present) function (Ringe 2000:129–30). It seems clear, then, that there was no general tendency in the prehistory of Tocharian to eliminate phonetically regular root-initial palatalization in this or any other class of presents or subjunctives.

Alternatively, one could suppose that **pʷrʷ(y)*- was altered to **parʷ(y)*- under the influence of presents with nonpalatalized root initials, e.g. TB *kaltär*, TA *kälytär* ‘is standing’.⁸ But this too is highly unlikely, especially since other Class II presents do retain

⁴Ringe (apud Kim 2009:56) suggests that only stressed **ǵ* > TB *i* after palatalized labials (cf. impf./opt. 1sg. *-m* < PT **-mʷǵ* < PIE **-mī*), in which case forms like TB *piśāka*, *pśāka* ‘fifty’, pl. *pilenta* ‘wounds’, count pl. *mis-aiwenta* ‘pieces of meat’ would have to be analogical (respectively to TB *piś*, *pile*, *miśa* ‘meat’). It is at least as likely, however, that the fronted vowel in the 1sg. ending (probably an ultrashort [i]) was still subject to apocope, like other word-final /ǵ/ [i].

⁵Cf. the corresponding forms in other IE languages which have developed contrastive palatalization, e.g. Russian 1sg. *berú* [bʲirʲu], 3 *berët* [bʲirʲot], Polish *biore* [bʲorɛ] ~ [bʲorɛ], *bierze* [bʲɛzɛ], Old Irish *biru* [bʲiru], *beirid* [bʲerʲəð] – all with consistently palatalized initials.

⁶Alongside *śammām*, pl. *śanmen*, etc. with *-n-* from the present; see now Peyrot 2008:147–8.

⁷On the analogical zero-grade root **lʷawk-* in this present, see §2 below.

⁸This verb actually has undergone regular palatalization, but its effects have been obscured by liquid metathesis: PIE aor. subj. **kléw-ē-* > **klʷay-ǵ-* > PT **kalʷ(y)-ǵ-* > TB pres. */kalʷ-/*, TA *käly-* (see §5).

palatalized root-initial consonants, whatever their ultimate source: cf. TB /*n̄ask-*/ ‘desire’ < PT **n̄ass-ǵ* ~ **n̄ask-ē-*, if actually from PIE **nes-sk̑e-* to **nes-* ‘approach in joyful anticipation’ (Malzahn 2007); or TB *tek-* ‘touch’, pres. *cešām*, which may have been borrowed from pre-PGmc. **tēk-* (cf. Go. *tēkan*; Ringe 1990a:105–15).⁹ In light of these cases, there seems to be no reason why a regularly developed pre-PT **p̑ar^(y)-* would not have evolved by regular sound change into TB “*pirām*”, etc.

In the absence of any plausible explanation for the secondary depalatalization of pre-PT **p̑*, we might consider an alternative hypothesis, that the PT stem **p̑ar-* continues a zero-grade root **b^hṛ-*. The Tocharian verb could then reflect a thematized root present or aorist (**b^hṛ- ~* **b^hṛ-*’, as tentatively reconstructed in Rix 2001 (= LIV²) on the basis of isolated forms such as Ved. *bhṛti* (2×), GAv. iptv. 3sg. *barātū*, Hom. iptv. 2pl. *φέρετε* (1×). However, the latter are probably secondary (Szemerényi 1964:189–99; cf. the references in LIV² 77 nn. 1–5); and as noted above, the simple thematic present underlying *bhṛati*, *φέρει*, etc. appears rather to go back to a Narten present, which had no forms containing zero-grade of the root.

Another possibility is that the present underlying PT **p̑ar-* was thematic already in PIE, i.e. a zero-grade thematic present **b^hṛ-e₀-* or **b^hṛ-e₀-*. Two questions immediately arise. First, how can a zero-grade root be reconciled with the secure reconstruction of full-grade **b^hṛ-e₀-* for this and other simple thematic presents, on the unanimous evidence of the classical IE languages? Second, do any other thematic presents in Tocharian reflect an unexpected zero-grade root?

We will return to the first question in §3 below. First, let us consider the other Tocharian thematic verbal formations and examine their evidence for the root vocalism of pre-Tocharian and PIE thematic presents.

2 The Class VIII presents and their root ablaut

The great majority of thematic presents and subjunctives in Tocharian contain the synchronic suffix TB /-ssǵ-/ ~ /-s-/ ~ /-ske-/ [TA -š- ~ -sa-] < PT **-ssǵ- ~* **-s- ~* **-skē-*, which goes back to the well-known PIE suffix **-sk̑e-*. Ordinary presents of this type are securely reconstructed with zero-grade root and suffixal stress, a situation reflected in Tocharian in e.g. PIE **ph₂-sk̑e-* > PT **pass-ǵ ~* **pask-ē-* > TB /*pask-*/, TA *pās-* ‘protect, watch over’ and other verbs in which the suffix has been lexicalized as part of the root (§1). As a productive type, however, the Tocharian Class IX presents and subjunctives cannot be adduced as evidence for the morphology of PIE **-sk̑e-* presents.¹⁰

The other principal thematic present formation in Tocharian is Krause and Thomas’s Class VIII, characterized by the suffix TB /-šǵ-/ ~ /-se-/, TA -š- ~ -sa- < PT **-šǵ- ~* **-sē-*. In contrast to the *sk*-presents, the morphological and semantic prehis-

⁹On the Class II presents TB *cāmpām*, TA *cāmpāš* ‘is able’ and TB *šamām*, TA *šmāš* ‘is sitting’, see §4 below.

¹⁰Class IX presents which occur beside presents of other formations, i.e. “causatives”, have initial stress in TB and often also root-initial palatalization, e.g. TB *šarsāššām(-ne)*, TA inf. *šarsāši* ‘inform, let know’ to TB /*kārsa-*/, TA *kārsā-* ‘know’. This suggests that they go back to PIE reduplicated presents which only later acquired the aspect-marking imperfective suffix **-sk̑e-* as a redundant morphological marker. See the comments in Hackstein 1995:2–4, with references.

tory of the Tocharian *s*-present and its wider connections within IE are still in many respects obscure.¹¹ The type has been connected with the entire range of desiderative and future formations in other IE languages, reduplicated or unreduplicated, in **(h₁)s^o-* or **-sy^o-*; for a critical review, see Hackstein 1995:1–2, 159–65.¹²

From a formal point of view, the most likely comparandum for the Tocharian *s*-present would be the *s*-aorist subjunctive, with full-grade of the root, columnar root stress, and suffix complex **-s-^o-* (Jasanoff 1987:101–2, 2003:180–2); this connection is supported by the fact that most Class VIII presents form Class III preterites, which are ultimately related to the classical IE sigmatic aorist.¹³ The only problem with this hypothesis is that Tocharian *s*-presents with good PIE etymologies regularly lack root-initial palatalization (Hackstein 1995:41–3, 106–7 and *passim*). Cf. e.g. TB *nakšäm*, TA *nkäs* ‘destroys’ < PT **nak-s-*; TB *pälkšäm*, TA pl. *pälkse-ni* ‘burn, torment’ < PT **palk-s-*; TB *kušäm*, TA *kuš** (impf. *kušā-m*) ‘pours’ < PT **kaw-s-*; TB *lukšäm*, TA pl. *luksenē* ‘light (up), enlighten’ < PT **lawk-s-*, respectively to PIE **nek-*, **b^hleg/ġ-*, **ġ^hew-*, **lewk-*.¹⁴ Hackstein concludes that these and other Class VIII presents go back to preforms with zero-grade of the root, so that PT **nak-s^o-*, **palk-s^o-*, **kaw-s^o-*, **lawk-s^o-* (indirectly) reflect **nk-s^o-*, **b^hlg-s^o-* (**b^hġ-s^o-*), **ġ^hu-s^o-*, **luk-s^o-*.¹⁵

In his review of Hackstein’s monograph, Penney (1998:93–4) disputed this interpretation, and voiced “a more fundamental doubt, as to whether it is in fact appropriate to be looking for a constant ablaut pattern, and in particular zero-grades of IE shape, in forms that are manifestly Tocharian creations” (94). Penney’s skepticism is certainly justified in those cases where analogical remodeling of a presumed zero-grade reflex must be assumed in any case, e.g.

TB *prekšäm*, TA *prakäs* ‘asks’ < PT **pr^(y)ek-s^o-*, with root vocalism clearly taken over from preterite TB *preksa*, TA *prakäs* < PT **prek-ša* ← PIE **prék-s-* (cf. Ved. *āprāt*, GAv. mid. *fraštā*);

¹¹Hackstein (1995:1–2, 147–58 and *passim*) has demonstrated that the Tocharian *s*-presents are not causative in function, as traditionally assumed (Krause and Thomas 1960:207–8), but merely “transitivizing”; the semantic contrast between the two is apparent in cases such as TB Class VIII *wikšäm* ‘avoids’ vs. causative Class IX *wikššäm* ‘removes, i.e. makes disappear’ (to Class III *wiketär* ‘disappears’). Furthermore, there is no clear morphological or functional distinction between supposedly “noncausative” (i.e. nonderived) and “causative” Class VIII presents (147–8), i.e. Classes VIIa and VIIb in the system of Krause and Thomas.

¹²Anatolian also has a class of imperfectives in Hitt. *-šš(a)-* (e.g. *iššai* ‘does, performs’; Hoffner and Melchert 2008:220–1), Luv. *-šš(a)-* (productive, e.g. *pipišša-* ‘give repeatedly’ to *piyai* ‘gives’). These inflect according to the *hi*-conjugation and so probably descend from a *h₂e*-conjugation present formation in **-s-* (Jasanoff 2003:132–9). It is unclear, however, whether this type has anything to do historically with the Tocharian *s*-presents.

¹³The details remain far from resolved; for recent views, see Jasanoff 1988, 2003:175ff., Ringe 1990b, Adams 1994, and the remarks in Kim 2003 [2009]:34–6 n. 45.

¹⁴Leaving aside TB pl. *šärpsem*, TA pl. *šärpseñe* to the root TB *šärp-*, TA *šärp-* ‘indicate’, all of whose forms appear with initial *s-*.

¹⁵The last two presents contain analogical zero-grades, with **kaw-*, **lawk-* for expected **k^uaw-*, **l^uawk-* < **ġ^hu-*, **luk-*; so also e.g. in TB pl. *wiksen(-ne)*, TA 2sg. *wikšät* ‘avoid’ < PT **w^uayk-s^o-* to PIE **weyġ-* ‘get moving, move away’ (see §5), with **w^uayk-* for **w^uyk-* < PIE **wiġ-*. For further examples, see Adams 1978:446–8, Ringe 1996:135–7. On PT **nak-* ← **^hnk-*, see below.

TB *kaṣām* ‘kills’ < PT **kaw-sʰe-* to PIE **keh₂u-* (cf. Lith. *káuti* ‘strike, cut down’; LIV² 345–6), in which **kaw-* surely does not continue an unmetathesized zero-grade **kh₂u-C-* (pace Hackstein 1995:55–6), but is rather an analogical zero-grade formed to **kāw-* < **keh₂u-*; or

TB *nākšām* ‘blames’ < PT **nak-sʰe-* to PIE **h₂/₃neh₃-* (cf. Gr. *ὀνομαί* ‘blame, scold’; Hackstein 1995:65–7, LIV² 282 s.v. **h₂neh₃-*), in which zero-grade **nak-* < **h₂/₃nh₃-k-* was backformed to full-grade **nōk-* < **h₂/₃neh₃-k-*.

For other Class VIII presents, however, Penney also operates with an assumption of “initial depalatalisation”, which would allow one to derive PT **palk-sʰe-* ‘burn, torment’, **kaw-sʰe-* ‘pour’, **lawk-sʰe-* ‘light (up), enlighten’ (see above) from full-grade preforms **bʰlég-sʰe-*, **ǵʰlén-sʰe-*, **léwk-sʰe-*.¹⁶ As for TB *nakšām*, TA *nkāš* ‘destroys’ < PT **nak-sʰe-*, which Hackstein takes to be an analogical replacement of zero-grade **ēnk-* < PIE **nēk-* (to full-grade **nāk-* < PIE **nek-*), he objects that “the simpler explanation of depalatalisation in an *e*-grade form is to hand” (Penney 1998:94).¹⁷ Jasanoff (1987:102, 2003:181) likewise assumes analogical depalatalization of root-initial consonants in the Tocharian reflexes of *s*-aorist subjunctives.

Once again, however, we may ask what would have been the motivation and starting point for depalatalization—and furthermore, why this analogical change was carried out so consistently across the entire set of Tocharian *s*-presents. Perhaps the formation of non-present stems will offer some clues in this regard. Most Class VIII presents form Class I (athematic) or Class II (simple thematic) subjunctives, e.g.

	present	subjunctive
(1)	TB <i>kāṣām</i> ‘bears, endures’	TB 1sg. <i>kelu</i> , inf. <i>kaltsi</i>
	TB <i>kuṣām</i> ‘pours’	TB 1sg. <i>kewu</i> , mid. <i>kutär</i>
	TA <i>kuṣ*</i>	[TA v.n. <i>kuñlune</i> , Class VII]
	TB <i>nakšām</i> ‘destroys’	TB 1sg. <i>neku(-me)</i> , pl. <i>nakām</i>
	TA <i>nkāš</i>	
	TB <i>pluṣām</i> ‘floats; swims’	TB <i>plyewāñ</i> , v. n. <i>pluwälyñe</i>
(2)	TB <i>pākšām</i> ‘burns’	TB v.n. <i>pälyśalñe</i> (see §5)
	TA pl. <i>pälksenē</i>	TA v.n. <i>pläšlune</i>
	TB <i>plankšām</i> ‘sells’	TB <i>plyañcām</i> , inf. <i>plyañcalñe</i>
	TB <i>luksām</i> ‘illuminates’	TB <i>lyustär</i> (see §1)
	TA pl. <i>lukšenē</i>	

For verbs in group (1), one could imagine that the nonpalatalized initial consonant of the Class I subjunctive (with its inherited ablaut reflecting a (post-)PIE alternation **o*

¹⁶Cf. Ved. *ahaṣīt*, Gr. *ἔχεα*, *ἔχευα* and Lat. *lūxī*, although none of these goes back with certainty to PIE (LIV² 179, 418–9 with refs.).

¹⁷Similarly in TB *pākšām*, TA *pkāš* ‘cooks’ < PT **pak-sʰe-*, where both full-grade PIE **pekʷ-* and zero-grade **pḱʷ-* would have regularly given PT **pʰakʷ-* and TB **pik-* (§1).

~ *Ø) was transferred to the present, so that e.g. PT pres. **kaw-s_g*- ‘pour’ adopted the **k-* of subj. *(*ka*)-*kēw-* ~ *(*ka*)-*kaw-* (> TB *kemu*, *kutār*).¹⁸

But what of those *s*-presents in group (2), which form subjunctives of Class II? Here the subjunctives do exhibit root-initial palatalization, in contrast to the corresponding presents, e.g. TB pres. *luksām* ‘lights (up), illuminates’ vs. subj. *lyuštār*, inf. *lyuṣṣi* (§1). Furthermore, and as mentioned earlier, most Tocharian *s*-presents form Class III preterites, which inherited lengthened-grade from PIE, at least in 3sg. **R(ē)-s-t*. The expected palatalization in these preterites also survived into PT, and is preserved in all cases in TA, e.g. *casās* ‘put, set’, *nakās* ‘destroyed’, *lyokās* ‘lit (up), enlightened’ < PT **ces-śsa*, **nek-śsa*, **lewke-śsa*.¹⁹ Since the nonpalatalized initial of these Class VIII presents is isolated within their *Averbos*, it cannot be analogical to a non-present stem, but must be original.

It seems, then, that the absence of root-initial palatalization in Class VIII presents does presuppose zero-grade root ablaut, as argued by Hackstein. What is the origin of this unexpected zero-grade in Tocharian thematic *s*-presents and, to judge by the verb ‘carry’ (§1), simple thematic presents?

3 PIE simple thematic presents revisited

These questions lead us to reconsider the reconstruction and prehistory of thematic presents in PIE and the older IE languages. For almost a century after the Neogrammarians, simple thematic presents such as **b^hér-e/o-* ‘bear, carry’, **pék^me/o-* ‘cook’, **wért-e/o-* ‘turn’ stood among the most securely reconstructed elements of PIE grammar. Beginning around the mid-20th century, however, their antiquity began to be called into question, partly because of the almost complete absence in Hittite of cognate forms, but also owing to new currents of thought about the prehistoric interrelationship and evolution of the classical PIE perfect, middle, and thematic formations (see e.g. Watkins 1969). In the most recent comprehensive treatment of the PIE verb, that of Jasanoff 2003, simple thematic presents originate either in protomiddles of Narten presents (e.g. **b^hér-e/o-*; see above, §1) or as subjunctives to *h₂e*-conjugation aorists (the type of **pék^me/o-*, **néryH-e/o-* ‘lead’, etc.); for details, see Jasanoff 1998, 2003:224–7.

From a morphological point of view, the classically reconstructed simple thematic present is peculiar in two respects: (1) columnar stress on the root, and (2) the absence of ablaut alternations other than that of the thematic vowel *-e- ~ *-o-. By contrast, in most athematic verbal formations the stress falls on the morpheme directly preceding the ending (whether root, suffix, or infix) in the active singular, and on the ending in the remaining forms: cf. PIE root pres. ind. 3sg. **h₁és-ti* ‘is’ vs. pl. **h₁s-énti* ‘are’, nasal-infixed pres. 3sg. **yu-né-g-ti* vs. pl. **yu-n-g-énti* ‘harness’ (> Ved. *yunákti*, *yunījánti*),

¹⁸On TB *plyewān* ‘my... will float’, see fn. 19.

¹⁹TB has mostly eliminated initial palatalization in Class III preterites, presumably after the corresponding presents and subjunctives. Cf. however *lyauksa* ‘lit (up), enlightened’, *lyautsa* ‘removed, drove away’, which have even extended palatalized *ly-* to the middle (1pl. *lyuksamte* ‘lit up (intr.)’, became enlightened’ [beside *lauksāte*; both for **luksa* < **lawk-śsa* ← PT **lawk-*], pl. *lyuttsante* ‘withdrew, went away’), as well as *plye_msa* ‘floated’, which has influenced Class I subj. *plyewān* ‘my... will float’ (i.e. *plyewā(m)-n*, for **plewām*; Hackstein 1995:92–8).

opt. 3sg. **h₁s-yébh₁-t* vs. pl. **h₁s-ibh₁-ént* (> Gr. *εἴη, εἶεν*).²⁰ The underlying interpretation of such intraparadigmatic alternations is open to discussion; in the metrical theory of Halle and Idsardi (1995) and Halle (1997), for instance, the active singular endings are underlyingly unaccented, and the active dual/plural and middle endings underlyingly accented (see Kim 2002:54–72 for details).

Whatever the ultimate origin of the simple thematic presents as a formation, I am aware of no evidence that the bare thematic vowel **-e%* was underlyingly accented in PIE.²¹ If this suffix was indeed unaccented, we might expect simple thematic presents to alternate between root stress in the active singular and ending stress in the other forms. Since surface stress and full-grade ablaut were generally correlated in (pre-)PIE morphological alternations, the following paradigm of the simple thematic present to a root such as **wert-* ‘turn’ might be postulated on internal grounds, with full-grade root in the active singular and zero-grade elsewhere.

	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>*wért-o-h₂</i>	<i>*wrt-o-wós</i>	<i>*wrt-o-mós</i>
2	<i>*wért-e-si</i>	<i>*wrt-e-t-</i>	<i>*wrt-e-té</i>
3	<i>*wért-e-ti</i>	<i>*wrt-e-t-</i>	<i>*wrt-o-ntí</i>

Such a reconstruction of course runs counter to the overwhelming evidence of the ancient IE languages, at least as far as root vocalism is concerned: cf. Ved. *vártate* ‘turns, rolls (intr.)’, Lat. *vertit* ‘turns (tr.)’, Go. *wairþip* ‘becomes’. Note, however, that positive direct or indirect support for the traditionally assumed columnar root stress is found in only two branches, namely Indo-Aryan (Ved. *vártati*, pl. *vártanti*) and Germanic (PGmc. **wirþidi*, **wirþandi* > Go. *wairþip*, *wairþand*).²²

On the other hand, Balto-Slavic offers limited but intriguing support for an original stress alternation in the PIE simple thematic present. Stang (1966:451–3) observed that the Old Prussian forms 2sg. *gīvasi* (1×) ‘you live’, 3sg. *gīvu* (for *gīva**) ‘s/he lives’ contrast with 1pl. *gīvammai* (2×), *gīvenmai* (1×) [gīv‘amai] ‘we live’, with stress retracted from **gīvamái*, and that the alternation between singular and plural may parallel that of the athematic presents 2sg. *ēisei* ‘go’, *dāse* ‘give’ vs. 1pl. *perēimai* ‘we come’ (if < **per-eimái*). From this starting point, Slavic generalized final stress to the singular forms, whence e.g. Čakavian 2sg. *pečěš*, 3 *pečě* ‘you bake, s/he bakes’ < **pečěš*,

²⁰ But see the comments of Jasanoff (2009:47–9) on the antiquity of this and other suffixal alternations in the PIE verb.

²¹ As opposed to complex thematic suffixes like **-sk^he%* or (denominative and mediopassive) **-y^he%*, which were accented and regularly took zero-grade of the root; see §5 below.

²² The Gothic 3sg. ending is underlyingly /-id/, as shown by forms in *-id-u* with enclitic *-u*. Gothic generalized the voiced Verner’s Law endings 2sg. *-is*, *-iz-u* and 3sg., 2pl. *-ip*, *-id-u* from simple thematic presents, whereas West Germanic generalized voiceless *-p* < **-ip* from presents in **-y^he%*, whence e.g. OE *wierþ* < **wierþ-p* ‘s/he becomes’, *birþ* < **birþ* ‘s/he carries’.

**pečeti* like 1pl. *pečemo*, 2 *pečetē*, 3 *peku* < **pekoti*,²³ whereas East Baltic generalized initial stress throughout the paradigm (Stang 1957:155–7, 1966:450–1).²⁴

The Balto-Slavic data thus suggests that the columnar root stress of Indo-Aryan and Germanic may be an innovation, and that the simple thematic present in the last ancestor of the “Brugmannian IE” or “Nuclear IE” languages did in fact have a stress alternation between root and ending exactly comparable to that of athematic presents. It is reasonable to assume that at an earlier stage of the protolanguage—one ancestral to Tocharian as well, and possibly also to Anatolian—the root likewise ablauted between full-grade in the active singular and zero-grade elsewhere.

4 The evolution of thematic presents in Tocharian

If my proposal above is correct, then the revised PIE simple thematic present must have survived into pre-PT. The subsequent development of thematic presents would then exactly parallel that of athematic presents, which generalized zero-grade of the root or suffix to the active singular during the prehistory of Tocharian. Cf. the Class I (athematic root) presents TA *yās*, pl. *yīnc* ‘go’ < PT **yā-* < *(*b*₁)*i-* ← PIE **b*₁*éy-* ~ **b*₁*i-*’ or TB *palkām*, TA *pālkās* ‘shines’ < PT **palk-* < **b*^h*lǵ-* ← PIE **b*^h*lǵj/ǵ-* ~ **b*^h*lǵ/ǵ-*’, and also Class VI and VII nasal-infixed presents to roots respectively ending and not ending in *-a-: Class VI has generalized *-n-a- < *-n-H- at the expense of act. sg. **né-H-*, while for Class VII cf. 3sg., 3pl. *pinkām* ‘s/he forms, writes; they form, write’ < **pink-* ← PIE **pi-néK-ti*, **pi-n-K-énti*.²⁵

In the same way, simple thematic presents would have leveled zero-grade root ablaut throughout the paradigm. The evolution of the simple thematic present of **b*^h*er-* was accordingly as follows:

	post-PIE		pre-PT		PT
1sg.	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>ér-o-b</i> ₂	→	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-o-b</i> ₂	→	* <i>pār-ē-w</i>
2	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>ér-e-si</i>	→	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-e-si</i>	→	* <i>pār^y-a-ta</i>
3	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>ér-e-ti</i>	→	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-e-ti</i>		* <i>pār^y-a(-sa)</i>
1pl.	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-o-mós</i> ²⁶	→	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-o-mos</i>	→	* <i>pār-ē-ma(sa)</i>
2	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-e-té</i>	→	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-e-te</i>		* <i>pār^y-a-ca</i>
3	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-o-nti</i>	→	* <i>b</i> ^h <i>r-o-nti</i>		* <i>pār-ē-ñca</i> ~ * <i>pār-ē-n</i>

²³Except in the 1sg., which maintained initial stress in e.g. ORuss. *žímu, né žímu* ‘I live, I do not live’ (Stang 1957:109–12, 118–9); the resulting alternation between the 1sg. and the rest of the paradigm survives in some modern dialects, but has mostly been leveled in favor of end-stress (Russ. *peku, žívi*; Čakav. *pečen* < **pečemi*). The same columnarization took place in athematic verbs in Slavic and probably also East Baltic, as in Čakav. 2sg. *nāši* ‘you are not’, *dāš* < **dāši* ‘you give’ (Stang 1957:125–8). For discussion, see Kim 2002:201–9.

²⁴The original alternation may be preserved in OLith. forms like (Daukša) 3sg. *žino* vs. 1pl. *žinomi*, 2 *žinoté* (Stang 1966:451 n. 1).

²⁵To *peyK-* ‘cut (out, e.g. a shape), form’; see LIV² 464 s.p. 1. **peig-*, 465–6 s.p. **peik-*.

²⁶In this root, and presumably others of the shape CER, the preconsonantal and Lindeman’s Law allo-morph with syllabic sonorant was generalized at some point in pre-PT.

Thematic *s*-presents must also have leveled the zero-grade root of the weak stem to the active singular, e.g. in the Class VIII present of ‘pour’.

	post-PIE		pre-PT		PT
1sg.	*ǵʰew-so-h ₂	→	*ǵʰu-so-h ₂	→	*kəw-sē-w
2	*ǵʰew-se-si	→	*ǵʰu-se-si	→	*kəw-ša-ta
3	*ǵʰew-se-ti	→	*ǵʰu-se-ti	→	*kəw-ša(-ša)
1pl.	*ǵʰu-so-mós			→	*kəw-sē-ma(sa)
2	*ǵʰu-se-té			→	*kəw-ša-ca
3	*ǵʰu-so-ntí			→	*kəw-sē-ñca~*kəw-sē-n

In contrast, PIE **-ské/ō-* presents in Tocharian inherited zero-grade ablaut in all forms, so there is no need to assume intraparadigmatic leveling. Other Tocharian thematic present types, e.g. the few reflexes of **-éyē/ō-* presents and denominatives in **-yē/ō-* (**-e-yē/ō-*, etc.), also offer no support for original paradigmatic ablaut. We will return below to this dichotomy between simple thematic presents (and presents in **-sē/ō-*) and other thematic formations in the protolanguage.

5 Consequences for the Indo-European verb

The proposed reconstruction of the PIE simple thematic present has significant consequences for the evolution of this formation, and of the Indo-European verb in general. First, it now appears that, whatever its ultimate origin and relation to e.g. root aorist subjunctives, the PIE simple thematic present was characterized by the same stress and ablaut alternations as athematic presents. Tocharian generalized the root vocalism of the weak (non-active-singular) stem, just as in athematic presents (§4), resulting in the zero-grade reflexes of PT **pær-* > TB, TA *pär-*. The agreement among the classical IE languages in having full-grade root strongly suggests that this was a common innovation of Nuclear IE following the departure of Anatolian and Tocharian, rather than a parallel independent development. On the other hand, the fixing of stress on the root syllable probably took place separately in Indo-Aryan and Germanic, since Old Prussian (and thus Proto-Balto-Slavic) apparently retains traces of alternating stress.

The ancestor of the Tocharian Class VIII presents also seems to have exhibited the same stress and ablaut alternation, so that these go back to a (post-)PIE paradigm **R(é)-sē/ō-* ~ **R(Ø)-sē/ō-*. If the PIE subjunctive originally patterned with the simple thematic present, it would be possible to equate the Tocharian *s*-presents morphologically with *s*-aorist subjunctives of the type of Ved. *néṣat*, GAv. *naēšat*, Hom. *deiṣei*: the former would have generalized the root vocalism of the weak stem, the latter that of the active singular.

However, the limited evidence of Tocharian suggests that root aorist subjunctives may have had columnar stress and full-grade root already in PIE. We saw in §1 that the Class II subjunctives of ‘come’, ‘enlighten’ and the Class II present/subjunctive of ‘lie down’ all exhibit the expected reflexes of root-initial palatalization: TB *śamn*, TA *śmāš* < PT **śamʷ-ā-* ~ **śam-ē-* < PIE **ǵʰém-ē/ō-*; TB *lyustär* < PT **lʷamʷ-ā-* ~ **lʷam-ē-* <

PIE **léw̥k-_o-*; TB pres. *lyasām*, v. n. *lysalyñe* < PT **lʷas-_o-* ~ **lʷak-_ē-* < PIE **léǵ-_o-*. In addition, at least four other PIE root aorist subjunctives are continued as Tocharian Class II subjunctives and presents (Ringe 2000:129–30, 131–3):

TB *kantār* ‘will happen, come to be’ < PT **kǎntar* ← PIE aor. subj. **ǵénh₁-_e-tor* ‘be born’ (reinterpreted as pres. in Ved. *jánati*, OLat. 3pl. *genunt* ‘produce, bear’) to **ǵénh₁-* ~ **ǵnh₁-*’ (Gr. *ἐγένετο*, thematized; Hackstein 1995:232–42, LIV² 163–5);

TB opt. *palyśītār* ‘might burn’, v. n. TB *pälýsalñe*, TA *pläslune* ‘ascetic practice’ (lit. ‘burning, torturing’) < PT **palʷs-_o-* ~ **palʷk-_ē-* < PIE aor. subj. **bʰléǵ-_o-* (**bʰléǵ-_o-*) to **bʰléǵ/ǵ-* ~ **bʰlǵ/ǵ-*’ (OLat. *fulgere* ‘flash’, Gr. *φλέγω* ‘blaze’; Hackstein 1995:113–4, LIV² 86–7 s.v. **bʰleg/ǵ-*);²⁷

TB opt. *wīši*, inf. *wīssi* ‘avoid’ ← PT **wʷys-_o-* ~ **wʷyk-_ē-* (see below) < PIE aor. subj. **wéyǵ-_o-* to **wéyǵ-* ~ **wig-*’ ‘get moving, move away’ (Ved. aor. inj. *vikta* ‘take fright, start backwards’; Hackstein 1995:134–5, pace LIV² 667–8); and

TB pres. */kalʷ-/*, TA *käly-* ‘stand’ < PT **kalʷ(y)-_o-* < **klʷay-_o-* < PIE aor. subj. **kléy-_o-* to **kléy-* ~ **kli-*’ (cf. Ved. *ásret* ‘leaned against’; pace LIV² 332–3).²⁸

Of these, ‘burn’ must and ‘stand’ can reflect a full-grade root; so also can ‘avoid’, since the initial *w-* could easily have been restored from other forms of the verb, replacing PT **wʷyk-* > **yik-* > pre-TB **ik-* (Hackstein op. cit.). Only *kantār* seems to require a zero-grade, but its diachronic interpretation is not entirely secure; it could also go back to PIE pres. **ǵnh₁-ye-tor* (OIr. *ro·gainethar*, Ved. *jáyate*; Ringe 1996:21). Further research is required to determine whether thematic presents did in fact contrast in accent and ablaut with aorist subjunctives and, if so, how such a distinction arose in PIE.²⁹

Finally, the evidence of both Anatolian and Tocharian indicates that PIE **-ské_o-* presents did have columnar suffixal stress and zero-grade root already in PIE.³⁰ This morphological discrepancy between the simple and suffixed thematic presents is noteworthy, especially since the former are barely represented in Anatolian³¹ and only

²⁷ Pace Ringe 2000:133, the TB spelling *-ly-* reflects initial palatalization in PT **palʷs-_o-* ~ **palʷk-_ē-* < **plʷs-_o-* ~ **plʷk-_ē-* (liquid metathesis) < PIE **bʰléǵ-_o-* (**bʰléǵ-_o-*).

²⁸ Probably also TB subj. 1pl. *lyntem-_e*, inf. *lyutsi* ‘banish, drive’ < PT **lʷnec-_o-* ~ **lʷnec-_ē-* < PIE aor. subj. **h₁léw̥dʰ-_o-* to **h₁léw̥dʰ-* ~ **h₁ludʰ-*’ (thematized in Hom. *ἦλθε*, OIr. *luid* ‘went’, TB *lac*, TA *läc* ‘went out’; Hackstein 1995:244–7, pace LIV² 248–9); but see the discussion in Ringe 2000:135–6.

²⁹ Class II presents to roots with generalized palatalized initial, e.g. TB */čamp-/*, TA *cāmp-* ‘be able’ and TB */šam-/*, TA *šām-* ‘be sitting’, might have originated as aorist subjunctives, but the morphological prehistory of these two verbs is entirely obscure.

³⁰ For Anatolian, note the regular zero-grade of Hitt. imperfective *akkuške-*, *kuaške-* (< **kʷan-ske-*), *piške-* (to *eku-* ‘drink’, *kuen-* ‘kill’, *pai-* ‘give’), and also *zikkezzi*, *zaškezzi* [tʰk-] < PIE **dʰh₁-ské_o-* (to *dai-* ‘put, place’; Melchert 1994:30, 65). The inherited suffixal stress is reflected in OHitt. pres. 1sg. *daškēmi*, pret. 3pl. *daškēr* (to *da-* ‘take’), pret. 3sg. *zikkēt* (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:204–6).

³¹ The only good example seems to be HLuv. */tamari/* ‘builds’ < **dénh₂-_e-ti* (cf. Gr. *δέω* ‘build’, Go. *ga-timan* ‘be fitting’, possibly TB Cl. II subj. *tsamtsi* ‘make, grow (tr.), increase (tr.)’; LIV² 114–6, Hackstein 1995:138–40). HLuv. pret. INFRA *a-ka* ‘subjected’, formerly connected with the family of Gr. *ἄγω*, Lat. *agō*, etc., rather reflects the extended stem **H₂ych₁-_{k-}* to PIE **H₂ych₁-* ‘throw’ (cf. Gr. *ῥίκα*, Lat. *iēcī*; Rieken 2007).

weakly in Tocharian, whereas imperfectives in **-ské/b-* and denominatives in **-yé/b-* are robustly attested in both branches and thus securely reconstructible for PIE. It is possible that the uniform root vocalism and columnar stress of these formations played a role in the fixing of root ablaut and elimination of stress alternations in the simple thematic (and *s-*) presents; but if the Balto-Slavic evidence in §3 is to be trusted, the latter was a more recent development, postdating the breakup of Nuclear IE and at least partly an independent innovation of the different Nuclear IE branches.

Once again, just as the research of Craig Melchert and others on Anatolian has forced numerous changes to the classical picture of PIE, full historical evaluation of the Tocharian facts promises to lead to unanticipated revisions of some of the most established features of traditional PIE grammar.

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Personal Pronoun Sequences in the Rigveda

Jared S. Klein

o. As is true of all religious hymnic literature, the pragmatic setting of Rigvedic hymns involves an intense interchange between a singer and his cohort and one or more deities: an implicit ‘I/we’ : ‘thou/ye’ relationship. Within this context the singer frequently addresses the deities pronominally, while referring to a lesser extent pronominally to himself and his community. Not infrequently these references cluster within individual stanzas of hymns, leading to sequential repetitions of personal pronouns. This paper will investigate such sequences from a rhetorical/syntactic and poetic perspective, providing another chapter in the complete description of stylistic repetition in the Rigveda.

1. Among the categories of word repetition in the Rigveda, pronominal sequences bear the closest affinity to nominal repetition. From a formal perspective this means that we expect such sequences to comprise anaphora *sensu stricto* (exact repetition at the beginning of successive word groups), anaphora *sensu lato* (exact repetition in non-word-group-initial position or in non-successive word groups), polyptoton (repetition of forms in different cases), and paronomasia (repetition of variant forms sharing the same root). From a sound structure perspective, personal pronoun repetition frequently differs from nominal repetition in that pronominal forms in Vedic Sanskrit, as elsewhere in Indo-European, are frequently suppletive, so that a sequence of the type, say, *vayám ... asmán* ‘we ... us’ lacks any phonological cohesiveness, while still constituting a case of repetition on the notional and paradigmatic level. Like nominal repetition (and, indeed, all types of repetition other than that of verbs), pronominal sequences frequently illustrate what I have termed “the threefold structure” (Klein 1999), consisting of anaphora itself, verbal gapping in all but one of the anaphoric cola, and parallelism of a remaining argument or adjunct in the word-group. We shall organize our discussion by the position of the repeated forms within their stanzas: isolated within a pāda, within a distich, within different distichs, within every pāda, etc. The number of sequences of repeated personal pronouns in the Rigveda is 283. Most of these involve the second person singular pronoun *tvám*, but instances of other person/number combinations, with the exception of first person dual, are not lacking. Our discussion will be limited to orthotonic forms and repetition within the stanza.

2. The first category we shall examine involves sequences that appear in isolation

within a single pāda of a stanza. There are eleven instances of this sort, including the following examples:

- (1) a. *táva prāpīti tāva śūra sármann / á vivāsanti kaváyah suyajñāḥ*
 ‘Through thy leading, in thy protection, O hero, do the poets having good worships desire to win.’ (III.51.7cd)
- b. *tvā yujā tāva tát soma sakhyā / índro apó mánave sasrútas kaḥ*
 ‘With thee as (his) companion, in thy friendship, O soma, did Indra then make the waters flow for Manu.’ (IV.28.1ab)
- c. *mā na indra pára vṛṇag / bhāvā naḥ sadhamādyaḥ //*
tvām na ūti tvām in na āpyam / mā na indra pára vṛṇak
 ‘Do not, O Indra, turn us away; become our fellow-exhilarant; (do) thou (become) ours for aid, (do) thou alone (become) friendship for us. Do not, O Indra, turn us away.’ (VIII.97.7)

In (a) and (b) the cola containing the repeated pronouns are adjuncts providing the basis for the actions or wishes of the poets or Indra, while in (c) the ‘thou : we’ relationship, in which the deities are the actors and ‘we’ the recipients, is captured by the sequential repetition of the orthotonic pronoun *tvām* as well as the enclitic *naḥ*, which appears five times in this stanza.

In (1a-c) the repeated pronouns appear in the opening and break of a triṣṭubh pāda. Variant positioning of the repeated pronouns are seen in (2ab), to which is appended an instance of repetition within a dimeter stanza (2c):

- (2) a. *túbhyam bráhmāni gíra indra túbhyam / satrá dadhire harivo juṣásva*
 ‘For thee have they totally set the formulations, the songs, O Indra, for thee, O possessor of bays. Enjoy!’ (III.51.6ab)
- b. *śrudhí tvām sudravīṇo nas tvām yāt*
 ‘Do thou hear us, O possessor of good wealth; do thou worship.’ (X.61.21c)
- c. *tvām cittí tāva dáksair / divá á prthivyaḥ rjṣin /*
yávīr aghásya cid dvēṣaḥ
 ‘Do thou through (thy) thought, through thy skills drive off the hostility of the evil one from heaven (and) from earth, O onrushing one.’ (VIII.79.4)

In (a) and (b) the pronouns are chiasitic within their respective word groups, in (a) forming the figure of reddito (X...X) within the line, but not on the level of content.

In a single passage the pattern of (1) and (2) is extended into an adjacent pāda:

- (3) *tvām agne prámatis tvām pitási nas / tvām vayaskēṭ tāva jāmáyo vayám*
 ‘Thou, O Agni, art providence, thou our father. Thou art a maker of strength; we are thy blood relatives.’ (I.31.10ab)

Here the *tvām* ... *naḥ* / *táva* ... *vayám* relationship represents a case of what I have elsewhere (Klein 2006a) termed “antithesis”, comprising an inversion, both grammatically and syntactically, of the ‘thou : we’ relationship. In a larger group of passages

a double occurrence of a pronoun in one pāda is followed by a single instance of the same pronoun, ±polyptoton or paronomasia, in a following pāda:

- (4) a. *tvām dūtās tvām u naḥ paraspās / tvām vāsya ā vṣabha praṇetā*
 ‘Thou art a messenger and thou our protector from afar. Thou, O bull, art a leader forth unto what is better.’ (II.9.2ab)
- b. *túbhyam sūtās túbhyam u sōtvāsas / tvām gīraḥ svātryā ā bhayanti*
 ‘For thee are the pressed (somas), and for thee the ones to be pressed. Thee do the strengthening songs call hither.’ (X.160.2ab)
- c. *tvāyā vayām sadhanyās tvótās / tāva prānīty aśyāma vājān*
 ‘Through thee are we thy companions, endowed with thy aid. Through thy guidance may we attain booties.’ (IV.4.14ab)

(a) and (b) show the ‘anaphoric’ conjunction *u*, whereas (c) shows the ‘we : thou’ relationship articulated in a number of different ways: through overt juxtaposition (*tvāyā vayām*), through a *bahuvrīhi* referring to ‘us’ but whose first member is paronomastically equivalent to *tāva* (*tvótās*), and through a juxtaposition of a ‘thee’-focused adjunct and a first person plural verb (*tāva prānīty aśyāma*). Rhetorically, this latter passage is characterized both by paronomastic reddito (*tvāyā* ... *tvótās*) and paronomastic anadiplosis or juxtaposition across a pāda boundary (*tvótās / tāva*).

3. In 23 instances the repeated pronouns appear once within each pāda of a distich of a four line stanza. Examples include the following:

- (5) a. *tvām agne vanuṣyatō nī pāhi / tvām u naḥ sahasāvann avadyāt*
 ‘Do thou, O Agni, protect (us) from the hostile one, and (do) thou (protect) us from reproach, O powerful one.’ (VI.15.12ab)
- b. *tvāyendra sōmam suṣumā sudakṣa / tvāyā havīś cakṛmā brahmanāvāhaḥ*
 ‘For thee, O Indra, thou of good skill, have we pressed soma, for thee have we made the oblation, O thou whose conveyance is the formulation.’ (I.101.9ab)

In (a) we see once again the ‘anaphoric’ conjunction *u*, with *naḥ* as object. In (b), where I follow Insler 1966 in taking *tvāyā* as dat./loc. of *tvām*, the ‘we’ part of the ‘thou : we’ relationship is expressed actively by the verbs *su* and *kṛ*.

Since the rhetorical effect of anaphora is in no small measure dependent on the fronting of its elements, it can serve as a touchstone for determining other fronted elements, which may be presumed to have been fronted around it for some pragmatic purpose. Examples of this phenomenon are seen in (6a–c), all of which illustrate polyptoton:

- (6) a. *bhojām tvām indra vayām huvema / dadāś tvām indrāpāṃsi vājān*
 ‘We would call thee, O Indra, as our provider of enjoyment. Thou art a giver of works, of booties.’ (II.17.8ab)

- b. *sám ca tvé jagmúr gíra indra pūrvír / ví ca tvád yanti vibhvd manīṣáh*
 ‘On thee, O Indra, have the many songs united. And out from thee goes the marvelous wisdom.’
 (VI.34.1ab)
- c. *yadā máhyam dídharo bhāgām indra / ād ín máyā kṛṇavo vīryāni*
 ‘If thou, O Indra, wilt hold a portion for me, then straightway through me thou wilt do heroic deeds.’
 (VIII.100.1cd)

In (a) the frontings of *bhojām* and *dadīh* emphasize the role of Indra in a passage where the ‘we’ of the ‘we : thou’ relationship is expressed only in the verb. In (b), with its *X ca Y ca* syntagm, we find topicalization of direction within the parallel *sám ca tvé jagmúr ... / ví ca tvád yanti ...* openings. And in (c) the very common fronting of relative and correlative *yadā ... ād ín* provides the syntactic framework for the reciprocal relationship of the *das ut dem* type seen in the *máhyam dídharo/máyā kṛṇavo* opposition.

4. In another set of 30 passages two-term pronominal sequences appear within three-line stanzas. Examples include the following:

- (7) a. *tvám hí nah pitá vaso / tvám mātá śatakrato babhūvitha / ādhā te sumnām īmah*
 ‘For thou hast become for us a father, O good one, thou a mother, O thou of a hundred determinations. And so we beseech thy favor.’
 (VIII.98.11)
- b. *táva tyád indriyām bṛhāt / táva śúṣmam utá krátum / rájram śīṣāti dhiṣānā várenyam*
 ‘Thine is that lofty Indra-power. Thine is the battle spirit and determination. The desire for action sharpens thy desirable cudgel.’
 (VIII.15.7)
- c. *táva dyaúr indra paúmsyam / pṛthiví vardhati śrávaḥ / tvám āpaḥ párvatāsas ca hinvíre*
 ‘Of thee, O Indra, heaven increases the manly deed, earth the fame. Thee do the waters and the mountains impel.’
 (VIII.15.8)
- d. *tváyéd indra yujá vayám / prāti bruvīmahi spṛdhaḥ / tvám asmākaṁ táva smasi*
 ‘With thee alone as companion, O Indra, may we respond to our enemies. Thou art ours, we are thine.’
 (VIII.92.32)

The first of these passages shows a clear cause/effect relationship within the ‘thou : we’ nexus. (b) and (c) both illustrate a characteristic aspect of R̥gvedic discourse, whereby anaphora serves as a higher-level cohesive operator and overt conjunction, whether via *utá* or *ca*, functions at a lower level of structure (*śúṣmam utá krátum*, *āpaḥ párvatāsas ca*). In the latter the opening two pādas show two thirds of a threefold structure, lacking only anaphora of *táva* in pāda b. Finally, (d) shows a sequence of three pronouns, the final two of which function within an inverse ‘we : thou’ relationship.

5. The largest set of pronominal sequences is comprised of passages in which the repeated terms appear in a four-line stanza with a single instance in each distich. These passages number 92. Characteristic of these, whether they be strictly anaphoric, polypototic, or illustrate covered anaphora, is the tendency for the pronominal reference to dominate its stanza, which frequently is bipartite. Cf. the following examples:

- (8) a. *tvám divó dharíṇam dhiṣa ójasā / pṛthivyā indra sádaneṣu māhinaḥ //*
tvám sutásya máde arinā apó / ví vṛtrásya samáyā pāsyārujaḥ
 ‘Thou, O Indra, didst set the foundation of heaven, of earth in its place with strength as a mighty one. Thou in the exhilaration of the pressed (soma) didst cause the waters to run. Thou didst break apart through the middle the jaws(?) of Vṛtra.’ (I.56.6)
- b. *tvám hí satyó maghavann ánānato / vṛtrā bhūri nyrñjase //*
sá tvám śaviṣṭha vajrahasta dāsūse / (a)vrāñcam rayīm ā kṛdhi
 ‘For thou, O liberal one, as a true unbendable one dost strike down many obstacles. Do thou, O most powerful one, thou with a cudgel in thy hand, bring wealth hither our way for the worshipper.’ (VIII.90.4)
- c. *indrāsomā yuvám āṅgá tárutram / apatyasācam śrútyam rarāthe //*
yuvám śúsmam náryam carṣanībhyah / sám vivyathuḥ pṛtanāṣāham ugrā
 ‘O Indra (and) Soma, you two truly have granted famous victory-bringing (battle spirit) accompanied by descendants; you two have girded the folk in manly battle spirit, bringing victory in the battle, O mighty ones.’ (VI.72.5)
- d. *sá tū pavasva pári párthivam rájo / divyā ca soma dhármabhiḥ //*
tvám víprāso matíbhīr vicakṣaṇa / śubhrām hinvanti dhītíbhīr
 ‘Do thou purify thyself, en(circling) the earthly space and the heavenly ones, O Soma, according to thy ordinances. Thee, O broadly seeing one, the beautiful one, do the inspired poets impel with their thoughts, with their (poetic) reflections.’ (IX.107.24)
- e. *avīrām iva mām ayám / śarārur abhi manyate //*
ut āhām asmi vīrīnī / indrapatnī marútsakhā
 ‘This noxious one considers me (to be) like one without a man. But I am in possession of a man! (I am) the wife of Indra, a friend of the Maruts.’ (X.86.9a–d)
- f. *āsāvi sómaḥ purukūta túbhyam / hārībhyām yajñam úpa yāhi túyam //*
túbhyam gíro vípravirā iyānā / dadhanvirā indra pibā sutásya
 ‘The soma has been pressed for thee, O often invoked one. Drive quickly up to the worship with thy two bays. To thee, O Indra, have the songs of inspired men run hastening. Drink of the pressed (soma).’ (X.104.1)

In (b) and (c) one of the repeated terms has been eclipsed by either *sá*-figé or a vocative, both of which are among the most common fronted elements in the Rgveda; and I assume *sá*-figé in (d) as well, where I take *tū* to represent an archaic form of the

second person singular pronoun in sequence with *tvām* (cf. Klein 1982). In (e) both members of the sequence have been displaced. In the second instance this is due to the fronting of *utá*, which here appears to convey, exceptionally, a very strong adversative value. The reason for the fronting of the simile *avīrām iva* of pāda a is twofold. First, this is the whole point of Indrāṇī's complaint against Vṛṣākapi at this point; but equally, it allows a ring-like effect of *avīrām ... vīrīnī* in pādas a–c. Note that this is actually a five-line stanza, but we have disregarded the refrain *viśvasmād indra úttaraḥ*, which ends every stanza of this hymn. Finally, the rejection of *túbhyam* to pāda and clause-final position in the opening verse of (f) produces an epiphoric hypogram (on this relationship see Klein 2006b) with *túyam* at the end of pāda b;¹ and this in turn produces an anadiploitic hypogram with *túbhyam* at the head of pāda c.

We conclude our discussion of distich-level pronominal sequences with pronouns in pādas a and c by citing instances in which one of the distichs itself shows pronominal repetition:

- (9) a. *tváyā vayám maghavann indra sátrūn / abhí syāma maható mányamānān //*
tvám trātá tvám u no vṛdhé bhūh

‘Through thee, O liberal Indra, may we overcome the enemies thinking themselves great. Thou art a rescuer and thou hast become for strength for us.’

(I.178.5a–c)

- b. *tvám hīndrāvase vīvāco / hāvante carṣanāyaḥ súrasātau //*
tvám víprebhir ví paṇīṇr asāyas / tvóta it sánitā vājam árvā

‘For thee, O Indra, do the races contending in the (battle for the) attainment of booty call for aid. Through the poets thou hast consumed the paṇi’s. Only with thy aid does the courser conquer booty.’

(VI.33.2)

- c. *tvám no asyá ámater utá ksudhó / (a)bhísaster áva sprdhi //*
tvám na utí táva citráyā dhiyá / śíkṣā śacīṣṭha gātuvit

‘Do thou protect us from this neglect and hunger, from reproach. Do thou, O most powerful one, with thy aid, with a gleaming thought exert thyself for us, finding a way.’

(VIII.66.14)

- d. *tvám-tvam aharyathā úpastutah / púrvebhir indra harikeśa yájvabhīh //*
tvám haryasi táva viśvam ukthyām / ásāmi ráddho harijāta haryatām

‘Thou (alone) hast ever been desired, O golden-haired Indra, praised by the previous worshippers. Thou dost desire (praise); thine is everything praise-worthy, complete, desirable granting of success, O golden born one.’

(X.96.5)

In (a) the second distich shows a *tvām ... tvám u* sequence in pāda c which itself stands in anaphoric sequence with *tváyā* in a. In (b) the additional pronoun stands at the head of pāda d in paronomastic anaphoric sequence with polyptotic *tvám ...*

¹According to Insler’s analysis (1991), *túyam* is an analogically created alternative variant of *tvām* (formed after pl. *yūyam* and adopting the accentuation of *tū*) employed originally following *yāhi* when this verb appeared in the coda of a trimeter verse, as in (8f). If that is so, then (8f) shows both polyptotic epiphora (... *túbhyam* / ... *túyam*) and polyptotic anadiplosis (... *túyam* / *túbhyam* ...).

tvām in pādas a and c. The structure of this stanza is AB//C/D. (c) is the only one of these passages where the two pronouns in the second distich do not form a sequence. Rather, they stand in polyptotic relationship within the same clause ('Do thou exert thyself with thy aid'). But of course the outer *tvām* ... // *tvām* ... structure represents classical distich-level anaphora *sensu stricto*, which in fact becomes phrasal anaphora *sensu stricto* (for this term, cf. Klein 2004) by virtue of the following enclitic *naḥ* in each distich. (d) is remarkable in showing the structure *tvām-tvam* ... // *tvām* ... with an āmreḍita in stanza-initial position. The polyptotic sequence *tvām* ... *tāva* then ensues in pāda c.

6. Second in frequency among the patterns of sequential personal pronouns are 60 passages in which the repeated pronouns appear in three pādas of a four-line stanza. Naturally, in these instances the pronominal notion dominates the stanza to a greater degree than in any passages we have examined so far. This is clearest in those passages showing anaphora *sensu stricto* with its accompanying parallelism:

- (10) a. *tvām soma krātubhīḥ sukrātur bhūs / tvām dākṣaiḥ sudākṣo viśvāvedāḥ //*
tvām vīṣā viṣatvēbhīr mahitrā / dyumnēbhīr dyumny ābhavo nṛcākṣāḥ

'Thou, O Soma, art of good determination with thy determinations, thou art of good skill with (thy) skills, an all-knowing one. Thou art a bull with thy bullness, thy greatness. Thou hast become splendidous with splendors, one whose eye is upon men.' (I.91.2)

- b. *tvām id dhi hāvāmahe / sātā vājasya kārāvaḥ //*
tvām vṛtrēṣv indra sātpatim náras / tvām kṣāṭhāsv ārvataḥ

'Thee alone, indeed, do we singers call in the attainment of booty, thee, O Indra, the master of the raid(?), the men in the (battles against the) obstacles, thee in the courses of the courser.' (VI.46.1)

- c. *ahám sómam ālanásam bibharmy / ahám tvāstāram utā pūśānam bhāgam //*
ahám dadhāmi drávinam havísmate / supṛāvyē yājamānāya sunvatē

'I bear the swelling soma; I Tvaṣṭar and Pūśan, Bhaga. I create wealth for the eager pressing worshipper having the oblation.' (X.125.2)

- d. *māma tvā sūra údite / māma madhyāmdine divāḥ //*
māma prapitvė apiśarvaré vasav / ā stómāso avṛtsata

'My praises have turned to thee at the rising of the sun, mine at midday, mine late in the day, at night, O good one.' (VIII.1.29)

- e. *vayám adyéndrasya préṣṭhā / vayám śvó vocemahi samaryé //*
vayám purā māhi ca no ānu dyūn / tán na ṛbhukṣā narām ānu syāt

'We (would be spoken of) today as the dearest (friends) of Indra, we would be spoken of (as such) tomorrow in the competition, we were (so spoken of) previously. And (let) great (fame) be ours throughout the days. That may the ruler of the ṛbhu's, of the men (viz. Indra) grant to us.' (I.167.10)

- f. *yuvāṃ rāthena vimadāya śundhyūvaṃ / ny ūbhatubh purumitrāśya yōśanām //*
yuvāṃ bhāvaṃ vadhrimatīyā agachataṃ / yuvāṃ sūśutiṃ cakrathubh puram̐dhaye
 ‘You two with your chariot conveyed home Śundhyū, the maiden of Puru-
 mitra, to Vimada. You two went unto the call of Vadhrimatī. You two made
 an easy birth for Puram̐dhi.’ (X.39.7)

(10a) shows the threefold structure in pādas a–c with the copular verb *bhūh* in a. The parallel arguments are phrasal paronomastic predicates in each pāda (*krātubh*, *sukrātubh*, *dāksaḥ*, *suddāksaḥ*, and *m̐sā m̐satvēbbh*, respectively). The paronomastic predicate structure is continued in d (*dyumnēbbhir dyumnī*), which breaks the threefold structure by virtue of its separate verb *abhavaḥ*. In each instance but a the pāda is completed by an appositional term. In (10b) the threefold structure is maintained throughout, with change of subject and hence adjustment of the gapped verb in pāda c, a not infrequent phenomenon in the R̥gveda. The new subject of pāda c (*nārāḥ*) extends to d, resulting in a renewed threefold structure. The whole, then, has an outer threefold structure governing the stanza as a unit and an inner one affecting only the second distich. In each group the parallel adjuncts are locatives. (10c) illustrates again the classical relationship between anaphora and overt conjunction, with the lower-level *tvāṣṭāram utā pūṣānam bhāgam* (A utā BC) appearing under the outer *abhām ... abhām* structure. Another common R̥gvedic phenomenon seen in this passage is the employment of the second pāda of a distich as a dumping ground for appositional accretions, here expiatory datives in pāda d. (10d) shows clearly the inherently conjunctive nature of anaphora. Both the anaphora and the threefold figure are confined to pādas a–c, whereas the subject and verb exclusively occupy pāda d. The structure of the first three pādas is therefore *māma ... A / māma B //* *māma CD*. Since the locative adjuncts noted by A–D are temporal and together exhaust the working hours of the worshipper, they are equivalent to an asyndetic sequence of the type ABCD. That is, ‘my praises have turned to thee at sunrise, at midday, at evening, at night’. However, by a process which I have earlier termed “anaphorization” (Klein 1985: Part I, 10) these adjuncts are each mapped onto an anaphorically distributed pronoun which consequently predominates on both the syntactic and discourse level and which possesses an insistent value, even though from the point of view of the information content of the message it is quite unprominent. A similar situation is seen in (e), where the sequence is, on the content level, temporal (*adyā ... śvāḥ ... purā*), with anaphorization of *vayām*. (f) is the only passage in this group showing three separate clauses, the first of which spans the opening distich. A signal poetic feature of this stanza is the form *śundhyūvaṃ* at the end of pāda a, forming a false case of redditiō (X ... X) with the opening *yuvāṃ*, itself a hypogram of *śundhyūvaṃ*.

In a subgroup of passages of this sort the pronominal repetition is at least in part polyptotic:

- (11) a. *tvē agne vīśve amītāso adrūha / āśā devā havīr adanty ābhutam //*
tvāyā mātāsah svadanta āsutīm / tvāṃ gārbho vīrūdhām jajñīṣe śūcibh

‘Upon thee, O Agni, all the deceitless immortal heavenly ones eat the poured

out oblation with (their) mouth. Through thee the mortals sweeten the drink.
Thou hast been born as the gleaming embryo of the plants.’ (II.1.14)

- b. *tvám āvitha suśrávasaṃ távotíbbis / táva trāmabbir indra tūrvayāṇam //*
tvám asmai kútsam atithigvám āyúm / mahé rájñe yúñe arandhanāyale

‘Thou with thy aids didst aid Suśravas, with thy rescues Tūrvayāṇa, O Indra.
Thou didst give over to him Kutsa, Atithigva, Ayu, to the great young king.’
(I.53.10)

- c. *tvám na indra tvābbir ūtí / tvāyató abhiṣṭipāsi jánān //*
tvám inó dāśúṣo varūtá / itthádbhīr abhi yó náḁṣati tvā

‘Thou, O Indra, with thy aids dost protect with help us, the men eager for thee.
Thou art the powerful protector of the worshipper who attains thee, intent on
this.’ (II.20.2)

- d. *ayám sóma indra túbhyam sunve / túbhyam pavate tvám asya pābi //*
tvám ha yám cakṛṣé tvám vavṛṣá / indum mādāya yújyāya sómam

‘This soma is pressed for thee, O Indra, is purified for thee. Do thou drink of
it, that soma drop which thou hast made for thyself, thou hast chosen for (its)
associated exhilaration.’ (IX.88.1)

- e. *tāvāgne hotráṃ táva potráṃ ṛtvīyam / táva neṣtrám tvám agnīd ṛtāyatáḥ //*
táva praśāstrám tvám adbhvarīyasi / brahmá cāsi gṛhāpatiś ca no dame

‘Thine, O Agni, is the office of Hotar, thine the office of Potar in its proper
time; thine the office of Neṣtar; thou art kindler of the fire of the one acting
according to truth. Thine is the Praśāstar’s office; thou dost carry out the cer-
emony. Thou art (both) formulator and master of the home in our home.’

(II.1.2 [=X.91.10])

(IIa) shows threefold polyptotic anaphora, whereby the poet is playing with dif-
ferent grammatical relations of the second person singular pronoun. (b) and (c) both
show additional occurrences of the orthotonic second person singular pronoun, either
polyptotic or paronomastic, in one of the pādas. In studying stylistic repetition in the
Rigveda, I have found it useful to distinguish sequential from nonsequential repeti-
tion. Only the former is associated with what I would call discourse movement, while
the latter is related to subsidiary intraclausal relationships. In (b) *tvám* and *táva* of the
opening pāda do not form a sequence. However, the two instances of *táva* in ab are
sequential: ‘Suśravas with thy aids, Tūrvayāṇa with thy rescues’. This represents an in-
ner sequence. But a larger outer sequence is *tvám* . . . *tvám*, which frames the stanza as
a whole. The inner sequence is characterized by the threefold structure, with gapping
of the verb + subject pronoun in pāda b and parallel accusative arguments together
with chiasmic placement of the accusative relative to the *táva*-phrase in pādas a and b.
Indeed, the non-head nature of the repeated genitives leads to the parallelism of their
head nouns, a situation not often seen in Rigvedic repetition, because most repeated
elements are themselves heads. (c) is the only one of these passages showing parono-
mastic repetition (*tvābbih*, *tvāyatáḥ*), and here again neither of these nonparadigmatic

forms is in sequence with the occurrences of *tvám* but rather represent colon-internal relationships belonging to different constituents of the clause spanning the opening distich, whereas the actual sequence is *tvám* ... // *tvám* The enclitic *tvā* at the end of pāda d is again not in sequence with any other second person singular form in this stanza. Finally, (11d and e) show yet further instances of second person singular pronouns with double occurrences in two and three pādas, respectively. (d) contains five different clauses with subject gapping in the *túbhyan* ... *túbhyan* subsequence and object gapping in the *tvám* ... *tvám* subsequence. In (e) the first three *táva*-cola are parallel and resume, after a break, with an additional parallel *táva*-colon in pāda c. The two *tvám*-cola are themselves parallel.

7. In eleven passages the repeated pronoun appears three times, once per pāda, in a three-line stanza, what I call “three-by-three (3 × 3) anaphora”. Some examples are the following:

- (12) a. *yusmán̐ u náktam ūtāye / yusmán̐ divā havāmahe /*
yusmán̐ prayaty ādhvaré
 ‘Ye do we call by night for aid, ye by day, ye at the beginning of the ceremony.’
 (VIII.7.6)
- b. *tvám na indra vājayīs / tvám gavyūh̐ śatakrato /*
tvám hiraṇyayūr vaso
 ‘Thou art one desirous of booty for us, O Indra; thou art desirous of cows, O thou of a hundred determinations; thou art eager for gold, O good one.’
 (VII.31.3)
- c. *asmāñ̐ avantu te śatām / asmāñ̐ sahāsram ūtāyaḥ /*
asmāñ̐ vīśvā abhīṣṭayaḥ
 ‘Us let thy hundred, us (thy) thousand aids aid. Us (let) all (thy) aids (aid).’
 (IV.31.10)
- d. *tvám agne manīṣīnas / tvám hinvanti cītībhiḥ /*
tvám vardhantu no gīraḥ
 ‘Thee, O Agni, do the wise impel, thee with their thoughts. Let our songs increase thee.’
 (VIII.44.19)

(12a) shows the threefold structure throughout with anaphorization of *yusmán̐* within a temporal sequences *náktam* ... *divā* ... *prayaty ādhvaré* and the anaphoric conjunction *u* inverted to occur following the initial member of the sequence. (b) simply shows three nominal clauses with responsion. That is, aside from *naḥ* of pāda a, all three pādas consist of *tvám*, a vocative, and a stem in *-yu-*. (c), which shows the rhetorical feature of gradation (*śatām* ... *sahāsram* ... *vīśvāḥ*), maintains the threefold structure throughout but with an interesting system of gapping: in ab *ūtāyaḥ* and *avantu te* show complementary gapping, the former in pāda a, the latter in b; whereas in pāda c a synonymous word for ‘aids’, *abhīṣṭayaḥ*, is introduced and the gapping of *avantu te* continues. Finally, (d) shows a very unusual anaphoric structure: there is

really only one clause in ab, ‘Thee, O Agni, do the wise impel with their thought’. It seems as though the effective rhetorical principle here is simply the repetition of *tvām* rather than reduction under anaphora.

8. Finally, we come to 32 instances in which the pronominal sequence appears in each pāda of a four-line stanza (“4 × 4 anaphora”). This type of anaphora, irrespective of what part of speech is involved, represents the culmination of the symmetrical shaping of the four-line stanza of the Rigveda. Twelve of these passages are found in the single hymn II.1, where this sort of repetition has obviously been elevated to a compositional principle. Examples are the following:

- (13) a. *abām gārbham adadhām ōsadhīṣv / abām viśveṣu bhūvanesv antāḥ //*
abām prajā ajanayam pṛthivyām / abām jānibhyo aparīṣu putrān
 ‘I have set the embryo in the plants, I in all the creations; I have begotten offspring on earth, I (will beget) sons to women in later generations.’ (X.183.3)
- b. *tvām agna indro vṛṣabhāḥ satām asi / tvām viṣṇur urugāyō namasyāḥ //*
tvām brahmā rayivā brahmaṇas pate / tvām vidhartāḥ sacase pīramidhyā
 ‘Thou, O Agni, art Indra, the bull of those existing; thou (art) the broad-striding Viṣṇu, the one worthy of reverence. Thou (art) the formulator who finds wealth, O master of the formulation. Thou, O distributor, dost consort with abundance.’ (II.1.3)
- c. *vayām te agne samīdhā vidhema / vayām dāsema suṣṭutī yajatra //*
vayām ghr̥tēnādhvarasya hotar / vayām deva havīṣā bhadraśoce
 ‘We would worship thee, O Agni, with the kindling log. We would worship with a hymn, O thou worthy of worship; we with ghee, O Hotar of the ceremony, we with the oblation, O heavenly one whose flame is auspicious.’ (VII.14.2)
- d. *māmac canā tvā yuvatīḥ parāsa / māmac canā tvā kuṣāvā jagāra //*
māmac cid āpalā śīśave mamṛdyur / māmac cid indraḥ sāhasād atīṣṭhat
 ‘By my own intention did I not as a young (mother) abandon thee; and by my own intention did not Kuṣāvā swallow thee. (But) (it was) by my intention (that) the waters should have shown compassion for the child. (It was) by my intention (that) Indra stood up with power.’ (IV.18.8)
- e. *yūyām rayīm maruta spārbhāvīram / yūyām ṛṣim avatha sāmavīpram //*
yūyām ārvantam bharatāya vājam / yūyām dhattha rājānam śruṣṭimāntam
 ‘Ye (grant) wealth filled with desirable heroes, O Maruts; ye aid the Rishi having an inspired song. Ye (grant) a courser as booty to Bharata, ye grant a king who commands obedience.’ (V.54.14)

In (a–d) the anaphora correlates with a different stanza structure in each instance: in (a) the structure is ab/cd with separate verbal gappings in each distich. Pāda d here shows that not only must one occasionally adjust for person in Rigvedic verbal gapping, but also for tense. (b) shows the structure a–c/d, with *asi* gapped in pādas

b and c, whereas d shows its own, independent clause. (c) is inversely a/b–d, where I assume that *dāsema* has been gapped in pādas c and d. (d) shows four separate clauses, one per pāda; hence, a/b/c/d. (e) is the most complex structure here; for *dhatta* in the sense ‘grant’ of pāda d seems to be gapped in pādas a and c, while pāda b seems to represent a kind of splice in the midst of this structure.

The final passage we cite shows an additional occurrence of *ahám* in pāda d:

- (14) *ahám rudrébhir vásubhiś carāmy / ahám ādityaír utá viśvádevaiḥ //*
ahám mitrávaruṇobhā bibharmy / ahám indrāgní ahám ásvínobhā

‘I wander with the Rudra’s, with the Vasu’s; I with the Āditya’s and with the All-Gods. I bear both Mitra (and) Varuṇa; I Indra (and) Agni, I both Ásvins.’

(X.125.1)

What makes this example so interesting is that it presents a virtual clinic on conjunctive processes in the Rigveda. Here we find asyndeton in pāda a (*rudrébhir vásubhiḥ*), overt conjunction via *utá* in b (*ādityaír utá viśvádevaiḥ*), the conjunctive use of *ubhā* together with the dvandva *mitrávaruṇā* in c, and in d the employment of the dvandva alone as an asyndetic copulative compound as well as the employment of *ubhā* again, this time as an adjective with a simple dual. But as we have mentioned several times, it is once again the anaphora of *ahám* that functions at the highest level within this complex.

9. To sum up, personal pronoun repetition in the Rigveda bears the closest resemblance to nominal repetition generally. That means we expect to find the threefold structure, the employment of anaphora as a superordinate discourse-organizing process, a distinction, in the case of polyptoton, between discourse-forwarding sequential employments and colon-internal, non-sequential relationships; a tendency to front the repeated elements that is so strong that it gives us a touchstone, more or less like *wh*-fronting, for trying to determine pragmatic motivation for anything that displaces them from initial position, and an insight into just how the Rigvedic bards organized their thought units. Over and above all this, the distinctive feature of personal pronoun repetition is the way in which it reveals the special ‘I/we’: ‘thou/ye’ relationship that certainly existed for every Rigvedic bard, indicating the personal bond the poet and his entourage felt with the Vedic deities.

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Hittite *mān*, *māḥhan*, *māḥḥan*, *māḥḥanda* and *mānḥanda*

Alwin Kloekhorst

In the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (Güterbock et al. 1983–, hereinafter *CHD*), the meaning of *mān* is given as follows (L–N:143–4): “like (postpos.); just as, as (conj.); how (interrog. adv. in main clause); if, whether (conj. introducing an indirect question); when, whenever (conj.); while (?), as long as (?); if (conj. introducing a conditional clause).” The meaning of *māḥhan* is given in the *CHD* as follows (L–N:100): “like (postpos.); as, just as (subordinating conj. of comparison); how, that (conj. in indirect statement or question); how (interrogative adv.); when, as soon as (temporal subordinating conj.).” For *māḥḥanda*, a few times also spelled *mānḥanda*, the meaning “just as (subordinating conj.)” is given (L–N:111).

As we see, *mān* and *māḥhan* are practically identical in their use and meaning, whereas *māḥḥanda* is used in a specific meaning that is shared by *mān* and *māḥhan* as well. This of course raises the question of what the exact distribution of these three forms is. The *CHD* does not express an opinion on this matter,¹ and also in the new *A Grammar of the Hittite Language* by Hoffner and Melchert (2008) no discussion of the difference between these three words can be found (*māḥḥanda* is not even mentioned in the entire book!). The only observations offered by Hoffner and Melchert (2008) are that the temporal meaning ‘when’ is in OH times expressed by *mān*, but in NH times by *māḥhan*, and that the meaning ‘if’ is in NH times only expressed by *mān*, which replaces older *takku*, and not by *māḥhan*.² Nevertheless, already in 1966 Carruba solved most of the basic issues regarding the distribution between *mān*, *māḥhan* and *māḥḥanda*/*mānḥanda*, although some of the details remain unclear, especially concerning the phonetic interpretation of some proposed developments. Although Carruba’s theory is sometimes referred to in more recent literature,³ its absence in the *CHD* and Hoffner and Melchert 2008 and especially the lack of clarity regarding some details makes it worthwhile to review it and to try to solve the loose ends.

Carruba’s basic idea (1966:32–4) is that *māḥḥan* is the outcome of older *māḥḥanda*,

¹It only remarks that “[t]he position of *māḥḥanda*... and *m[āḥhan]* in their clauses requires comments” (*CHD* L–N:110).

²Hoffner and Melchert 2008:290, 415–7.

³E.g. Laroche 1980–81:490, Tischler 1990:87; Melchert 1994:182; Kimball 1999:335; Puhvel 1990:41. In Kloekhorst 2008:338–9 I suggested that *māḥhan* and *māḥḥanda*/*mānḥanda* reflect two different formations, the former containing **ḥan* < nom.-acc.sg. **ḥ₂ent*, the latter **ḥanda* < nom.-acc.pl. **ḥ₂enteh₂*. I do not adhere to this view any longer.

which itself developed out of *mānḥanda*. This *mānḥanda* is then analyzed as a univerbation of *mān* and *ḥanda* “entsprechend, gemäß.”⁴ However, the chronological, semantic and phonological aspects of this theory require some comments.

Chronology

First we must focus on the chronology of the attested forms. According to *CHD* s.vv., both *māḥḥan* and *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* occur in OS as well as MS texts. If *māḥḥan* really developed out of *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda*, as Carruba’s theory has it, then how can we explain that both forms occur in texts of the same period? Since our ideas on the dating of Hittite texts are constantly evolving, it is always useful to look critically at the dating of specific forms. As already said, according to the *CHD* (L–N:111) *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* occurs in texts that have to be dated to the OH as well as to the MH period. If we compare the dating of these texts as given by the *CHD* to their dating nowadays given by Hetkonk, we get a quite different picture. It appears that, according to the dating standards of Hetkonk, *all* the texts in which attestations of *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* can be found, must be dated to the OH period: the *CHD* dates the text KUB 33.59, where in iv 7 we find *[m]a-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-ta*, as “OH/MS,” but Hetkonk nowadays dates this text as “ah.”; the text KBo 16.45, where in obv. 7 we find *ma-a-an ḥa-an-da* (with word space), is dated by the *CHD* as “MS,” but Hetkonk dates this text too as “ah.” As the *CHD* itself admits, the OH/NS attestation *GIM-an-da*, cited as a possible sumerographic spelling of *māḥḥanda*, is attested in such a broken context that an interpretation as *GIM-an* = *māḥḥan* + *-tta* ‘to you’ cannot be excluded.⁵

In the case of *māḥḥan*, the *CHD* (L–N:100) states that it can be found in OS, MS as well as NS texts. If we compare the dating of the texts in which attestations of *māḥḥan* are found as given by the *CHD* to their dating as nowadays given by Hetkonk, it turns out that the one alleged OS text containing *māḥḥan* in fact might be younger: KBo 9.73, where in obv. 9 we find *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an*, is dated by Hetkonk as “ah.¿/mh.?” Besides this one alleged OH example of *māḥḥan* as cited in the *CHD*, Erich Neu cites a form “*ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-m[a]*” in his transliteration⁶ of the OS text KBo 25.87:7 which he then analyzes as *māḥḥan* “mit Partikel *-ma*.”⁷ This reading cannot be correct, however, as in OH times the particle *-ma* only occurs after vowels, its postconsonantal variant being non-geminating *-a*.⁸ The form is therefore better read

⁴With this discovery the older theories that *māḥḥan* is the “Lentoform” of original *mān* (Friedrich 1952:132; likewise Kronasser 1966:353) or that *mān* is the “Allegroform” of original *māḥḥan* (Szemerényi 1956:99) became untenable. Note however that Szemerényi already analyzed “*māḥḥan(t)*” as reflecting a compound consisting of the interrogative stem *ma-* + *ḥant-* ‘face’, forming a neuter form used as an adverb.

⁵All attestations of *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* are as follows: *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* KBo 6.2 iii 19 (OS), KBo 17.1 iii 1 (fr.) (OS), KBo 17.22 iii 8 (OS), KBo 19.1 iii 45 (OS), KBo 25.87:7 (OS; not cited by the *CHD*, but see below), KBo 25.122 ii 4 (OS); *[m]a-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-ta* KUB 33.59 iv 7 (OS); *ma-a-an-ḥa-an-da* KBo 25.112 ii 14 (OS), KBo 22.1:22 (OS), KUB 28.75 ii 24 (OS); *ma-a-an ḥa-an-da* KBo 16.45 obv. 7 (OS).

⁶Neu 1980:167.

⁷Neu 1983:112, repeated in Neu 1985:147.

⁸The only alleged other case where *-ma* would appear in a postconsonantal position in an OS text, is

as *ma-a-ah-ḥa-an-d[a]*.⁹ This means that there are no secure examples of *māḥḥan* in OS texts.

Schematically, we get the following overview:

	<i>māḥḥanda/ mānḥanda</i>	<i>māḥḥan</i>
OS	+	–
MS	–	+
NS	–	+

As we see, *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* and *māḥḥan* now turn out to be in a chronologically complementary distribution: *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* only occurs in OS texts, whereas *māḥḥan* only occurs in MS and NS texts. Carruba's theory that *māḥḥan* is the younger variant of *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* has now gained chronological support.

Semantics/Function

The second point we should look at is the semantics of the two forms: do *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* and *māḥḥan* have the same function and meaning? The best way to check this is by looking at younger copies of OH originals where *māḥḥanda/mānḥanda* is used. In doing so, we find that in all such cases the younger copy shows *māḥḥan*. A first example of this is KBo 6.2 + KBo 22.62 iii 19–20 (OS):

(19) ... *ma-a-ah-ḥa-an-da a-re-[eš-(š)-me-eš]*

(20) *šū-me-eš-š-a a-pe-ni-iš-ša-an i-iš-te-e[n]*

'You, too, must do just as your comrades'

In a younger copy of this text, *māḥḥanda* has been replaced by *maḥḥan*:¹⁰

KBo 6.3 iii (OH/NS)

(22) ... *ma-ah-ḥa-an a-re-eš-(š)-me-eš šū-m[e-eš-š-a]*

(23) *a-pe-e-ni-iš-ša-an e-eš-te-en*

ḥe-e-a-u-e-eš-ma-aš (KUB 29.3 i 8), which Neu (1983:64) analyzes as nom.pl. *ḥeāuēš* 'mit -ma 'aber' und Pronomen -aš 'eos'.' This cannot be correct either: in OH times the acc.pl.c. form of the enclitic pronoun is *-uš*, which only in NH times is replaced by *-aš*. Since we cannot be dealing with nom.sg.c. *-aš* either (the sentence already contains a nominative form, namely *ḥeāuēš*), the form can only be analyzed as *ḥe-e-a-u-e-eš-(š)-ma-aš* 'the rains for you/them' (note that the NS copy KUB 29.1 i 27 has *ḥe-e-ia-u-e-eš* without any enclitics).

⁹Collation on the basis of a photograph of this tablet (available through Hetkonk) shows that the last sign indeed can be read as *d[a]*; compare on the same photo the sign *da* as found in KBo 17.30 ii 4 (which is a join to KBo 25.87). Note that this attestation of *māḥḥanda* should be added to the *CHD*.

¹⁰In another NS copy of this text, KBo 19.4, we only find i (6) [...]*ma-ah-ḥa-a[n* ...], which breaks off at the crucial point.

The same is true for KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 iii 44–6 (OS):¹¹

(44) *ták-ku* MÁŠ.GAL *e-na-an-da-an* *ták-ku* DÀRA.MÁŠ *an-na-nu-uh-ha-an*
ták-ku UDU.KUR.RA *e-na-[an-da-an]*

(45) *ku-iš-ki* *ta-a-i-ez-zi* *ma-a-ah-ha-an-da* ŠA GU₄.APIN.LÁ *ta-ia-zi-la-aš*

(46) *ki-in-z[a]-a[n-n-a u]t²-[tar?]* QA-TAM-MA

‘If someone steals an *enant*- billy-goat, a trained deer [or] an *enant*- mountain goat, just as in the case of theft of an ox, also of these the disposition is the same.’

In all its younger copies, *māḫḫanda* has been replaced by *māḫḫan*:

KBo 6.3 (OH/NS) iii

(49) *ták-ku* MÁŠ.GAL *e-na-an-da-an* *ták-ku* DÀRA.MÁŠ *an-na-nu-uh-ha-an*
ták-ku UDU.KUR.RA *e-na-an-da-an*

(50) *ku-iš-ki* *da-a-i-ez-zi* *ma-ah-ha-an* ŠA MÁŠ.GAL (sic) *šar-ni-ik-zi-i-il a-pé-e-el-l-a* QA-TAM-MA=*pát*

KBo 6.8 (OH/NS) ii

(3) *ták-ku* MÁŠ.GAL *e-na-an-da-an* *ták-ku* DÀRA[.MÁŠ *an-na-nu-uh-ha-an*]

(4) *ták-ku* UDU.KUR.RA *e-na-an-da-an* *ku-iš-ki* *da-a-[i-ez-zi]*

(5) *ma-ah-ha-an* ŠA MÁŠ.GAL (sic) *šar-ni-ik-ze-el* <*a-pé-e-el-l-a*> Q[A-TAM-MA=*pát*]

KUB 13.12 (OH/NS) obv.

(7) [*ták-ku* M]ÀŠ.GAL *e-na-an-da-an* [*ták-ku* DÀRA.MÁŠ]

(8) [*an-na-nu-uh-h*]a-an *ták-ku* UDU.KUR.RA [*e-na-an-da-an* *ku-iš-ki*]

(9) [*da-a-i-ez-z*]i *ma-a-ah*<[-ha]>-an Š[A...*šar-ni-ik-ze-el a-pé-e-el-l-a* QA-TAM-MA=*pát*]

These examples show that *māḫḫanda*/*mānḫanda* and *māḫḫan* are used in identical contexts, having identical meanings. Together with the chronological distribution discussed in the preceding section, this is sufficient proof that Carruba was right that *māḫḫan* has to be regarded the younger outcome of OH *māḫḫanda*/*mānḫanda*.

Phonological developments

The last point we have to investigate is how we can account for the development of *māḫḫanda*/*mānḫanda* to *māḫḫan* on a phonological level. First, a few remarks about

¹¹Cf. Hoffner 1997:75–6.

the formal aspects of *māḥḥan*. This word is spelled *ma-a-ab-ḥa-an* as well as *ma-ab-ḥa-an*.¹² According to the CHD (L–N:100), in MS texts and in NS copies of OH and MH compositions we find *ma-a-ab-ḥa-an* as well as *ma-ab-ḥa-an*. In NH originals, however, we only find *ma-ab-ḥa-an*. This implies that the variants *ma-a-ab-ḥa-an*/*ma-ab-ḥa-an* are chronologically distributed: older *ma-a-ab-ḥa-an* vs. younger *ma-ab-ḥa-an*. This fits in well with the observation that OH long /ā/ in the sequence /āCCV/ has been shortened to /a/ in the course of time (cf. Kloekhorst 2008:98). This means that we are here dealing with a phonetically regular development of older *ma-a-ab-ḥa-an* /māHan/ to younger *ma-ab-ḥa-an* /maHan/.

Now we should focus on the development of *māḥḥanda* to *māḥḥan*. According to Carruba (1966:34), the disappearance of the final syllable *-da* of *māḥḥanda* could have taken place via two scenarios. It has been lost either (1) “infolge der enklitischen Stellung, vor allem am Anfang des Satzes”; or (2) “über ein gesprochenes *māḥḥant*, da ungeschütztes *t* nach *n* im Heth. ausfällt.” Some of the scholars that follow Carruba’s derivation of *māḥḥan* < *māḥḥanda* remain agnostic about the phonetic side of this development. For instance, Tischler (1990:87) talks about a ‘shortening’ “aus unbekannten Gründen” and Puhvel (2004:41) comes up with “an apocopated variant **mānḥant*,” without explaining what he means by this. Melchert (1994:182) is more explicit, however. According to him, “[t]he loss of the final syllable in *mānḥanda* > *māḥḥan* [...] is surely specially conditioned in a weakly accented conjunction,” whereby he follows Carruba’s first scenario. Yet, as far as I know, no other specially conditioned phonetic developments in weakly accented conjunctions have taken place in the (pre)history of Hittite. I am therefore inclined rather to follow Carruba’s second scenario.

At first sight, we would tend to interpret *māḥḥanda* phonologically as /māHanta/ with a full word-final vowel /-a/. Yet, it seems impossible to me that an OH form /māHanta/ would develop into younger /māHan/, even in sentence-initial position, where it might have been weakly accented: other OH words in /-anta/ always remain as such, e.g. 3pl.pres.midd. forms ending in *-anta*, nom.-acc.pl.n. forms like *ḥūmanta*, and, more importantly, an adverb like *mēnaḥḥanda* ‘facing, opposite’, which must have stood in unaccented position as well.¹³ I therefore reject a phonological interpretation of *māḥḥanda* as /māHanta/.

¹²The one attestation *ma-ab-ḥa-a-an* (KUB 31.19 obv. 9 (MS)) must be a scribal error; compare erratic *gal-gal-tu-⟨tu⟩u-ri* in the preceding line (cf. CHD L–N:100).

¹³The shortening of /ē/ to /e/ as seen in the development of OH *me-e-na-ab-ḥa-an-da* to NH *me-na-ab-ḥa-an-da* must be explained as due to loss of accentuation in enclitic position (I will expand on this topic on another occasion). Note that the three attestations of *me-na-ab-ḥa-an*, without final *-da* (KUB 10.17 ii 29, KUB 20.35 iii 11, KBo 23.109 ii 6), which are adduced by Neu (1974:61 n. 84) as possible parallel cases to the loss of *-da* in *māḥḥanda* > *māḥḥan*, must in at least two cases be regarded as scribal errors, as is clear from the facts described by Neu himself, namely that the first form occurs on a tablet that also contains the form *me-na-ab-ḥa-an-da*, with *-da* (ibid. iii 25), and that the last form occurs on a tablet that contains other scribal errors as well. Therefore, these three attestations, which are clearly aberrant when compared to the enormous numbers of attestations with *-da* or *-ta* (more than 300 examples in my files), must be regarded as non-probative.

It is also possible, however, to phonologically interpret *māḫhanda* in a different way. Consider the spelling of the following instrumentals: *ḫar-ša-an-ta* ‘with the head’, *iš-ḫa-an-da* ‘with blood’, *iš-ḫi-ma-an-da*, *iš-ḫi-ma-an-ta* ‘with a rope’, *ú-i-da-an-da*, *ú-i-ta-an-ta*, *ú-e-da-an-da* ‘with water’. Since we know that the instrumental ending originally consisted of *-t* only, these forms are generally phonologically interpreted as follows: /Hrsánt/ < **h₃rs-én-t*, /isHánt/ < **h₁sh₂-én-t*, /isHimánt/ < **sh₂i-mén-t*, /uidánt/ < **ud-én-t*. Since in these words the spellings *-Ca-an-da* and *-Ca-an-ta* clearly represent /-Cant/, it is also possible that in *māḫhanda*, which is spelled *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da* as well as *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta*, the spelling *-Ca-an-da/-Ca-an-ta* represents /-Cant/. It is therefore unproblematic to interpret *māḫhanda* phonologically as /māHant/, without a full word-final vowel /-a/.

The presence of word-final postconsonantal /-t/ (“ungeschütztes *t*,” in Carruba’s terminology) is rare in Hittite. In fact, we know that in the prehistory of Hittite, word-final postconsonantal **-t* was regularly dropped: e.g. the nom.-acc.sg.n. of participles in **-ent* yielded Hitt. *-an*.¹⁴ Only in cases where there was a model for analogical restoration was it restored. For instance, in the instrumentals just mentioned, **-t* must have been restored on the basis of instrumentals of nouns with a stem ending in a vowel where it was regularly retained. It is clear, however, that the presence of postconsonantal word-final /-t/ in these instrumentals in /-ant/ remained awkward, and in the post-OH period, they are therefore all replaced by forms in /-it/, e.g. *e-ēš-ḫa-ni-it* ‘with blood’, *iš-ḫi-ma-ni-it* ‘with a rope’, *ú-i-te-ni-it* ‘with water’. This indicates that the elimination of word-final postconsonantal /-t/ was still an ongoing process in Hittite. It therefore seems quite possible to me that an OH form /māHant/, whatever be the origin of the word-final /-t/ in it (which we will discuss in more detail below), yielded post-OH /māHan/, spelled *ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an*, by regular sound change.

This means that Carruba’s theory that *māḫhanda* within Hittite develops into *māḫhan* is not only supported by chronological and functional observations, but also can be regarded as phonetically regular as well.

māḫhanda

Now it is time to look at the origins of *māḫhanda* = /māHant/ itself. As we have seen, *māḫhanda* is a few times also spelled *mānḫanda*, and once even *mān ḫanda*, with word space, which led Carruba to the assumption that these forms go back to a univerbation of *mān* and *ḫanda*. According to him, “das anlautende *-n* von *mān* [ist] vor *-ḫ* assimiliert worden” as e.g. in *ma-a-am-ma-an* < **mān-man*.

¹⁴On the basis of forms like *e-ku-ut-ta* ‘he drank’ (not ***e-ku-ut*) and *li-in-kat-ta* ‘he swore’ (not ***li-in-kat*), we can tell that the postconsonantal 3sg.pret.act. ending of the *mi*-conjugation was /-ta/, and not /-t/, as is sometimes assumed. This means that we have to assume that the PIE 3sg.pret.act. ending **-t* was regularly lost, and was subsequently replaced by the corresponding middle ending *-tta* < **-to*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008:800–1.

Although Carruba is right that *-n-* seems to regularly drop before certain consonants, like *-m-*,¹⁵ *-š-*,¹⁶ and *-u-*,¹⁷ it does not unconditionally drop before *-ḥ-*. For instance, the oldest forms of the paradigm of the verb *šanḥ-zi* ‘to seek, to clean’ show that the *-n-* is only dropped before *-ḥ-* when another consonant follows, but is retained when a vowel follows: *ša-aḥ-mi* vs. *ša-an-ḥe-er*. Since in *mānḥanda* the *-ḥ-* is not followed by a consonant, the loss of *-n-* is not expected. Melchert (1994:124) therefore states that the “consistent loss (or assimilation) of the first *n* in *mānḥanda* > *māḥḥan* ‘as’ is especially conditioned in a univerbation.” Although this may not be impossible, we could perhaps also explain the loss of *-n-* in *mānḥanda* > *māḥḥanda* in another way. The loss of *-n-* in *VnḥC* vs. the retention of *-n-* in *VnḥV* is determined by the heaviness of the cluster: in a heavy cluster *-n-* is dropped, in a light cluster it is retained. It seems quite possible to me that the presence of a long vowel before the cluster *-nḥ-* in *mānḥanda* makes this cluster heavy as well, /V:nHV/, and that this is the reason why *-n-* is dropped in this form.

mānḥanda > *māḥḥanda* > *māḥḥan* > *maḥḥan*

Taking all evidence into account, we can now set up the following chronology: the univerbation of *mān* /mān/ and *ḥanda* /Hant/ yielded the OH form *mānḥanda* /mānHant/, in which the *-n-* was regularly dropped in OH times already, yielding *māḥḥanda* /māHant/. A little while later, at the end of the OH period, word-final /-t/ was regularly dropped, yielding the MH form *māḥḥan* /māHan/. Within the course of the MH period, the long /ā/ of /māHan/ was regularly shortened as it stood in a non-final closed syllable, yielding *maḥḥan* /maHan/, which is the form that is found in some (late) MH originals, but especially in NH originals.

mān vs. *mān ḥanda*

The last question we should now ask ourselves is: what exactly is this element *ḥanda*? And what was the initial semantic and functional difference between *mān* and *mān ḥanda* > *mānḥanda* > *māḥḥanda* > *māḥḥan* > *maḥḥan*? We therefore have to first look more closely at the function and meaning of *mān* as attested in the oldest texts. If we schematize the semantic description of the OH attestations of *mān* as given in the CHD (L–N:143–4), we get the following table:

¹⁵E.g. *ku-e-mi* ‘I kill’ < **kuenmi* < **g^{wh}én-mi*, or *ma-a-an-ma-an* < **mān=man*, cf. Kloekhorst 2008:87–8 for details.

¹⁶E.g. *ku-e-ši* ‘you kill’ < **g^{wh}én-si*, *ḥa-a-m-aš* ‘eagle’ < **ḥ₃érōns*.

¹⁷E.g. *ku-e-u-en* ‘we killed’ < **g^{wh}én-u-en*.

Meaning	Place in sentence
‘when’	• conj. in main clauses + pres. • in main clauses + pret.
‘just as’	• conj. in main clauses + pres. (when the verb is similar to that of the following clause) • postpos.
‘how’	• in main interrogative clauses
‘if/whether’	• conj. in indirect questions

We see that in principle the meaning of *mān* is fully determined by its syntactical use, i.e. by the type of sentence it occurs in, and by the place it occupies within that sentence. If, for instance, *mān* occurs in a main clause whose verb stands in the preterite, it can only mean ‘when’; if it is used as a postposition, it can only mean ‘just as’; if it is used in an indirect question it can only mean ‘if/whether’; etc. There is one syntactical use, however, where the meaning of *mān* is ambiguous, namely when it occurs as a conjunction in a main clause whose verb stands in the present and is similar to the verb of the following clause. One such instance is the following context:

KBo 17.3 (OS) ii

(15) *ma-a-an* ^dUTU ^dIM *ne-e-pí-iš te-e-kán-n-a*

iii

(1) [*uk-tu-u-*]*ri-eš* LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*š-a* DUMU^{MES}-*eš-š-a*

(2) [*uk-tu-u-ri-e*]*š a-ša-an-tu*

This sentence can in theory be translated in two ways: (1) ‘When the Sun-god, the Storm-god, Heaven and Earth are everlasting, may the king and queen and (their) children be everlasting’; or (2) ‘Just as the Sun-god, the Storm-god, Heaven and Earth are everlasting, may the king and queen and (their) children be everlasting’. Although the second translation seems to make more sense than the first one, it cannot in principle be determined which translation is the correct one. Yet, the duplicate of this text shows *māḫḫanda* instead of *mān*:

KBo 17.1 (OS) iii

(1) [*ma-a-a*]*ḫa-an-da* ^dUTU-*uš* ^dIM-*aš ne-e-pí-iš te-e[-kán-n-a]*

(2) *uk-tu-u-ri-e-eš* LUGAL-*uš* MUNUS.LUGAL-*aš-š-a* DUMU^{MES}-*š-a uk-tu-u-ri-e-eš a-š[a-a]n[-t]u*

This makes it clear that the correct translation of this text is: ‘Just as the Sun-god, the Storm-god, Heaven and Earth are everlasting, may the king and queen and (their) children be everlasting’. It seems as if *mān*, which in this position is semantically ambiguous, has in the latter text been replaced by *māḫḫanda* in order to disambiguate the

meaning of this clause. Since *mān* is semantically ambiguous in sentence-initial position only, it cannot to my mind be coincidental that in OS texts, *māḥḥanda*/*mānḥanda* ‘just as, like’ is almost only¹⁸ used as a subordinating conjunction in sentence-initial position as well. These two facts must be interconnected.

We have already seen that *māḥḥanda*/*mānḥanda* probably is the result of univerbation of *mān* and *ḥanda*, as is especially indicated by the one attestation where we find *mān ḥanda* with word space. I assume that in cases where the word *mān* was ambiguous as to whether it meant ‘when’ or ‘just as’, namely when it was used as a sentence initial conjunction in a main clause with a present verb that was similar to the verb of the following clause, the meaning ‘just as’ was reinforced by using the word *ḥanda* /Hant/, the nom.-acc.sg. form of the noun *ḥant*- ‘face, forehead’, which in its adverbial use could mean ‘in view of (the fact that), in accordance with’. In other words, by adding *ḥanda* ‘in view of, in accordance with’, which is semantically comparable to the meaning ‘just as’, the meaning of the semantically ambiguous conjunction *mān* ‘when; just as’ was disambiguated in favor of the meaning ‘just as’. Apparently, *mān* and *ḥanda* soon univerbated and came to form a new conjunction *mānḥanda* ‘just as’, which then phonetically developed into *māḥḥanda*, etc.

This scenario also explains the presence of word-final postconsonantal *-t* in *māḥḥanda*/*mānḥanda* /mā(n)Hant/. Within the paradigm of *ḥant*- ‘forehead’ < **h₂ent-*, the nom.-acc.sg. form **h₂ént* should regularly have lost its word-final **-t*. Yet, on the basis of the other case forms within this paradigm, **h₂ent-V*, the **-t* was restored, yielding Hitt. /Hant/. Soon after the moment of univerbation of *mān* and *ḥanda* /Hant/ to *mānḥanda* /mānHant/ which subsequently developed into *māḥḥanda* /māHant/, the link with the paradigm of *ḥant*- ‘forehead’ was lost, however, and word-final postconsonantal *-t* was regularly dropped after all.

Later developments

Already within the OH period, we see that *māḥḥanda*/*mānḥanda* spreads to other syntactic contexts as well, as can be inferred from KBo 25.112 ii (14) *A-NA* [*ḥal-*] *pu-u-ti ma-a-an-ḥa-an-d[a]* (15) *ma-a-al-di ke-e-a QA-TAM-MA* ‘just as he chants before the *ḥalputi*, (he chants) these things in the same way’, where *mānḥanda* is not used in sentence-initial position, but rather as a postposition. In MH times, where *mānḥanda* > *māḥḥanda* has phonetically developed into *māḥḥan* > *maḥḥan*, the use of *māḥḥan* becomes more widespread. Since the OH word *takku* ‘if’ disappeared and its function was taken over in MH times by *mān*, a new ambiguity arose. In cases where *mān* is used as the conjunction of a main clause with a present verb, it can now mean both ‘if’ and ‘when’. In order to resolve this ambiguity, *māḥḥan* is used increasingly in the meaning ‘when’, and by NH times, the normal word for ‘when’ is *maḥḥan*, whereas *mān* is used as ‘if’. It also seems that *māḥḥan* begins to replace *mān* in other functions that originally only belonged to the latter. It would, however, go beyond the scope of this paper to investigate these replacements in great detail.

¹⁸The CHD says in nine of the ten attestations, but in fact *māḥḥanda*/*mānḥanda* occurs sentence-initially in ten of the eleven attestations.

Conclusions

I hope to have shown that NH *maḥḥan* /maHan/ < MH *māḥḥan* /māHan/ is the phonetically regular outcome of OH *māḥḥanda* /māHant/ < *mānḥanda* /mānHant/, which is the result of univerbation of *mān* and *ḥanda* /Hant/, and that the collocation of *mān ḥanda* was originally used to better distinguish the usage of *mān* ‘when’ and *mān* ‘just as’ in the one context where there could be doubt about its interpretation, namely when used as the sentence-initial conjunction of a main clause with a present verb form that is similar to the verb form of the following clause. After the univerbation of *mān* and *ḥanda*, the word *mānḥanda* underwent several phonological developments, yielding *māḥḥanda* > *māḥḥan* > *maḥḥan*, which can now all be shown to be due to regular sound laws.

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Zum Mittelfeld in altindogermanischen Sprachen

Rosemarie Lühr

o Problem

Im Deutschen gelten bei der Wortstellung einige Konstituentenabfolgen wie Dativ- vor Akkusativobjekt. Sie sind an die Thema-Rhema-Bedingung und die Definitheitsbedingung geknüpft, also an die Unterscheidung von alter und neuer Information. Eine Rolle für diese Abfolgen spielt so auf jeden Fall die Informationsstruktur, also die Fokus-Hintergrund- und Topik-Kommentar-Gliederung. Hinzu kommt die für das Deutsche typische Satzklammer. Sie teilt den Satz in Vorfeld, Mittelfeld¹ und Nachfeld.² So macht im Deutschen der Hintergrund das Mittelfeld aus;³ eine Funktion dieser Mittelfeld-Hintergrundkonstituenten ist die Textkohärenz.⁴ Wie verhält es sich aber in Sprachen, die keine dem Deutschen entsprechende Satzklammer haben? Als solche Sprachen gelten nach älterer Auffassung die altindogermanischen Sprachen. Doch postuliert Krisch (2007) auch für das Altindische eine Gliederung des Satzes nach Vorfeld, Mittelfeld und Nachfeld: Das Vorfeld umfasst gegebenenfalls zwei topikalisierte Konstituenten (die erste mit Wackernagel-Partikel)⁵ und das Mittelfeld den *Scrambling*-Bereich, während das Nachfeld hinter dem finiten Verb in Endposition beginnt;⁶ vgl. folgenden Beleg mit einer postverbalen XP aus dem Griechischen:⁷

¹Im Mittelfeld kann im Deutschen eine theoretisch unbegrenzte große Anzahl von Satzgliedern stehen. Schwach betonte Personal- und Reflexivpronomina treten unmittelbar nach der linken Satzklammer auf, während am rechten Rand insbesondere Satzglieder mit engem Bezug zum Prädikat erscheinen (vgl. Haftka 2004 zum Mittelfeld).

²Beschränkt man sich auf den Hauptsatz, so entspricht die linke Satzklammer dem finiten Verb, die rechte Satzklammer den infiniten Teilen des Verbalkomplexes (falls vorhanden).

³Frey 2000; Steube 2008a.

⁴Auch die Grenzen der Fokusdomäne können für das Deutsche angegeben werden; auf der linken Seite des Satzes sind dies *attitudinal adverbials*, *verificational adverbials* und Negation (Steube 1997; Steube und Späth 2005). Im Deutschen dient die Vorfeldkonstituente auch der Textentfaltung, also der Unterteilung in Texttypen, Textsorten, Gliederung des Textes in Absätze mit neuen Diskurstopiks, inhaltlichen Korrekturen im Laufe des Textfortschritts durch Kontrastfoki, I-Topiks, Fokusplits wie *Äpfel hat er 3 Kilo* usw. Steube und Sudhoff (2007) sprechen deshalb nicht mehr von einer Topik-Kommentar-, sondern von einer Vorfeld-Kommentar-Gliederung.

⁵Vgl. auch Krisch 1998. Anders Keydana 2008: Die linke Peripherie besteht maximal aus einem Topik (Wackernagel-Klitikum 2), *wh*-Wort (Wackernagel-Klitikum 1).

⁶Zur Verbend- und Verbzweitstellung im Indogermanischen vgl. Krisch 2004.

⁷Krisch 1997:304ff.

(1) Ilias 5,20

Ἰδαίως δ'	ἀπόρουσε	λιπὼν	περικαλλέα	δίφρον
Idaios	sprang herab	verlassend	schön	Wagen
NOM.SG.M PART	3SG.IND.AOR.ACT	PRT.AOR.ACT.NOM.SG.M	ACC.SG.M	ACC.SG.M

„Idaios aber sprang herab, verlassend den schönen Wagen“

In der Tat könnten solche Phrasen hinter dem finiten Verb deutschen Nachfeldelementen (Präpositionalphrasen, Vergleichsausdrücken, Appositionen und andere Zusätzen) entsprechen oder den Elementen, die in der rechten Peripherie von anderen Sprachen, z. B. des Spanischen, vorkommen, nämlich dislozierten Phrasen, nicht-restriktiven Relativsätzen, Appositionen, Vokativen,⁸ aber auch expliziten Hervorhebungen des Diskurstopiks.⁹ Im Altindischen ist für diese Position Gondas (1959) Untersuchung der „amplified sentences“ einschlägig. So trete „right dislocation“ auf, wenn die Konstituente eine gewisse Schwere hat.¹⁰

Und für das Vorfeld oder eher den Satzanfang in altindogermanischen Sprachen hat Speyer (2009) im Lateinischen, Germanischen und Griechischen eine Bevorzugung von „Rahmenbildnern“, „Listenelementen“ und „Themen“ (sofern sie explizit sind) festgestellt.

Bleibt man aber beim Altindischen, so gibt es hier Satzmuster,¹¹ in denen auch Personalpronomina in Topikposition auftreten, obwohl die altindogermanischen Sprachen *subject-pro-drop*- und partiell *object-pro-drop*-Sprachen¹² sind.¹³ Ein Beispiel sind Passivkonstruktionen:

(2) RV VIII 6,10

ahám	súrya	ivajani
ich	Sonne	bin geboren
NOM.SG	NOM.SG	1.SG.IND.AOR.PASS

„Ich bin wie die Sonne geboren“

In Lühr 2004 wurde angenommen, dass beim Passiv der Patiens dann bezeichnet wird, wenn er auf irgendeine Weise prominent ist; in (2) ist der Bezugsrahmen die konkrete Opfersituation.

Viti (im Druck) hat diese Beobachtungen ergänzt und eine Reihe von altindischen Belegen diskutiert, in denen eine derartige Wortstellung der Belebtheitshierarchie folgt:

- (3) First / second person pronouns > third person pronouns > proper nouns > common nouns of human beings > common nouns of animate, non-human beings > common nouns of inanimate beings > mass nouns

Vgl. mit OVS-Stellung:

⁸Astruc-Aguilera und Nolan 2007.

⁹Averintseva-Klisch 2007.

¹⁰Krisch 1997:304. Eine Definition von „amplification“ steht aber noch aus (Keydana 2008).

¹¹Die folgenden Belege stammen zumeist aus Gonda 1959; Schäufler 1991; Klein 1994; Viti im Druck.

¹²Zu „latenten“ Objekten vgl. Luraghi 2003; Luraghi 2004; Keydana 2009.

¹³Lühr 2005.

(4) RV 1,164,5

dívam jinvanty agnáyah

Himmel beleben Feuer

ACC.SG.M 3PL.IND.PRES.ACT NOM.PL.M

„Den Himmel beleben die Feuer“

In (4) nimmt die Topikposition¹⁴ das Element ein, das in der Belebtheitshierarchie den höchsten Rang hat, das belebt gedachte direkte Objekt; das Subjekt des Satzes erscheint postverbal. Hinsichtlich der Felderlehre besteht der Satz somit aus einem Vorfeld und einem Nachfeld. Ein Mittelfeld ist nicht vorhanden. Doch könnte ein solches Feld gegeben sein, wenn zwischen dem Topik und dem finiten Verb weitere XPs auftreten. Da solche Abfolgen mit Verbmittelstellung im Altindischen noch nicht untersucht worden sind und ohnehin weitgehend unklar ist, wie die altindogermanischen Sprachen die dem deutschen Mittelfeld zukommenden IS-Aufgaben erfüllen,¹⁵ werden im Folgenden Sätze mit einer Verbstellung vom Typ (4) betrachtet. Es geht also um Sätze, die sozusagen ein Nachfeld haben.

Bevor darauf näher eingegangen wird, sind Bemerkungen zur Basiswortstellung, zur linken Peripherie und zur Art der Verbbewegung nötig.

I Vorbemerkungen

I.1 Basiswortstellung

Die alte These von der freien Wortstellung der altindogermanischen Sprachen ist heute zugunsten der Annahme von Konfiguralität¹⁶ gewichen. Auch geht man für das Indogermanische von SOV aus (Lehmann 1974).¹⁷ So verhält es sich im Lateinischen,¹⁸ Hethitischen¹⁹ und Vedischen.²⁰ Doch hat das Griechische eindeutig SVO, eine Wortfolge, die Friedrich (1975) auch für das Indogermanische angenommen hat.

(5) Il 5,55f.

ἀλλὰ μιν Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος / πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα

aber ihn Atride speerberühmt Menelaos vorwärts sein fliehend

ACC.SG.M NOM.SG.M NOM.SG.M NOM.SG.M GEN.SG.M PRT.PRES.ACT.ACC.SG.M

μετάφρενον οὐτ' αὖτε δούρι / ὤμων μεσσηγγύς

Schulterblätter verwundete Speer Schulter zwischen

ACC.SG.N 3SG.IND.AOR.ACT DAT.SG.N GEN.PL.M

„aber der speerberühmte Atride Menelaos stieß ihn, als er vor ihm floh, in den Rücken mit dem Speer zwischen die Schultern“²¹

¹⁴ Anders als Kiparsky (1995:153), der für die linke Peripherie im Indogermanischen zwei verschiedene *slots*, einen für Topik und einen für Fokus, annimmt, rechnet Keydana (2008) nur mit einem *slot* für diese beiden IS-Einheiten.

¹⁵ Keydana 2008.

¹⁶ Devine und Stephens 2006.

¹⁷ Zur Literatur vgl. Axel 2007:27ff.

¹⁸ Bauer 1995.

¹⁹ Luraghi 1990.

²⁰ Delbrück 1888; Klein 1994:99f.

²¹ Krisch 1997:302ff.

Die folgende Untersuchung beruht aber, wie gesagt, auf dem Altindischen; daher wird SOV zugrunde gelegt.

1.2 Linke Peripherie

Für die linke Peripherie sind drei Phänomene zu beachten, das Hyperbaton, die Wackernagelpartikeln und Präverbien.

1.2.1 Hyperbaton

Beim Hyperbaton kann der Modifizierer als Fokus topikalisiert werden und andere Wörter zwischen Modifizierer und Kopf treten, oder der topikalisierte Kopf steht als Topik getrennt von dem später folgenden fokalen Modifizierer.²² Für die linke Peripherie ist hier der Fall mit einem fokalen Modifizierer im Vorfeld einschlägig:

⟨Focus⟩	⟨Presupposition⟩	
⟨Y1mod⟩	⟨X	Y2head⟩

(6) Cicero, fam. 3,9,3

Tuis incredibiliter studiis delector
 dein unglaublich Studien werde erfreut
 ABL.PL.N ABL.PL.N SG. IND.PRES.DEP.

lat. wörtl. ‚Durch deine unglaublich Studien werde ich erfreut.‘

‚Ich werde durch deine Studien unglaublich erfreut.‘

Dadurch entstehen Sätze wie:

(7) a. *Which has he invited friend to dinner?

die Ross's Left Branch Condition verletzen. Auch darf in Fokus-Konstruktionen der rechte Zweig einer Nominalphrase im Englischen nicht *in situ* verbleiben:

(7) b. *The RED he bought car last week, the BLUE he has had car for years.

Möglich wäre jedoch im Englischen:

(7) c. Raw he used to eat oysters²³

Im Altindischen gilt für das Hyperbaton diese Regel nicht. Auch vollständige XPs sind topikalisierbar:

²²Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist die Aufteilung eines weiten Fokus in einen ersten Fokus, der den Kopf enthält, und einen hinter anderen Wörtern folgenden zweiten Fokus, den Modifizierer (Devine and Stephens 2000 für das Griechische).

²³Devine and Stephens 2000:4f.

(8) RV 2,23,12

ādevena mānasā yó riṣanyati
 gottlos Sinn wer richtet Schaden an
 INST.SG.N INST.SG.N NOM.SG 3SG.IND.PRES.ACT

„Wer mit gottlosem Sinne Schaden stiften will“²⁴

Wenn man annimmt, dass *yáḥ* in C° lokalisiert ist,²⁵ erscheint der fokale Modifizierer am Anfang des Satzes in der linken Peripherie.

1.2.2 Wackernagelpartikeln

Wie bemerkt, stellt nach Krisch die Wackernagel-Position eine Entsprechung zum deutschen Vorfeld bereit, teils mit einer Konstituente, teils mit einem Teil einer Konstituente, die durch einen „Regenerierungsprozess“ zu einer vollständigen Phrase werden kann.²⁶ Doch sind nicht alle Partikeln in Zweitposition echte Wackernagelpartikeln. Z. B. ist *cid* in (9) Fokuspartikel, die ihrer Domäne eine maximale oder minimale Position auf einer aus den Alternativen gebildeten Skala zuweist.²⁷

(9) RV 4,16,6

āsmānaṃ cid yé bibhidūr vācobhiḥ
 Fels welche zerschmettern Worte
 ACC.SG.M PART NOM.PL.M 3PL.IND.PF.ACT INSTR.PL.N

„welche sogar den Felsen mit ihren Worten zerschmetterten“

D. h., die Partikel ist nur ein Klitikum zu der Konstituente, die sie hervorhebt.²⁸ Durch *cid* werden Wörter im diskursfunktionalen *slot* an der Satzspitze²⁹ modifiziert, an die die XP oder Teile davon hinbewegt worden sind. Partikeln wie *cid* rechnet man daher dem Wackernagelpartikel-Typ 3 zu.³⁰

Zu den echten Wackernagelpartikeln gehören dagegen diejenigen Partikeln, die stets an zweiter Satzgliedstelle erscheinen:

(10) RV 3,6,8

urāu vā yé antárikṣe mādanti
 weit oder welch Luftraum berauschen sich
 LOC.SG.N NOM.PL.M LOC.SG.N 3PL.IND.PRES.ACT

„oder die sich im weiten Luftraum berauschen“

urāu steht hier von seinem Bezugswort *antárikṣe* getrennt, bildet also ein Hyperbaton. Das Wackernagel-Klitikum tritt hinter dem ersten phonologischen Wort des Satzes auf. Es ist vom Wackernagelpartikel-Typ 2.

²⁴ Hale 1987a:44.

²⁵ Hale 1996:186.

²⁶ Riemsdijk 1989; Krisch 1998:374; Fanselow 2004.

²⁷ Solche skalaren Fokuspartikeln sind in der Regel zusätzlich restriktiv wie dt. *nur* oder additiv wie dt. *auch* (Steube und Sudhoff 2007).

²⁸ Hale 1987a:45.

²⁹ Keydana 2008.

³⁰ Krisch 1990:65.

Daneben erscheinen Wackernagelpartikeln, die ebenfalls dem ersten Wort eines Satzes folgen.

(11) RV 1,176,4

<i>asmábhyaṃ</i>	<i>asya</i>	<i>védanam</i>	<i>daddhí</i>
uns	dessen	Besitz	gib ³¹
DAT.	GEN.SG.M	ACC.SG.N	2SG.IMP.PRES.ACT

„Gib uns dessen Besitz!“

(11) ist ein Beispiel für die Zweitstellung eines Klitikums, hier des Pronomens *asya*. Ist jedoch die Topik-Position besetzt,³² befindet sich die Partikel an dritter Stelle. Es handelt sich um Wackernagel-Klitika des Typs 1. Gegenüber (11) beruht die Drittstellung der Partikel in (12) auf Topikalisierung; es steht eine XP und ein *wh*-Wort voraus:

(12) RV 6,27,1

<i>índraḥ</i>	<i>kím</i>	<i>asya</i>	<i>sakhyé</i>	<i>caḥāra</i>
Indra	was	sein	Freundschaft	hat gemacht
NOM.SG.M	ACC.SG.N	GEN.SG.M	LOC.SG.F	3SG.IND.PF.ACT

„Was hat Indra in seiner Freundschaft gemacht?“³³

Nach Keydana 2008 sind die Wackernagel-Klitika 1 so Elemente, die in die erste prosodische Phrase eines Satzes aufgenommen werden. Für die Bestimmung des Mittelfeldes ist nun wichtig, dass Typ 1 am rechten Rand der linken Peripherie positioniert ist.³⁴ Für die linke Peripherie hat man also in Hauptsätzen mit den Wackernagelpartikeln des Typs 1 ein Diagnostikum (in Nebensätzen sind es *wh*-Elemente und Comp).

1.2.3 Präverbien

Präverbien sind in einer PP angesiedelt. Oldenberg (1967) hat festgestellt, dass diese Elemente in der Sprache des Rigveda links vom Relativpronomen erscheinen. Sofern ein Topik vorhanden ist, dominiert die TopP diese CP. Für

(13) RV 1,110,2

<i>ābhogáyaṃ</i>	<i>prá</i>	<i>yád</i>	<i>ichánta</i>	<i>ditana</i>
Unterhalt	als	suchend		seid gegangen
ACC.SG.N	PFX	PRT.PRES.ACT.NOM.PL.M	2PL.IND.IPF.ACT	

„Als ihr Unterhalt suchend gegangen seid ...“

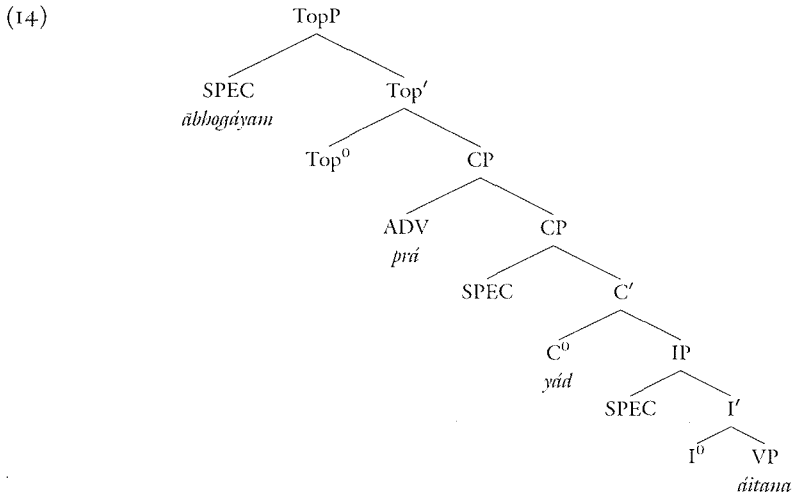
³¹Keydana 2008.

³²Keydana 2008 nach Hale 1987b; Hale 1996; Hock 1996.

³³Vgl. Hale 1987a:42: „WL clitics take second position defined before the topicalization, but after WH-movement places *ká-* in COMP.“

³⁴Im Rahmen der Generativen Syntax hat zuerst Hale (1987b) die Wackernagelpartikeln dargestellt.

nimmt Hale (1996:186) so folgende Struktur an:



Das Präfix befindet sich am rechten Rand der linken Peripherie. In anderen Fällen, wenn kein Relativpronomen vorhanden ist, erscheint das Präfix unmittelbar an der Satzspitze oder an der Spitze des Pāda³⁵ und topikalisierte Elemente folgen.

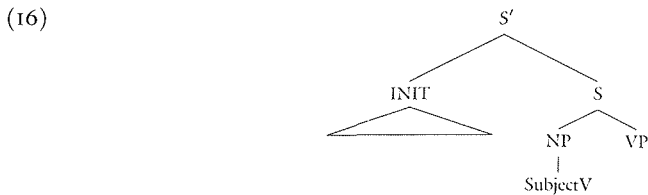
1.3 Verbmittelstellung

Schäufele (1991) postuliert für Topikalisierungen des Vedischen eine Wortfolge mit Verbmittelstellung:

- (15) RV 1,80,12
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|----------|----------|-----------------|
| [nā vépasā nā tanyatēnā] | | indrām | ṛtró | vi bibhayat |
| nicht Erregung | nicht Donner | Indra | Vṛtra | erschreckte |
| INSTR.SG.N | INSTR.SG.M | ACC.SG.M | NOM.SG.M | 3SG.IND.IPF.ACT |

„Nicht erschreckte Vṛtra den Indra durch seinen Wortschwall, nicht durch sein Donnergebrüll.“³⁶

Das Subjekt befindet sich also *in situ* präverbal:



Wenn aber die Basiswortstellung SOV ist und das Verb in Mittelstellung erscheint, könnte die Ursache für diese Verbbewegung die folgende sein: Im Falle der Geltung

³⁵Oldenberg 1906:711ff., 729; Hale 1996:184.

³⁶Haug 2008.

der Belebtheitshierarchie ist in der Folge SOV zuerst das belebte Objekt topikalisiert worden, wodurch sich OSV ergab und entweder das Subjekt *in situ* oder, insbesondere im Falle von *subject pro drop*, ein schweres Objekt oder Attribut vor dem Verb verblieb. Es gelangten also auf jeden Fall sekundär schwere Elemente in unmittelbare Nähe des Verbs. Das Verb aber war im Hauptsatz unbetont, was Bewegung in eine höhere Position zur Folge hatte. In Hauptsätzen wird also sozusagen das unbetonte Verb aus seiner Verbendstellung „verdrängt“, wenn „schweres“ Material in Verb Nähe gelangt.³⁷ Der Landeplatz des Verbs kann dabei die C°-Position sein. So erscheint in (17) das Verb in C°, da eine Wackernagelpartikel vom Typ 1 (vgl. oben) folgt. Es ist so Teil der linken Peripherie.³⁸

(17) RV 4,31,10

<i>asmāṁ</i>	<i>avantu</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>śatām</i>	<i>asmān</i>	<i>sahasram</i>	<i>ūtāyaḥ</i>
uns	sollen unterstützen	dein	hundert	uns	tausend	Hilfen
ACC.PL	3PL.IMP.PRES.ACT	GEN.SG		ACC.PL		NOM.PL.F

„Uns sollen deine hundert, uns deine tausend Förderungen fördern, uns alle Hilfen.“

Eine andere Position nimmt das Verb in (18) ein:

(18) RV 1,36,19

<i>nī</i>	<i>tvām</i>	<i>agne</i>	<i>mānūr</i>	<i>dadhe</i>	<i>jyōtir</i>	<i>jānāya</i>	<i>sāsivate</i>
dich	Agni	Manu	hat eingesetzt	Licht	Volk	all	
PFX ACC.SG	VOC.SG.M	NOM.SG.M	3SG.IND.PF.MED	NOM.SG.N	DAT.SG.M	DAT.SG.M	

„Dich, Agni, hat Manu eingesetzt als Licht für alles Volk“³⁹

Es handelt sich wohl um eine von C° verschiedene Position. Für (18) würde dies bedeuten: Sofern das Subjekt *mānūr in situ* steht, ist nur belebtes *tvām* topikalisiert. Das Verb hat die VP verlassen und befindet sich in einer Position unterhalb des Subjekts, in der I°-Position der IP.⁴⁰ D. h., bei Topikalisierungen kann das Verb die erst-mögliche Position, in der unbetontes Material möglich ist, einnehmen. Das ist die Position vor der Wackernagel-Partikel. Ist diese Position besetzt oder befindet sich keine Wackernagel-Partikel im Satz, wird eine tiefere Position, die unbetonte Elemente erlaubt, besetzt.⁴¹ In diesem Fall würde die Verbbewegung postsyntaktisch

³⁷Für diesen Hinweis und die einschlägigen Literaturangaben danke ich Eric Fuss.

³⁸Nach Keydana (2008, mit Literatur) sagt diese Analyse voraus, dass das Verb in dieser Position nicht gleichzeitig mit *wh*-Wörtern oder Komplementieren erscheinen kann.

³⁹Nach Schäufele 1991 haben die vorangestellten akkusativischen Pronomina jedoch Fokus-Funktion.

⁴⁰Zu solchen Strukturen vgl. Radford 1997:116.

⁴¹Mit der Regel „realize the inflectional features of a clause immediately after 1st initial element“ als Auslöser für Verbbewegungen in die zweite Position rechnet Anderson (1993). Vgl. auch Boeckx und Stjepanović 2001:351ff. Dagegen ziehen Stockwell und Minkova (1994:228) syntaxbasierte Ansätze zur Erklärung von Verbzweitstellungen solchen wie denen von Kuhn (1933) vor. Kuhn rechnete mit verschiedenen Satzpartikelgesetzen.

(in der Phonologie) erfolgen, um prosodische Bedürfnisse zu erfüllen.⁴² Einen ähnlichen Ansatz verfolgt Dewey (2006) für die altsächsische, altisländische und gotischen Verbzweitstellung im Hauptsatz, nach der die Verbzweitstellung in den germanischen Sprachen ererbt ist: Ein Verb in der zweiten Position ist in der stabreimenden Dichtung nie Stabträger und so unbetont; daher ist ihre These, dass unbetonte Verben vom Satzende in die erste oder zweite Position für unbetonte Wörter gelangen. Mit der Zeit sei dann die durch die Intonation verursachte Verbzweitstellung als syntaktisches Muster reanalysiert worden.

Da also eine Verbstellung im vorderen Teil des Satzes phonologische Ursachen haben kann, ist die Untersuchung nun auf die Frage hin zu präzisieren, ob dann, wenn das Verb in eine Position unterhalb von C⁰ bewegt worden ist und eine linke Peripherie existiert, dazwischen XPs auftreten. In diesem Fall könnte es sich tatsächlich um ein Mittelfeld handeln.⁴³

Zunächst werden Sätze mit Verbmittelstellung, deren Wortstellung sich im Altindischen nach der Belebtheitshierarchie richtet, analysiert. Zum Kontrast werden auch Sätze mit Fokus-Hintergrund- und Topik-Kommentar-Gliederung und mögliche Mischungen mit Belebt-Unbelebt-Abfolgen behandelt wie auch grammatisch-strukturelle Folgen, in denen das Subjekt an der Satzspitze auftritt.

2 Analyse von Belegen

2.1 Nach der Belebtheitshierarchie

2.1.1 Ohne Mittelfeld

Unter den einschlägigen Daten mit Verbmittelstellung gibt es Belege mit einem Imperativ, der möglichst nahe am Satzanfang erscheint. Eine solche Voranstellung ist bei Imperativen im Altindischen häufig.⁴⁴ Davor kann ein betontes Pronomen erscheinen – unbetonte Pronomina bleiben für unsere Fragesstellung außer Betracht, weil sie als Wackernagel-Klitika stets in der Wackernagelposition auftreten.⁴⁵

⁴²Vgl. aber Matushansky 2006:98ff. Doch unternimmt Parrott (2001) den Versuch, Kopfbewegung als (postsyntaktische) morphologische Operation zu rekonstruieren.

⁴³Für Sätze mit Verbdrittstellung im Althochdeutschen nimmt Axel (2007:201) dagegen eine Struktur wie:

[_{FinP} XP_j [[_{Fin} V_i] [_{VP} ... t_j ... t_i]]]

an. Da kaum Beispiele zu finden sind, wo eine XP oder ein Pronomen zwischen eine topikalisierte XP und das finite Verb treten, geht sie davon aus, dass das vorangestellte finite Verb und die topikalisierte XP derselben Projektion angehören (= FinP).

⁴⁴Auch in Nichtaufforderungssätzen erscheint im Altindischen das Verb gelegentlich am Satzanfang (Schäufele 1991:177). Es handelt sich um Deklarativsätze, die der Fortführung der Narrationslinie einer Handlung in örtlicher, zeitlicher, personeller, perspektivischer Hinsicht dienen. Dabei wird ein Wandel der Diskursituation bezeichnet. Zu vergleichbaren Fällen mit Verberststellung im Althochdeutschen vgl. Hinterhölzl et al. 2005:133; Perrova und Solf 2008; Axel 2007:153ff.

⁴⁵Die Stellung dieses Pronomens ist für die Belebtheitshierarchie nicht ausschlaggebend. Bei den folgenden Belegen fehlt aber ebenfalls ein Mittelfeld: RV 1,5,7; 1,84,4; 1,105,7; 1,105,8.

Vgl. dagegen (19) mit betontem Pronomen *tvām* ‚dich‘:

(19) RV 1,5,8

tvām vardhantu no girāḥ
 dich sollen stärken von uns Lieder
 ACC.SG 3PL.IMP.PRES.ACT GEN.PL NOM.PL.F

‚Dich sollen unsere Lieder stärken‘

Das Pronomen ist hier topikalisiert; das Subjekt, ein unbelebtes Abstraktum, steht nach. Zwischen Akkusativobjekt und Verb erscheint kein weiteres Material, also ist kein Mittelfeld vorhanden. Weitere Belege sind (20) bis (24). So ist in (20) eine Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung vorangestellt. Im Nachfeld tritt ein unbelebtes Konkretum auf. An der Satzspitze aber steht ein betontes Präfix:

(20) RV 3,7,1

ā mātārā vivisūḥ sapta vāṇīḥ
 Mütter sind eingedrungen sieben Stimmen
 PFX ACC.DUAL.F 3PL.IND.PF.ACT NOM.PL.F

‚In die Mütter sind sieben Stimmen eingedrungen‘⁴⁶

In (21) rangiert ein Personenname vor einer Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung:

(21) RV 10,7,3

agnīm manye pitāram
 Agni betrachte Vater
 ACC.SG.M 1SG.IND.PRES.MED ACC.SG.M

‚Den Agni betrachte ich als meinen Vater‘

Und mit Personifizierung:

(22) RV 10,9,5

apó yācāmi bheṣajām
 Wasser bitte Heilmittel
 ACC.PL.F 1SG.IND.PRES.ACT ACC.SG.N

‚Die Wasser befrage ich nach einem Heilmittel‘

Auch zwei XPs können vor dem Verb in der Topikposition auftreten:

(23) RV 1,132,5

indra okyām didhiṣanta dhītāyaḥ
 Indra Heimstätte möchten sich bereiten Gedanken
 LOC.SG.M ACC.SG.N 3PL.SUBJ.PRES.MED NOM.PL.F

‚Bei Indra eine Heimstätte möchten sich die Gedanken bereiten.‘

Während in diesen Beispielen das Verb die Grenze zwischen belebtem Topik und unbelebtem Subjekt bildet, folgen in (24) die der Belebtheitshierarchie entsprechenden XPs auf das finite Verb. Voraus steht ein Vokativ; dann folgt der topikalisierte Instrumental *ukthébbhir* ‚mit den Hymnen‘:

⁴⁶Schäufele 1991:181.

(24) RV I,2,2

vāya ukthébbir jarante tvām áchā jaritārah
 Vāyu Hymnen preisen dich hin Sänger
 VOC.SG.M INSTR.PL.N 3PL.IND.PRES.MED ACC.SG NOM.PL.M

‚O Vāyu, mit ihren Hymnen preisen dich die Sänger.‘

In allen diesen Belegen ist also kein Mittelfeld gegeben.

2.1.2 Mit Mittelfeld

Anders verhält es sich mit (25). Ein belebter Akkusativ folgt auf eine Satzeinleitung mit einer Wackernagelpartikel Typ 2. Das Subjekt erscheint postverbal:

(25) RV I,50,1

úd u tyām jātāvedasam devām vahanti ketāvah
 hervor diesen Jātavedas Gott bringen Strahlen
 PART ACC.SG.M ACC.SG.M ACC.SG.M 3PL.IND.PRES.ACT NOM.PL.M

‚Hervor bringen diesen Gott Jātavedas die Strahlen.‘⁴⁷

Da die linke Peripherie aus *úd u* besteht, wird durch das Akkusativobjekt *tyām jātāvedasam devām* das Mittelfeld gebildet. Die Stellung ist wieder OVS.

Auch (26) enthält ein Mittelfeld, diesmal mit SOV – das Objekt steht im Ablativ:

(26) RV I,52,10

dyáuś cid asya ámavāṁś áheḥ svanād áyoyaviḍ bhiyāsā
 Himmel dessen voll Angriffslust Schlange Zischen ist zurückgewichen Furcht
 NOM.SG.M PART GEN.SG.M NOM.SG.M GEN.SG.M ABL.SG.M 3SG.IND.IPF.ACT INSTR.SG.N

‚Sogar der Himmel, voller Angriffslust, wich aus Furcht vor ihr vor dem Zischen der Schlange zurück.‘⁴⁸

Das Subjekt, mit Fokuspartikel *cid* versehenes belebt gedachtes *dyáuś* ‚der Himmel sogar‘, wird in der linken Peripherie durch das Wackernagel-Klitikum *asya* ‚dessen‘ abgegrenzt; es ist topikalisiert und bildet einen Kontrastfokus,⁴⁹ der der IP als Fokus-Domäne, also dem weiten Fokus IP *áheḥ svanād áyoyaviḍ* ‚vor der Schlange Zischen wich (er) zurück‘ gegenübersteht. Der neutrale Fokus, d. h., der Träger des Fokusakzentes, dürfte dabei der präverbale Ablativ *svanād* ‚vor dem Zischen‘ sein. Das Mittelfeld besteht hier also aus einem Ablativobjekt *áheḥ svanād*, dem ein prädikatives Adjektiv zu *dyáuś* ‚Himmel‘, nämlich *ámavāṁś* ‚voll Angriffslust‘ vorausgeht: ‚voll Angriffslust vor der Schlange Zischen‘.

Hinzu kommt ein Fall mit einem postverbalen Akkusativ des Ziels wie in (27): *ródasī antárikṣam* ‚in beide Welten und den Luftraum‘. Die linke Peripherie enthält das topikalisierte Adjektiv *nīcīnabāram* ‚mit Öffnung nach unten‘, wodurch sich ein Hyperbaton ergibt. Sofern aber das Subjekt *vāruṇah* in einer grammatisch-strukturellen Position vor dem Objekt *kāvandham* ‚Schlauch‘ steht, macht nur dieses Wort das Mittelfeld aus.

⁴⁷Viti im Druck.

⁴⁸Zur Überprüfung von Hales (1987a:42) These, dass die Drittstellung auf der Topikalisierung einer Phrase vor das *mb*-Wort beruhe, vgl. Keydana 2008.

⁴⁹Dass Fokuspartikeln nicht immer mit Kontrastfokus assoziiert sind, zeigt Sudhoff 2008.

(27) RV 5,85,3

<i>nīcīnabāram</i>	<i>vāruṇaḥ kāvaṇḍham</i>	<i>prā sasarja</i>	<i>ródasī</i>	<i>antárikṣam</i>	
mit Öffnung nach unten	Varuṇa	Schlauch	hat ausgegossen	Welten	Luftraum
ACC.SG.M	NOM.SG.M	ACC.SG.M	PEX	3SG.IND.PF.ACT	ACC.DUAL.F ACC.SG.N

‚Varuṇa hat den Schlauch mit der Öffnung nach unten in beide Welten und den Luftraum ausgegossen‘

2.2 Nach der Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung mit Umkehrung der Belebtheithierarchie

Nun existieren auch Belege, in denen zwar das Akkusativobjekt voraussteht, das belebte pronominale Subjekt oder ein Personennamen treten jedoch in postverbaler Position auf. D. h., die Belebtheithierarchie ist hier umstrukturiert.

Wahrscheinlich kommt man in solchen Fällen eher mit der Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung als mit der Belebtheithierarchie weiter. Trifft dies zu, ist anzunehmen, dass es im Altindischen einen informationsstrukturellen *slot* am Satzende gibt, wie er auch sonst in altindogermanischen Sprachen vorkommt. Da die Setzung des Personalpronomens in *pro-drop*-Sprachen stets eine Funktion hat, dürfte die belebte Entität in finaler Position somit besonders hervorgehoben sein. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um einen Kontrastfokus innerhalb einer *P[artly] o[rdered] set*-Relation mit Zentrierung auf die genannte Entität.⁵⁰ Vgl. dazu Molnárs (Molnar 2002:149f.) Beispiel:

(28) *Weißt du, wer gewonnen hat? Wir (haben gewonnen)!*

Dass das Satzende aber tatsächlich einen diskursfunktionalen *slot* darstellt, zeigt sich auch sonst. Z. B. stehen infinitivische Abstrakta in finaler Funktion häufig nach:

(29) RV 3,27,6

<i>tām</i>	<i>sabādho</i>	<i>yatásruca</i>	<i>itthā dhiyā</i>	<i>yajñāvantaḥ / ā</i>
den	eifrig	die Opferschale	darreichend so	mit Achtsamkeit opfernd
ACC.SG.M	NOM.PL.M	NOM.PL.M	INSTR.SG.F	NOM.PL.M PFX
<i>cakrur</i>	<i>agnīm</i>	<i>ūtāye</i>		
haben gemacht	Agni	Förderung		
3SG.IND.PF.ACT	ACC.SG.M	DAT.SG.F		

‚Den Agni haben sie eifrig mit bereitgehaltenem Löffel so recht von Herzen opfernd zur Gunsterweisung bewogen.‘

(30) RV 7,86,3

<i>upo emi</i>	<i>‘cikitūso viprccham</i>
gehe	Kundige befragen
PFX	1SG.IND.PRES.ACT ACC.PL.M ACC.SG.N

‚ich wende mich an die Kundigen, sie zu befragen‘

Das Adverbiale erscheint hier als Repräsentant neuer Information in finaler Position.⁵¹

⁵⁰Lühr 2009.

⁵¹Xiao 2007.

2.2.1 Ohne Mittelfeld

Ein echtes Mittelfeld existiert in meisten Belegen mit nachgestelltem Fokus wohl nicht:

(31) RV 1,89,2

devānām sakhyām ūpa sedimā vāyām

Götter Freundschaft haben erworben wir
GEN.PL.M ACC.SG.N 3PL.IND.PF.ACT NOM.PL

„Der Götter Freundschaft haben wir umworben.“

(32) RV 1,89,5

tām īśānam jāgatas tasthūṣas pātim dhiyaṃjinvām āvase

den mächtig Gehendes Stehendes Herrn Andacht fördernd Förderung
ACC.SG.M ACC.SG.M PRT.PRES.ACT.GEN.SG.N PRT.PF.ACT.GEN.SG.N ACC.SG.M ACC.SG.M DAT.SG.N

būmahe vāyām / pūṣā no yāthā vēdasām āsad vṛdhē

rufen an wir Pūṣan von uns damit Besitz sei Förderung
IPL.IND.PRES.MED NOM.PL NOM.SG.M GEN.PL ACC.SG.N 3SG.SUBJ.PRES.ACT DAT.SG.E

raksitā pāyūr ādabdhah svastāye

Beschützer Behüter wohlwollend Glück
NOM.SG.M NOM.SG.M NOM.SG.M DAT.SG.F

„Den mächtigen Herrn dessen, was geht und steht, den Gedankenwecker rufen wir zur Gunsterweisung, auf dass Pūṣan zur Mehrung unseres Besitzes helfe als ein unbeirrter Schützer und Behüter zum Glück.“

Der Dativ *āvase* könnte als eine Art Funktionswort eine enge Verbindung mit dem Verb *būmahe* haben.

Vgl. auch (33) mit der Abfolge Pronomen der 3. Person – Pronomen der 2. Person. Das Prädikatsnomen ist dabei als nähere Bestimmung zu dem Akkusativ *imam* auffassbar. In diesem Fall hat der Satz ebenfalls kein Mittelfeld.

(33) AV 4,22,1

imam viśām ekaviśām kṛnu tvām

dies Völker Stammesfürst mache du
ACC.SG.M GEN.PL.F ACC.SG.M 2SG.IMP.PRES.ACT NOM.SG

„diesen mache du zum Stammesfürsten der Völker!“

Zu derartigen Fokussierungen mit Personennamen vgl.:

(34) RV 1,33,13

sām vājrenāsrjad vṛtrām īndrah

mit Keule = ließ los Vṛtra Indra
3SG.IND.IPF.ACT ACC.SG.M NOM.SG.M

„Mit seiner Keule traf den Vṛtra Indra“

(35) RV 1,33,12

vi śṛṅgīnam abhinac chūṣṇam īndrah

auseinander hörnern spaltete Śuṣṇa Indra
ACC.SG.M 3SG.IND.IPF.ACT ACC.SG.M NOM.SG.M

„Den hörnernen Śuṣṇa spaltete Indra auseinander.“

In (35) gehört der Modifizierer des Hyperbatons noch zur linken Peripherie, also fehlt ein Mittelfeld.

2.2.2 Mit Mittelfeld

Für ein mögliches Mittelfeld ist ein Beleg mit Imperativ zu betrachten, bei dem an der linken Peripherie hinter dem Modifizierer des Hyperbatons ein Vokativ vorhanden ist:

- (36) AV 2,6,5
vísivā hí agne duriṭā tara tvām
 all denn Agni Missgeschicke überwinde du
 ACC.PL.N VOC.SG.M ACC.PL.N 2SG.IMP.PRES.ACT NOM.SG
 ‚Denn alle Missgeschicke, Agni, überwinde du‘

Nimmt man an, dass auch betonte Wackernagelpartikeln den rechten Rand der linken Peripherie ausmachen, dann bildet der Akkusativ *duriṭā* das Mittelfeld.

Festzuhalten bleibt, dass die Belege (31) bis (36) von der Reihenfolge Belebt – Unbelebt abweichen. Das belebte Element steht am Satzende und ist fokussiert.

2.3 Nach der Topik-Kommentar-Gliederung

Ebenso wie das Satzende von der Reihenfolge Belebt – Unbelebt abweichen kann, gibt es am Satzanfang Abweichungen.

2.3.1 Aboutness-Topik

- (37) RV 3,5,6
sasāsya cārma ghr̥tāvat padām vés / tād id agnī rakṣaty
 Speise Schlauch schmalzreich Spur Vogel das Agni hütet
 GEN.SG.M ACC.SG.N ACC.SG.N ACC.SG.N GEN.SG.N ACC.SG.N PART NOM.SG.M 3SG.IND.PRES.ACT
āprayuchan
 achtsam
 NOM.SG.M
 ‚Den schmalzreichen Schlauch der Speise, die Spur des Vogels, das (alles) hütet Agni unablässig.‘

Innerhalb der *Center*-Theorie stellt *tād id* ‚das (alles)‘ eine *Retain*-Relation dar.⁵² Es bildet das Topik, der Restsatz ist der Kommentar dazu.

2.3.2 Frame-Setting

Auch *frames* gehören in diesen Zusammenhang. Denn *frames* werden oft als Topiks aufgefasst. Doch sind sie von *Aboutness Topics* zu unterscheiden (Jacobs 2001). So ver-sagen z. B. die Topiktests:

- (38) ?Was Deutschland betrifft, so bin ich weltberühmt.

Im Deutschen befinden sich solche *Frame-Setting*-Adverbialia, sofern sie referen-tiell sind und kontextuelle Bindung vorliegt, im Vorfeld,⁵³ ebenso zumeist in den

⁵²Speyer 2007.

⁵³Steube 2006:492.

altindogermanischen Sprachen. So passt zu Speyers Analyse des Lateinischen der folgende Beleg mit einem „Rahmenbildner“:

(39) Cato Agr. 28,2

in scrobe quom pones summam terram subdito
in Graben wenn wirst setzen oberst Erde lege
ABL.SG.M 2SG.FUT.ACT ACC.SG.F ACC.SG.F 2SG.IMP.FUT.ACT

„im Graben, wenn du <die jungen Bäume> setzen wirst, lege die oberste Erde unten hin“

Und aus dem Altindischen:

(40) AB 6,31,1

evam śasthe ahani kalpate yajñah
so sechst Tag wird zubereitet Opfer
LOC.SG.N LOC.SG.N 3SG.IND.PRES.MED NOM.SG.M

„So wird am sechsten Tag das Opfer zubereitet.“⁵⁴ (vgl. dazu das Deutsche: Hier gibt es Adverbialia, denen eine Grundposition im Mittelfeld zukommt, dennoch können sie auch gescrambelt werden; Pittner 2000).

2.4 Nach Belebtheitshierarchie und Fokus-Hintergrundgliederung

2.4.1 Ohne Mittelfeld

Möglicherweise gibt es auch Mischungen von Belebtheitshierarchie und Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung. In (41) tritt hinter dem Pronomen *tvām*, aber vor dem Verb das Genitivattribut *valásya gómató* auf. Das Bezugswort ist postverbales *bílām*; also handelt es sich um ein Hyperbaton, dessen einer Teil an den linken Satzrand verschoben wurde⁵⁵ und fokalen Charakter hat. Danach fand Topikalisierung des belebten Pronomens *tvām* statt. Man hat neben der Verbbewegung also mit zwei weiteren Bewegungen zu rechnen, zuerst eine nach der Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung mit dem Hyperbaton, dann eine nach der Belebtheitshierarchie.

(41) RV 1,11,5

tvām valásya gómató 'pāvar adrivo bīlām
du Vala kuhreich öffnest mit Schleudersteinen versehen Höhle
NOM.SG GEN.SG.M GEN.M.SG 2SG.IND.AOR.ACT VOC.SG.M ACC.SG.N

„Du hast des rinderreichen Vala Höhle aufgeschlossen, du Herr des Presssteins.“

⁵⁴In folgendem Beispiel erscheint eine ein unbetontes Personalpronomen der 2. Person enthaltende PP mit obligatorischer Zweitstellung des Pronomens initial und fungiert zugleich als lokaler *frame*. Ein zweiter lokaler *frame* tritt postverbal auf, *viśvātah*, 'von allen Seiten'; er ist also nach rechts verschoben:

RV 1,10,12

pāri tvā gūrvāno gūra imā bhavantu viśvātah
um dich Lobbegehrender Lobreden diese sollen sein von allen Seiten
ACC.SG VOC.SG.M NOM.PL.F NOM.PL.F 3PL.IMP.PRES.ACT

„Um dich, Lobbegehrender, sollen diese Loblieder von allen Seiten sein.“

⁵⁵Krisch 1998.

Der Vers wird mit einem ebenfalls topikalisierten betonten Pronomen fortgeführt:

(41)(a) RV 1,11,5

<i>tvām devā</i>	<i>ābibhyuṣas</i>	<i>tuṣyāmānāsa</i>	<i>āvīṣuḥ</i>
dich	Götter	furchtlos	in (schreckhafte) Bewegung versetzt haben geschützt
ACC.SG.NOM.PL.M	GEN./ABL.SG.N	PRT.PRES.PASS.NOM.PL.M	3PL.IND.AOR.ACT.

‚Dich haben die Götter beschützt, von dem Furchtlosen in Schrecken versetzt.‘

Ähnlich mit OSV, aber mit einer Verb-Bewegung in die linke Peripherie zusammen mit dem Wackernagel-Klitikum 1, *te* ‚dein‘ der schon angeführte Beleg (17):

(17) RV 4,31,10

<i>asmāñ avantu</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>śatām</i>	<i>asmāñ</i>	<i>sahāsram</i>	<i>ūtāyaḥ</i>
uns	sollen unterstützen	dein	hundert	uns	tausend
ACC.PL	3PL.IMP.PRES.ACT	GEN.SG	ACC.PL		NOM.PL.F

‚Uns sollen deine hundert, uns (deine) tausend Förderungen fördern.‘

Nach der Bewegung des Verbs in die linke Peripherie wurde *asmāñ* ‚uns‘ topikalisiert. Wie bemerkt, ist das Verb in C^o positioniert.

Während in den Beispielen (41) und (17) das in der Belebtheitshierarchie am höchsten stehende Element, nämlich ein Personalpronomen der 1. und 2. Person oder ein Personalpronomen die Spitzenstellung einnimmt, begegnet in (42) ein anderer Fall:

(42) RV 1,7,5

<i>īndram</i>	<i>vayām</i>	<i>mahādbandā</i>	<i>īndram</i>	<i>ārbhe</i>	<i>bavāmahe</i>	/	<i>yūjam</i>	<i>ṛtrēsu</i>
Indra	wir	großer Kampf	Indra	klein	rufen an		Gefährte	Kampf
ACC.SG.M	NOM.PL	LOC.SG.N	ACC.SG.M	LOC.SG.N	1PL.IND.PRES.MED		ACC.SG.M	LOC.PL.M

vajrīṇam
Keulenträger
ACC.SG.M

‚Indra rufen wir im großen Kampf, Indra im kleinen zum Bundesgenossen in der Feindeschlacht den Keulenträger.‘

Man hat die Hierarchie Personennamen – Pronomen der 1. Person. Diese Textstelle enthält jedoch einen *parallelismus membrorum*, der Name Indra erscheint zweimal in einer parallelen Struktur mit Gapping und hat so besonderes Gewicht. Dazu kommen die Kontrastfoci „groß“ vs. „klein“.

Vgl. einen Parallelismus mit Personalpronomen der 1. Person:

(43) RV 1,8,4

<i>vayām</i>	<i>sūrebhir</i>	<i>āśṛbhir</i>	/	<i>īndra</i>	<i>tvāyā</i>	<i>yujā</i>	<i>vayām</i>	/	<i>sāsabyāma</i>
wir	Helden	Schützen		Indra	dir	Gefährten	wir		wollen bezwingen
NOM.PL	INSTR.PL.M	INSTR.PL.M		VOC.SG.M	INSTR.SG	INSTR.SG.M	NOM.PL		1PL.OPT.PF.ACT

ṛtanyatāḥ
Angreifer
ACC.PL.M

‚Wir wollen mit tapferen Schützen, mit dir, Indra, im Bunde die Angreifer bezwingen.‘

Die Belege (42) und (43) haben kein Mittelfeld. Bei derartigen Fokussierungen ist offenbar kein Raum für ein solches Feld.

2.4.2 Mit Mittelfeld

Demgegenüber sind in (44) wohl zwei Topikalisierungen anzunehmen. Das Präfix *ā* steht an der Spitze des Pāda. Zuerst wurde wohl der finale Dativ *dīrghāya cākṣasa* an die Satzspitze bewegt, dann *īndro* ‚Indra‘. In diesem Fall macht das zum Verb *ā robhayad* ‚ließ aufsteigen‘ gehörige Akkusativobjekt *sūryam* ‚Sonne‘ das Mittelfeld aus.

(44) RV 1,7,3

<i>īndro</i>	<i>dīrghāya</i>	<i>cākṣasa</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>sūryam</i>	<i>robhayad</i>	<i>divi</i>
Indra	lang	Schauen		Sonne	ließ aufsteigen	Himmel
NOM.SG.M	DAT.SG.N			PFX ACC.SG.M	3SG.INJ.PRES.ACT	LOC.SG.M

‚Indra ließ zu langdauerndem Schauen die Sonne am Himmel aufsteigen.‘
(Klein 1994:105)

3 Fazit

Behandelt wurden Belege mit Verbmittelstellung, wobei das Verb aus der finalen Position zumeist in die I°-Position, einmal in die C°-Position bewegt worden ist.

Was nun das Mittelfeld in Verbindung mit der Belebtheitshierarchie anbelangt, so weisen drei Belege SOV-Stellung auf. Jeweils ist ein in der Belebtheitshierarchie rangniedrigeres Objekt im Mittelfeld plziert:

(27) Varuṇa – Schlauch

(44) Indra – Sonne

(26) Himmel – Zischen (der Schlange)

SOV: Mittelfeld Akkusativobjekt

(27) RV 5,85,3

<i>nīcīnabāraṃ</i>	<i>vāruṇaḥ</i>	<i>kāvandham</i>	<i>prā</i>	<i>sasarja</i>	<i>ródasī</i>	<i>antárikṣam</i>
mit Öffnung nach unten	Varuṇa	Schlauch		hat ausgegossen	Welten	Luftraum
ACC.SG.M	NOM.SG.M	ACC.SG.M		PFX	3SG.IND.PF.ACT	ACC.DUAL.F ACC.SG.N

‚Varuṇa hat den Schlauch mit der Öffnung nach unten in beide Welten und den Luftraum ausgegossen‘

SOV: Mittelfeld (finales Adverbiale +) Akkusativobjekt (+ vorangestelltes Präfix *ā*)

(44) RV 1,7,3

<i>īndro</i>	<i>dīrghāya</i>	<i>cākṣasa</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>sūryam</i>	<i>robhayad</i>	<i>divi</i>
Indra	lang	Schauen		Sonne	ließ aufsteigen	Himmel
NOM.SG.M	DAT.SG.N			PFX ACC.SG.M	3SG.INJ.PRES.ACT	LOC.SG.M

‚Indra ließ zu langdauerndem Schauen die Sonne am Himmel aufsteigen.‘

SOV: Mittelfeld Ablativobjekt mit Attribut (+ vorangestelltes prädikatives Adjektiv)

(26) RV 1,52,10

<i>dyaus</i>	<i>cid asya</i>	<i>ānavām</i>	<i>āheh</i>	<i>svanād āyoyavid</i>	<i>bhiyāsā</i>
Himmel	dessen	voll Angriffslust	Schlange	Zischen	wich zurück Furcht
NOM.SG.M	PART GEN.SG.M	NOM.SG.M	GEN.SG.M	ABL.SG.M	3SG.IND.IPF.ACT INSTR.SG.N

„Sogar der Himmel, voller Angriffslust, wich aus Furcht vor ihr vor dem Zischen der Schlange zurück.“

In einer OVS-Abfolge besteht das Mittelfeld jedoch aus einem belebten Objekt, während das unbelebte Subjekt folgt.

OVS: Mittelfeld Akkusativobjekt

(25) RV 1,50,1

<i>ūd u</i>	<i>tyām</i>	<i>jātāvedasam devām</i>	<i>vahanti</i>	<i>ketāval</i>
hervor	diesen	Jātavedas	Gott bringen	Strahlen
PART ACC.SG.M	ACC.SG.M	ACC.SG.M	ACC.SG.M	3.PL.IND.PRES.ACT NOM.PL.M

„Hervor bringen diesen Gott Jātavedas die Strahlen.“

D. h., in diesen Belegen mit Mittelfeld wird die belebte Entität immer zuerst genannt. Auf eine andere Weise ist (36) zu beurteilen:

OVS: Mittelfeld Teil des Akkusativobjekts

(36) AV 2,6,5

<i>nīṣā</i>	<i>hī agne</i>	<i>duritā</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>tvām</i>
all	den Agni	Missgeschicke	überwinde	du
ACC.PL.N	VOC.SG.M	ACC.PL.N	2SG.IMP.PRES.ACT	NOM.SG

„Denn alle Missgeschicke, Agni, überwinde du“

Die belebte Entität wird am Schluss des Satzes genannt.

Warum aber unter der Vielzahl der Belege ein Mittelfeld so selten vorkommt, obwohl die Verbmittelstellung der Abfolgen Belebt–Unbelebt für ein solches Feld prädestiniert ist, liegt an der altindischen Satzstruktur. Wenn das Verb in (C° oder) I° bewegt worden ist und danach zwei Topikalisierungen, zumeist mit Hyperbaton, stattfinden, ist für ein Mittelfeld kaum noch Raum. Das Mittelfeld ist also dem dargebotenen altindischen Datenmaterial eine marginale Erscheinung.

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Experiencer Predicates in Hittite

Silvia Luraghi

1 Introduction

In this paper I discuss a number of experiencer predicates in Hittite and argue that they display different constructions which have parallels in other Indo-European languages as well as cross-linguistically. In particular, I show that experiencers can be coded as subjects of transitive and of unaccusative verbs, as accusative arguments of impersonal verbs, as direct objects, or as recipients/beneficiaries. I argue that the possibility for some experiencer verbs to occur with more than one construction reflects a situation, common to other ancient IE languages, in which several constructions were available for verbs in the domain of experience. In the light of current discussion on non-canonical subject marking and its relevance for the reconstruction of alignment I also address the issue of whether it is possible to provide evidence for subjecthood of non-nominative experiencers, and conclude that specific strategies for coding experiencer are not dependent on specific alignment types.

Experiencer predicates in Hittite have never received a unified treatment.¹ Indeed, when one starts digging into the texts, one realizes that they display a variety of constructions, some of which may bring about different interpretations of certain passages. Thus, this paper intends to provide a summary review of Hittite experiential constructions, while in the meantime indicating possible directions for further research.

2 The role experiencer and experiencer situations

The fact that constructions available for experiencer predicates are often disparate within the same language depends on the nature of experiencers. To illustrate this point, let us start with a number of experiencer predicates from English, a language which is quite exceptional in displaying consistent coding of experiencers as canonical subjects:

- (1) *Mary is hungry.*
- (2) *I'm getting annoyed at you.*

¹Many passages discussed in this paper are also discussed in Patri 2007, and are mentioned in reference grammars in the sections devoted to impersonal verbs. However, they are not grouped together as experiencer predicates, and are not contrasted with other experiencer verbs that occur in different constructions.

- (3) *John likes apples.*
- (4) *My mother fell ill.*
- (5) *The children learned the lesson.*
- (6) *The spectators couldn't see anything.*
- (7) *Shame forced him to leave the room.*

As shown in the examples, experiencer predicates may indicate states (as in 1, 3, 5) or be inchoative (as in 2 and 4). Reverse counterparts can normally be provided. Experiencer situations² often contain a stimulus, which can be coded as an adjunct, as *at you* in (2). In addition, they are sometimes reflected in transitive verbs, as in (3), (5) and (6): in fact, while (3) is quite untypical of the IE languages, verbs such as 'learn' and its stative counterpart 'know', as well as perception verbs such as 'see' and 'hear', are typically transitive, that is, experiencer situations can be coded using the schema of spontaneous events, as in (2), or of actions. In the latter case, the stimulus surfaces as a direct object, i.e. it is coded as a patient, as *apples* in (3), *the lesson* in (5), and *anything* in (6). Finally, experiencer situations may be coded through a non-experiencer predicate with a metaphorical reading: this typically happens when the stimulus is conceptualized as an agent, capable of bringing about a state of affairs, such as *shame* in (7), in which the experiencer is the direct object.

Experiencer situations include physical states and various types of mental states and activities. Verhoeven (2007) distinguishes among four sub-domains of experience: bodily sensations, emotions, cognition and volition. In my analysis of the Hitite data, I further distinguish between verbs of bodily sensations, such as 'be hungry', and verbs of perception, such as 'see' or 'hear', because the two groups of verbs tend to occur in different constructions. As remarked above, experiencer situations may indicate a change of state and be telic, but prototypically they do not: they are prototypically states (or activities, as in the case of the domain of cognition), thus atelic. Non-prototypicality of telicity in the domain of experience is indicated by the fact that across languages inchoative verbs are often morphologically more complex than those that indicate states. This holds especially for verbs of bodily sensation and emotion (see also Verhoeven 2007; note that it is also often the case that such situations are expressed with nominal predicates, of the type *be afraid*, *be hungry*).

Let us now turn to typical features of experiencers, as compared to other partly overlapping semantic roles. Experiencers are typically human: in this respect, they are similar to agents, as well as to recipients and beneficiaries. However, while agents are necessarily human because they must be able to act intentionally, experiencers are human because, by definition, they must be sentient. Contrary to agents, experiencers do not act voluntarily and are not capable of exerting control on a situation. In this respect, experiencers are similar to patients. However, there is a crucial difference between prototypical experiencers and prototypical patients, namely the latter, but not the former, necessarily undergo a change of state. Experiencers may undergo a change of state, in the case of inchoative verbs, but, as argued above, situations in which they

² Following a well established practice (see e.g. Lyons 1977), I use 'situation' as a cover term for all possible types of state of affairs.

occur are prototypically states. Note that experiencers share this feature with recipients and beneficiaries, which are distinct from patients, among other things, because they do not undergo a change of state. Thus, experiencer is a hybrid role, as shown in Table 1:³

	EXPERIENCER	AGENT	RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY	PATIENT
HUMANNESS	+	+	+	
CONTROL	–	+		–
VOLITION	–	+		–
CHANGE OF STATE	–		–	+

Table 1: Features of semantic roles

In the IE languages, we find specific morphological coding for agents (nominative), recipients/beneficiaries (dative), and patients (accusative), but not for experiencers. In fact, this is not only true of the IE languages: no language is reported to exist which has a dedicated experiencer case (cf. Haig 2009). Thus, it comes as no surprise that experiencers may be coded as any of the other three roles. As Haig (2009:11) remarks, “the syntax of Experiencerhood tends to be parasitic.”

Frequent coding of experiencers as subjects reflects a discourse principle: experiencer situations may involve an experiencer and a stimulus, but the experiencer, being human, is typically the most prominent participant and thus more topic-worthy.

When experiencer is not coded as subject, it may be the case that the morphological properties of subjects (nominative case, verbal agreement) occur on the stimulus. However, the fact that the experiencer still remains the most prominent participant in the sentence may bring about mismatches between coding and behavioral properties: for example, non-subject experiencers often stand in sentence-initial position, similar to subjects. As well known, it is out of such a mismatch that the English verb *like*, which occurred in the Dative-Nominative construction in Old English, acquired transitive syntax.⁴ In many other languages, the extent of possible mismatches is such that dative experiencers are better regarded as non-canonical subjects, even though it is the stimulus that agrees with the verb (see e.g. Barðdal and Eythórsson 2005 on Germanic).⁵

In many ancient IE languages, experiencers can also occur with so-called impersonal verbs, that is, verbs that do not agree either with the experiencer or with the stimulus, and are always inflected in the third person singular. In such constructions,

³Empty cells refer to features which are not relevant to the role, or whose relevance would require a discussion which is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁴Harris and Campbell (1995:83–8) discuss the reanalysis undergone by the English verb *like* and show what factors motivated speakers at various stages to analyze the experiencer rather than the stimulus as the subject of the construction.

⁵A definition of non-canonical subject (NCS) is given in Haig 2009:7: “NCS are NPs which, in terms of their semantic and pragmatic properties, and of their participation in syntactic rules, display significant similarities to uncontroversial subjects in the language concerned. However, they lack some or all of the case and agreement features otherwise associated with subjects.” See further Onishi 2001.

case marking can be regarded as only mirroring semantics (there is no participant which shares all agent properties, and hence no nominative coding), while the verb takes a ‘default’, non-referential inflection, similar to weather verbs, and only indicates the event in itself and not a privileged participant. In such cases, too, experiencer constituents are often regarded as non-canonical subjects (see §6 for further discussion).

Some more words deserve to be spent on the stimulus. Let us start with Verhoeven’s (2007:23) definition: “the stimulus is an entity or proposition that triggers the experience or to which the experience is directed.” Note that not all experiencer situations require a stimulus: in particular, “in situations of bodily sensation, the stimulus is not a central role” (2007:23). Indeed, if we go back to the examples, a situation such as (1) does not commonly require (or even allow) the addition of a stimulus. A stimulus must not be confused with the possible cause of a certain state of affairs: especially with verbs of emotion, causation is a complex matter, and the fact that the stimulus triggers an emotion does not mean that it is its ultimate cause, as we can see by comparing (2) with (2’):

(2’) *I’m getting annoyed at you because you’re being noisy.*

In (2’) *at you* indicates the stimulus, while the cause is contained in the clause *because you’re being noisy*. Some Hittite examples are discussed below, §3.2.

With reference to possible argument structure of experiential verbs I make use of the notion of construction, whose viability for the study of ancient languages has been highlighted in e.g. Lühr forthcoming; see further Barðdal 2006. As I argue in §7, experiencer predicates exhibit both verb-specific, verb subclass-specific, and verb class-specific constructions.

3 Nominative coding

3.1 Experiencer = agent

As remarked above, across languages experiencer predicates may be transitive verbs, and experiencers may be coded as agents. This is also true in Hittite, where, in much the same way as in the other IE languages, verbs such as *sak-* ‘know’ and *aus-* ‘see’ are transitive; the stimulus is treated as a patient, and coded through the accusative case. That subjects of such verbs are treated as agents is shown not only by nominative coding, but also by absence of third person clitics, even when such verbs occur without a direct object (i.e. they are unergative). Verbs in this group are typically active; they can have stative or inchoative meaning: the latter property is best exemplified by the verb *sak-*, which can also mean ‘learn’. Beside the verb ‘know’, this group includes perception verbs and the verb *ilaliya-* ‘desire, want’; transitive verbs of emotion are not frequent in Hittite. Thus, the group of transitive experiencer predicates is rather restricted in Hittite, though covering a wide range of experiential situations.⁶

The verb *nab(h)-* ‘fear’ can be transitive, even though it also occurs in a variety

⁶Note further that perception verbs such as *aus-*, *sakuwa-* and *istamas-* may indicate both experiencer situations (‘see’, ‘hear’), and agentive ones (‘look’, ‘listen to’); thus, the fact that they are transitive partly reflects possible agent properties (intentionality) of their subjects.

of other (more frequent) constructions (see §§3.2, 4.1, 5.2). An example with an accusative object is:

- (1) *nahmi-us* ^{MUŠ}*ill[iyankus]*

“I fear them, the snakes.”

KUB 8.65:22.⁷

However, transitive use of this verb is mostly limited to occurrences with the negative indefinite *UL kuitki* which also contain a beneficiary in the dative, as in (2), in which the verb is spelled with the sumerogram *HUŠ*:

- (2) *ANA SAG.DU* ^d*UTU-ŠI SIG₅-in UL-si kuitki HUŠ-ueni*

“(If) for the person of His Majesty (all will be) well, (and) we have nothing to fear for him.”

KUB 5.1 i 101.

Transitive usage of *nah(h)-* is in a sense exceptional. Indeed, there is no evidence that this verb displays unergative syntax when used without a direct object (as other transitive verbs do), while there is positive evidence for its unaccusative status (see also Garrett 1990:97, 139). In the case of negative clauses, it must be remarked that in some occurrences different duplicates have only *UL* instead of *UL kuitki*, as in (12) in §3.2. The same negation also occurs with other verbs, such as *lahlahhiya-*, for which there is no further evidence for transitivity:

- (3) *UL-kan kuitki lahlabbhiy[aueni]*

“We have nothing to worry about.”

KUB 16.62 rev. 3.

Some other occurrences of *nah(h)-* with possible direct object clitics can perhaps be explained differently, depending on how one interprets its so-called impersonal usage (§4.1).

3.2 Experiencer = non-agent subject

The biggest group of experiencer predicates is constituted by intransitive verbs which indicate feelings or physical states. Examples are *armaniya-*, *irmaliya-*, *istark-* ‘be/become ill’, *arsana-*, *arsaniya-* ‘envy’, *anda impai-* ‘be worried’, *karpīya-*, *kartimmiya-* ‘be angry’, *katkattiya-* ‘shiver, tremble’, *kistanziya-* ‘be hungry’, *lahlahhiya-* ‘worry’, *lazziya-* ‘recover’, *lelaniya-* ‘become furious’, *nah(h)-* (mostly active), *nahsariya-* ‘be(come) afraid’, *dusk-* ‘rejoice’, *warsiya-* ‘be satisfied’ (the list is not exhaustive). Verbs in this group are unaccusative, and their subjects do not have agent properties, as shown by the occurrence of clitics in case of third person subjects not expressed by a NP. Even though verbs such as *istark-* and *nah(h)-* are consistently active⁸ (but

⁷Translations are from Güterbock et al. 1983– (hereinafter *CHD*) or from Puhvel 1984– (hereinafter *HED*) when available, with partial adaptation.

⁸Note further that these two specific verbs are also the ones that are most consistently used impersonally. Another group of experiential verbs which are typically active (but are not impersonal) includes *hassik-*, *ispai-* and *nink-* ‘satiating oneself’. Arguably, these verbs are semantically similar to transitive perception verbs because they often indicate intentional states of affairs. See *HED* s.m. (*CHD* s.m. *nink-*).

note that middle verbs with similar meaning also exist), verbs with experiencer subjects are most frequently middle. Some of them mostly indicate states; *karpiya-* and *kartimmiya-* have inchoative counterparts with the suffix *-es*,⁹ while others can have an inchoative interpretation depending on the context, as in:

- (4) *LÚ-as witti meyani armaniyatta n-as SIG₅-atta*

“The man will become sick every year and will recover.” KUB 4.72 rev. 2–3.

When a stimulus occurs with verbs of emotional or bodily state, it is usually in the dative-locative, both with animate and inanimate referents, as shown in (5) and (6) (another example with the verb *varsiya-* is in (23)):

- (5) *nu ammeyantan sallin DUMU.NITA attas DINGIR.MEŠ-is pahsantaru n-at-za harsani=ssi TI-anni duskantaru*

“May the father gods protect the son, little or big, and may they be delighted with his head and (his) life!” (Bo 2555 ii 11–2, cf. Neu 1968:181);

- (6) *[(n-as n)]absaratti [(katkattiskizzi)]*

“He trembles with fear.” KBo 12.74:9.

The verb *nah(h)-*, already discussed in §3.1, is most often intransitive and also takes a stimulus in the dative-locative, either animate or inanimate, as in:

- (7) *nu=si LÚKÚR URUGasgas h[(ūmanza) nah]ta*

“All the Kaskaean enemy feared him.” KBo 5.6 i 30;

- (8) *nu apēdani=ya memini nahun*

“I became afraid of that matter too.” KUB 31.66 ii 1.

In (9) the stimulus is the dative NP *kuedani memiyani* according to the translation in the *CHD*, but note that the adverb *piran* could also be taken as part of the phrase. Following the second interpretation, the stimulus is coded by the adpositional phrase headed by *piran*:

- (9) *piran-kan kuedani memiyani lahlahhesgaueni*

“The matter about which we constantly worry in advance” or: “The matter about which we constantly worry” KBo 2.2 i 43–7.

As argued in §2, especially with verbs of emotion causation may be complex: the stimulus triggers a certain emotion in the experiencer, but it may also co-occur with a cause. An example is given in (10), in which the stimulus is in the dative-locative and refers to a human participant, while the cause is coded through an adpositional phrase:

⁹Another such pair of verbs is constituted by *werite-* ‘be afraid’ and *werites-* ‘become afraid’, which are attested in broken contexts.

- (10) DINGIR.MEŠ-es-kan ¹⁰Kessiya ispanduzzi ser kartimmiyatuwantes

“The gods (were) angry at Kessi over the (lack of) libation.” KUB 33.121 ii 12–3.

In (11), the cause is an NP in the ablative (the instrumental also occurs in similar passages):

- (11) ANA SAG.DU dUTU-ŠI SAL.LUGAL ÚŠ-za KALAG.GA-za GIG-za UL
kuitki HUS-ueni

“(If) we have nothing to fear for His Majesty or the queen from plague(?) or from a serious illness.” KUB 18.12 i 5.

Note that it is not clear whether this sentence contains a stimulus constituent different from the cause: the duplicate omits the word *kuitki* (cf. *CHD s.v. nah(h)-*). Note further that the feeling does not directly concern the experiencer (here the subject), but it rather concerns the beneficiary. Thus, the possible matter of fear is the cause of a complex feeling, rather than simply triggering fear in the experiencer as a stimulus does in a normal experiencer situation.

3.3 Nominal predicates

Often, physical and mental states are denoted by adjectives, rather than by verbs, as in the case of *kisduwant-* ‘hungry’, which occurs in place of *kistanzya-*:

- (12) *kuis kisduwanza* *kuis kaniruwanza* DINGIR-LIM-is nu uwatten izzatten ekutten

“Whatever god is hungry or thirsty, come eat (and) drink!” KBo 10.45 iv 11–2.

In fact, the corresponding verb ‘be thirsty’ is not even clearly attested (cf. *HED s.v.*), and the adjective normally occurs, as shown in (12). This type of construction may also contain verbal participles. The copula, which is regularly omitted in the present, may occasionally also be omitted in the preterit. The use of nominal predicates containing an adjective to indicate experiencer situations is cross-linguistically common, especially for bodily states and emotions, and English, with predicates such as *be hungry*, *be cold*, and *be afraid*, is an example.

3.4 Nominative coding: summary

To sum up, nominative coding of experiencers is common in Hittite, and involves different types of verb. In the first place, we find verbs of volition, mental activity and perception, which occur in the Nominative-Accusative (or transitive) construction, with the stimulus treated as the direct object, and are unergative when used intransitively. Verbs of emotion are infrequently transitive; most often, emotions, as well as physical sensations, are indicated by intransitive unaccusative verbs, whose subject is the experiencer (Nominative construction); if a stimulus is present, it is usually coded through the dative-locative case.¹⁰ Such intransitive verbs can often also be inchoative. States can be indicated by verbs or by adjectives occurring in nominal sentences.

¹⁰In fact this construction could equally well be tagged Nominative-Dative: the reason why I only use the label Nominative is that several of these verbs never occur with a stimulus in the available sources.

Thus, the constructions analyzed in this section tend to be verb subclass-specific, even though the Nominative-Accusative construction can extend to (almost) the whole domain of experience, as shown by its extension to some verbs of emotion; hence, it can better be regarded as verb class-specific.

4 Accusative coding

4.1 Impersonal verbs

The verbs *irmaliya-* and *istarak-* ‘be(come) ill’ often occur in impersonal constructions, inflected in the third person singular, with the experiencer NP in the accusative (Accusative construction), as in:

- (13) *m]ān antuhsan SAG.DU-ŠU istara[kzi] n-an nassu apenissan ista[r]akzi*

“If a man has head pains, or if he has some similar illness” KUB 8.36 ii 12–3.

Since these verbs also occur, albeit less frequently, in personal constructions with the experiencer in the nominative (see also *armania-* in (4)), as well as with true experiencer objects in occurrences in which the illness is the subject (see below, example (17)), one may wonder which constructions reflects their original syntax. Chronology of texts cannot help us here, because none of the OH/OS originals attests the two verbs. Hoffner and Melchert (2008) consider the type given in example (17) below as the origin of the impersonal construction. I will return to this point after the discussion of impersonal uses of *nah(h)-*.

Some occurrences in which the verb *nah(h)-* had previously been taken as being accompanied by a beneficiary or reflexive dative 1st and 2nd person clitics have recently been interpreted as impersonal constructions; following this interpretation clitics can be taken as either accusative (Hoffner and Melchert 2008) or dative (Patri 2007). Examples are:

- (14) *nu-wa-ssan mān pāimi nahi-mu par(a)smi* UR.BAR.RA-*ni*

“When I go up there, I fear (lit.: “it fears me”) the leopard and the wolf” (see Patri 2007:115, Hoffner and Melchert 2008:250 translate “I fear with respect to the leopard (and) the wolf”; the *CHD* translation is: “For my sake be fearful with respect to the leopard (and) the wolf”) KBo 21.103 rev. 28;

- (15) *lē-wa-tta nahi*

“Let there not be a fearing to you” (translation from Hoffner and Melchert 2008:192; the translation given in *CHD* is: “Don’t be afraid for yourself!”) KUB 33.24 i 43 (OH/NS).

In the light of the above translations, one could perhaps also take (16) as an instance of impersonal usage of *nah(h)-*, and the clitic *-an* as representing the experiencer, rather than the stimulus. Note however that this interpretation depends on whether one considers first and second person clitics in (14) and (15) as accusative or as dative, a decision which does not rest on any independent evidence (see the discussion immediately following the example):

- (16) ^dZA.BA₄.BA₄[(-as IŠME) ...] s-an nah_{ta}

"Zababa heard ... (the sound of the goat's horn?) and feared him/it (com. sg., either another deity or the sound)" KUB 33.52 ii 6-7.

Hoffner and Melchert (2008:250), arguing in favor of the new translation of (14) and (15), remark that accusative experiencers occur with impersonal verbs of emotion in other IE languages, and mention Latin *me veretur* and German *mich fürchtet*. In fact, such constructions occur not only in the domain of emotions, but also in the domain of bodily states and sensations, as in German *mich hungert*, Russian *menja tošnit* 'I feel sick', *menja znobit* 'I shiver'. If we accept the parallel for *nab(h)*-, it is not necessary to assume that impersonal use of verbs of illness is secondary with respect to occurrences where the word for 'illness' is the subject, as in:

- (17) n-an idālus GIG-as istark_{ta}

"He was struck by a bad illness."

KUB 14.15 ii 6.

It can further be remarked that the IE languages offer evidence for impersonal constructions of experiencer verbs to be 'normalized', with experiencers receiving canonical subject coding. This is true for example of Latin verbs of the type *me taedet* etc., which also occur in personal constructions as early as Plautus (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965:82), even though the impersonal construction is considered older. Similarly, the existence of personal constructions in Hittite may also be a later development, considering that evidence from other languages suggests that change goes from impersonal to personal. This is not only true of the IE languages, but it holds in general for so-called 'non-canonical subjects', such as arguments of impersonal verbs, as remarked by Haig (2009:20): "there is often an observable tendency for NCS-constructions to blend towards canonical transitive and intransitive constructions."

Note that among types of experiencers those that occur with verbs of illness are most similar to patients, because they are highly affected. This brings about accusative coding for the experiencer, rather than, for example, dative coding (an example with the dative is discussed in §5.2).¹¹

The case of the verb *nab(h)*- can be considered analogous to verbs of illness, as I have done thus far, but indeed it remains more complicated since, as remarked above, there is no external evidence that helps us decide whether first and second person clitics must be taken as accusative or as dative. Comparative evidence adduced in this section points toward the accusative interpretation; however, a case can equally well be made for taking this construction to contain a dative, as I will show in §5.2.

¹¹In this connection, I would like to compare verbs of illness to weather verbs. With both types of verb, causation is an unclear matter for humans. Weather verbs are typically impersonal in the IE languages; however, in some ancient languages including Hittite there are occurrences of personal constructions, where the subject is the god which is assumed to govern them. Personal constructions are considered secondary (cf. Benveniste 1966:230 on Greek). Clearly, weather verbs are impersonal as a reflex of the fact that they refer to situations in which there are no necessary participants, while illness require the participant who is ill. But unclear causation may cause partial extension of the construction of weather verbs, which does not involve a subject.

Puhvel (*HED s.v. karpiya-*) compares the following occurrence of the verb *karpiya-* ‘be angry’ to impersonal usage of verbs of illness:

- (18) *man antubsan DINGIR.MEŠ-naz karpiyan harzi*

“If anger at a man is harbored by the gods . . .”

KBo 29.33 i 2–3.

In fact (18) is quite different, because here the accusative is the stimulus, and the experiencer is the NP in the ablative, which is coded as a cause or possibly as a source. However, it can be argued that in this occurrence the person at whom the gods are angry is conceived as being struck by some disgrace, in much the same way as s/he could be by an illness, and this explains the extension of the construction commonly used for illness verbs.

To sum up, the Accusative construction seems to be verb-specific (see also Patri 2007:98–9), and it is limited to a small number of verbs in Hittite, namely verbs of illness and possibly the verb ‘fear’.

4.2 Metaphorical expressions

Emotions or physical sensations can be personified, and occur as subjects of action verbs. In such cases the experiencer is the direct object. Some Hittite examples contain inchoative predicates:

- (19) *nu-wa É-ir katkattimas ēpta SAG.GEMÉ.Ì[(R.MEŠ-ya)] naksaraz-a ēpta*

“Trembling seized the house, and fear seized the servants.” KUB 33.98 ii 7–8;

- (20) *nu apēl ABU-ŠU AMA-ŠU pittulias wemiyazi*

“Anguish will find his father and mother.”

KUB 8.35 obv. 7.

Metaphors are frequently used across languages to refer to feelings and physical sensations: feelings are often represented as dominating human beings, and typically they cannot be controlled; physical sensations are also triggered unconsciously in humans and escape control. For this reason, they can be part of metaphors which attribute them agent properties, as shown in the above examples, where two nouns of feelings, *naksaraz* and *pittulias*, and a noun that indicates a bodily state, *katkattimas*, are the subjects of action verbs. Metaphorical reference to emotions and bodily sensations is a wide field which would deserve an in-depth investigation in Hittite.

5 Dative coding

5.1 Stimulus = subject

Especially the verbs *assiya-* (as well as the nominal predicate *assu- es-*) ‘like, love’, *marsiya-* ‘feel pity/mercy’ and *pugga-* ‘dislike, hate’ occur in intransitive constructions, in which the experiencer appears in the dative, and the stimulus, often human, in the nominative:

- (21) DAM-KA=*pat-wa-kan āssiyattat*
 “You only loved your wife (all the time).” KUB 33.121 ii 9;¹²
- (22) [*n*]=*as-mu-kan uwayattat* [*n*]=*an daliyanuyanun*
 “(Because Armadatta was an old man) I took pity on him and let him go.”
 KUB 19.67 i 20–1;¹³
- (23) *nu-ssi-kan ŠA AMILUTTI UZU puggataru namma nu-wa-ssan kattan kēdas*
UDU.ŠIR.HI.A warsiyabbut
 “May human flesh (lit. the flesh of mankind) be hateful to him once again. And
 may you, (O deity,) be satisfied with these rams” HT 1 iii 32–5.

The verb *nakkes-* ‘trouble’, ‘create concern’ also occurs in this construction:

- (24) *n-as ammuk nakkestat*
 “She (i.e. Hebat) troubled me.” KUB 14.4 iii 23–5.

These verbs are unaccusative; their construction is similar to Latin *mihi placet*/*mihi displicet*. Nominal predicates containing adjectives or participles with similar meaning also occur with dative experiencers, as in:

- (25) *nu-kan* ^dGAŠAN-*li* [*k*]*uit É-er pukkan*
 “Whatever household is hated by IŠTAR, . . .” KUB 24.7 i 24–5
- (26) *uk-wa at* [*ti*]=*mm* [*i natt*]*a assus*
 “My father doesn’t like me.” KBo 22.2 rev. 4–5.

This is the only construction (together with the metaphorical expressions examined in §4.2) in which the stimulus is the grammatical subject. As already remarked, these verbs often occur with two animate participants: animacy may be the reason why the stimulus receives a privileged syntactic status. Thus, the Dative-Nominative construction is verb subclass-specific, and it is available for verbs of emotion.

5.2 Impersonal constructions

A number of verbs may be used impersonally, inflected in the third person singular, with a dative experiencer (see Friedrich 1960:120). Examples include the following (several other occurrences of impersonal *nakkes-* can be found in *HED* and *CHD* s.p.):

- (27) ‘ANA’^m [*Pihu*]*niya-ma GIM-an nakkesta*
 “Since it became troublesome for Pihuniya” KUB 19.30 i 16;
- (28) [*(nu)*]=*ssi mahhan kāsti kāninti nakke* [*(esta)*]
 “When they (= the population) started to suffer hunger and thirst”
 KUB 14.15 iii 45–6;

¹²For the translation of this verb (stative or inchoative) see Neu 1968:20, *HED* s.p.

¹³See Neu 1968:186 with other examples.

- (29) *nu-kan ANA ÉRIN.MEŠ kasti āras*

“It came to famine for the troops.”

HT 21 + KUB 8.80:9–10;

- (30) *nu-ssi sakuwas piran É-ri anda katkattiyati*

“(If) it shakes for him before his eyes in his house”

KUB 29.9 i 8.

In spite of not being numerous, the above examples contain a variety of experiencer situations, including emotion, as in (27), physical state, as in (28) and (29), and perception, as in (30); in addition, Friedrich (1960:131) also mentions the frequent expression *mān LUGAL-i assu* “if it (seems) good to the king”, which indicates a mental activity.

A passage also contains an occurrence of the verb *istarak-* used impersonally with an experiencer in the dative-locative:

- (31) *HUR.SAG.MEŠ-ass-a mahhan istamasta nu-ssi-kan ŠÀ-ŠU anda istarakkiat*

“And when the mountain heard (this), it got ill in its heart.”

KBo 32.14 ii 10 (discussed in Patri 2007:90).

The reason for the occurrence of a dative rather than an accusative experiencer in this passage may be seen in a lower degree of affectedness: the experiencer is not said to fall ill, and in fact the meaning in this passage is rather ‘suffer’.

The evidence in this section shows that the Dative construction was apparently available for all types of experiencer predicate in Hittite (except verbs of volition), and it does not seem to be connected with specific verbs or subclasses of verbs. In this connection, one may wonder whether occurrences of the verb *nah(h)-* with 1st and 2nd person clitics should not be considered as instantiations of this construction, rather than of the Accusative construction.

6 Non-canonical subjects in Hittite?

Up to now, I have followed traditional accounts and used the label ‘impersonal’ for the constructions in §§4.1 and 5.2. As I have remarked occasionally during the discussion, both the Accusative and the Dative constructions for experiencers are attested in the other IE languages; they are especially frequent in Germanic and Slavic. Especially for these two language families, recent studies have shown that non-nominative constituents with verbs inflected in the third person singular display subject properties, in spite of not triggering verb agreement. In addition, even experiencer constituents in the Dative-Nominative construction (such as those in §5.1) have subject properties in various languages.

Possible tests for subjecthood include word order, topic-worthiness, and control of equi-NP deletion in coordinated clauses; apart from topic-worthiness, which, in the frequent case that the experiencer is the only animate participant, seems tautological, strictly syntactic tests are not available for Hittite. Leaving aside word order, which in

Hittite is largely free, even equi-NP deletion is not reliable.¹⁴ In English, in a sentence like

- (32) *John kissed Mary and Ø left.*

the subject can be omitted in the second clause only if it is coreferent with the subject in the first one; however, this is not the case in Hittite, where occurrences such as (33) are by no means exceptional:

- (33) *pedi=ssi=ma antuhsan pai nu Ê-ri=ssi aniskizzi*

“He gives a man in his (= the wounded person’s) place, and he (= the man who has been given) works in his house.” HG 10.26–7 = A I 16–7.

In (33) the omitted subject in the second conjunct is coreferent with the direct object of the first conjunct, and not with its subject.

Thus, in the absence of reliable tests for subjecthood, it may seem a matter of terminology whether one wants to speak of non-canonical subject marking rather than impersonal verbs. However, there may be a reason not to use the label ‘impersonal’ for the verbs under discussion. Let us recall for what other types of verb this label is used. In the first place, there are weather verbs, which refer to situations that have no participants. In the second, there are occurrences where a middle verb form in the third person refers to an event without regard to participants, as in:

- (34) *nu-kan INA ŠÀ KUR^{URU} Hatti apezza UD.KAM-az akkiskittāri*

“From that day there is continuous dying in the interior of the Hatti country.” KUB 14.13 i 50.

In (34) the verb *akkiskittāri* refers to the event of dying in itself, in spite of the obvious fact that this event involves participants: but the use of a subjectless construction, similar to the construction of verbs that refer to natural phenomena, only profiles the event. In the experiencer constructions in §§4.1 and 5.2, on the other hand, participants do occur, even though no NP triggers verb agreement. Lack of verbal agreement is not connected with the absence of a possible subject, as in (34), but with the occurrence of constructions that highlight specific semantic properties of the role experiencer, which, as I have pointed out in §2, shares various features with other roles not prototypically coded with the nominative. In the light of these considerations, one may want to use the label ‘impersonal’ only for verbs that occur without participants, and ‘non-canonical subject marking’ for those that take the Accusative or the Dative construction.

Several scholars have argued that the existence of non-canonical marking of subjects in the IE languages can be taken as evidence for reconstructing active alignment in PIE (see Barðdal and Eythórsson 2008, which also contains further references). This issue is highly speculative, and the frequency with which experiencer triggers non-canonical subject marking across languages should at least make one suspicious.

¹⁴Another possible test is control of subordinated infinitives, for which the sources offer no evidence. On partial viability of such tests for experiencer subjects in Ancient Greek, see Lühr forthcoming.

Recently, Haig (2009) suggested that traditional alignment typology is based on transitive constructions, and that experiencer verbs are not easily accommodated in such a framework. He argues that experiential situations belong to an area of ‘extra-transitivity’, of which non-canonical coding is a reflex, and that the occurrence of such coding in a language is not a diagnostic for the alignment of prototypically transitive verbs. Following this suggestion, I would like to conclude that the occurrence of non-canonical subjects with experiential predicates (i.e. impersonal constructions) in Hittite reflects a common tendency of experiential predicates and does not constitute any evidence for the type of alignment system that must be reconstructed for transitive verbs in PIE.¹⁵

7 Summary

Hittite experiencer predicates occur in a number of different constructions. Leaving aside metaphorical expressions such as those in §4.2, which would deserve a separate treatment, a number of generalizations can be made. Possible constructions are the following:

- i. Transitive, or Nominative-Accusative
- ii. Nominative
- iii. Accusative
- iv. Dative-Nominative
- v. Dative

Of these constructions, (ii), (iv) and (v) also occur with nominal predicates. Even though there is a tendency for verbs that indicate mental activities and perception to be transitive, while verbs that indicate emotions and bodily sensations are mostly intransitive and occur in the Nominative construction, some verbs of emotion can also be transitive. Thus, the Nominative-Accusative construction covers the whole range of experiential situations, and is verb class-specific, while the Nominative construction only covers two subtypes of experiential predicates, including bodily sensations and emotions, and is verb subclass-specific. A smaller set of these verbs (apparently limited to verbs of emotion) occurs in the Dative-Nominative construction, which must also be regarded as verb subclass-specific. The Dative construction, though only attested by a small number of occurrences, extends to all types of experiencer situations, except for volition, and can be considered verb class-specific, in much the same way as the (much more frequent) Nominative-Accusative construction. Finally, the Accusative construction is limited to specific verbs which denote experiencer situations in which the experiencer is highly affected, i.e. highly patient-like. The findings are summarized in Table 2:

¹⁵It follows that I would not speak of different types of alignment in connection with NCS even in Hittite, as Patri (2007) apparently does.

Situation	VOLITION	MENTAL STATE/ ACTIVITY	PERCEPTION	BODILY SENSATION	EMOTION
Construction					
NOM-ACC					
NOM					
DAT					
DAT-NOM					
ACC					

Table 2: Constructions of Hittite experiencer predicates¹⁵

From the above results, it appears that most types of experiencer predicates in Hittite can have more than one construction; the subfield of experience which appears to be most complex is the subfield of emotion, which allows for the whole range of available constructions.

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¹⁵Lighter shading indicates that the Accusative construction is verb specific, hence more restricted than other constructions. Note that its extension to the field of emotions is not certain: as we have seen, its existence with *nab(h)*- is a matter of interpretation.

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How (Not) to Compare Tocharian and Ancient Greek Verbal Stems

Melanie Malzahn and Martin Peters

It is fair to say that Craig Melchert's monograph-sized article on the huge class of Tocharian verb stems ending in *-tk(ā)-* (Melchert 1978) ranks among the most important and most influential papers on the historical grammar of Tocharian ever. In what follows, we will simply try to present as an ἀντίδοσις ὀλίγη a tiny piece on an itsy bitsy teenie weenie class of Tocharian B verbs that actually consists of only three members, viz. *māk*^(ā) 'run,' *rit*^ā 'seek, long for, cherish (a wish),' and *wärp*^ā 'feel; enjoy; suffer, receive, consent.'

These three roots have in common the particular feature that in their Grundverb paradigms all finite forms made from the preterit stem—which is of Class I—and all finite forms based on the subjunctive stem—which is of Class V—are restricted to the middle voice, and that, nevertheless, all forms made from the subjunctive stem appearing in documents of non-MQ character consistently bear the accent on the first syllable. According to the explanation suggested for the subjunctive stems of Class V in Malzahn 2010:309–10, all of them developed out of former pre-P(ROTO-)T(ocharian) present stems, and at least most of these present stems had been coined by replacing the preterit endings in the respective preterit stems of Class I (which accordingly must have existed before the pre-PT ancestors of the subjunctive stems) by present endings, and in addition by attaching a reduplication syllable (sc. consisting of a reduplication vowel pre-PT **-e-*). According to Malzahn (2010:310–4), that reduplication syllable was preserved into PT and even pre-Tocharian B times (and ultimately reflected by Tocharian B initial accent) only if the vowel of the following root syllable was a vowel other than pre-PT **-ā-*, **-i-*, and **-u-* (such pre-PT hyper-short root vowels having triggered a replacement of the reduplication vowel **-e-* precisely by **-ā-*, **-i-*, and **-u-*, respectively, as a consequence of which the by now hyper-short reduplication syllable was completely lost already in PT times). If all of this is correct, the pre-PT ancestors of Tocharian B Preterit I forms such as *mkānte*, *ritātai*, *ritāte*, *wärpāte* will all have to be reconstructed with a pre-PT root vowel **-e-*. As for the stem-final *-ā-*, the fact that all three of the Preterit I formations are restricted to the middle voice seems to exclude derivation from the PIE aorist suffix **-eh₂-*, which in PIE was most probably confined to the active voice, and rather suggests that at least the pivotal member(s) of our small class of verbs had started out as bare root(s) ending in a laryngeal;¹ accordingly, these

¹Of course *-ā-* can also go back to pre-PT **-ō-*, but it would not make good sense to take the three verbs to be denominatives from (unattested) pre-PT agent nouns in **-o-* with a root vowel **-e-*.

finite forms of the three preterits then seem to be best derived from athematic Narten (aorist or imperfect) middle forms.

Strangely enough, maybe all three of these verbs have cognates in Ancient Greek only. This is least likely in the case of *rit^ā* ‘seek, long for, cherish (a wish)’; for this root, a connection with *ἐρείδω* ‘cause to lean, prop, support; press hard’/ἐρείδουαι ‘prop oneself, lean upon; be fixed firmly’ was first proposed by Van Windekens and then somewhat hesitatingly accepted by Adams (1999:534). As a matter of fact, PT **rāytā-* can indeed be derived from PIE **(H)reydH-*, cf. PT **k’ātā-* ‘strew’ (Tocharian B Preterit I *stasta*, *šitām*, *stare*) from PIE **(s)kedh₂-* ‘scatter, disperse’ (LIV² 550f.). However, this root quite possibly belongs rather with the PIE root **reydh-*, which is said by LIV² 502 to have had the original meaning “sich schwankend bewegen,” but which may have perfectly well rather denoted ‘direct,’ so that the Tocharian *medium tantum* may have started out with the meaning ‘direct oneself towards.’

As for *wārp^ā* ‘feel; enjoy; suffer, receive, consent,’ according to what was said above one will have to reconstruct pre-PT **wrepa-*. This pre-PT root, the original semantics of which may have been ‘undergo,’ could provide a cognate for Greek *ρέπω* ‘sink, incline, fall,’ i.e., ‘go down.’ It is not unreasonable to think that ‘go down before’ could turn into ‘undergo.’ It has to be admitted, however, that the paradigm of *ρέπω* does not provide any evidence for a root-final laryngeal, and that the Greek simplex verb is almost exclusively attested in the active voice (Aisch. *Supp.* 405 being the sole exception). Note, on the other hand, that in post-Homeric poetic language (viz. in that of Aischylos, Sophocles, Theognis), the active forms of the compounds *ἐπιρρέπω* and *καταρρέπω* are sporadically used transitively, i.e. with the causative meanings ‘force down (one scale); weigh out to one, allot’ and ‘cause to incline, make fall,’ respectively, which seems to imply that there existed intransitive *middle* forms of *ρέπω*—or maybe exclusively of the two compounds *ἐπιρρέπω* and *καταρρέπω*—in some of the poetic traditions Aischylos, Sophocles, and Theognis were familiar with. Although there can be little doubt that this middle inflexion should be considered an innovation (perhaps basically restricted to compounds), it would nevertheless provide a welcome parallel for the exclusive middle inflexion found with the Tocharian B root *wārp^ā* ‘feel; enjoy; suffer, receive, consent.’

It is the third root that provides the most intriguing aspects. In fact, we would like to suggest that *māk^(ā)* ‘run’ is to be equated with the Greek disyllabic (sic)² root *μαχε-* ‘fight.’ As for the latter, at first glance one may feel tempted to derive it from a PIE root **mag^bh₁-*, but since forms such as *τέμαχος* ‘slice of fish’ and *χατέω/χατίζω* ‘crave, need, have need of’ clearly indicate that next to a velar even **h₁* had turned into *-a-* in Greek, one may better explain *μαχε-* as a metathesized **mek^ha⁻³* from a PIE root **meg^hH-*, which could, of course, perfectly well also underlie pre-PT **mekā-* ‘run’. With respect to the semantics, ‘run (aggressively towards)’ could have easily turned

²As implied by the aorist *ἐμαχέσασθαι*, the present stem variant *μαχέομαι* and the future stem variant *μαχέσομαι*; of course these formations could also come from a denominative paradigm based on an *s*-stem, but there is no such *s*-stem attested in Ancient Greek.

³In Ancient Greek, beside the well-known instances of **-ei/lo-* > *-o/λe-* other kinds of vowel metathesis seem to have been possible as well; see Forssman 2005:110, 112.

into ‘fight’,⁴ and there is indeed some evidence in Greek itself that points to such a former meaning of the (thematic) stem *μαχε/ο-* ‘fight’, viz. the adjective *μάχλος* ‘lewd, lustful’ (said of women only), which we suggest started out as a parallel to ModHG *läufig* ‘in heat’ (also said of females only).⁵

There is one loose end left, however: What exactly is the Greek verbal stem with which the pre-PT asigmatic *preterit* stem **meka-* is to be equated? Since in our view Tocharian preterit stems that do not derive from PIE perfect stems are rather regularly the outcomes of PIE aorist stems, and since in Greek the respective aorist is sigmatic *ἐμαχεσ(σ)άμην*, at first glance it seems to be quite obvious that the *asigmatic* Tocharian preterit should indeed be derived from the same PIE source as the Greek *sigmatic* aorist, but things are not so simple. As a matter of fact, beside the present stem *μαχεε/ο-* that so perfectly matches the aorist *ἐμαχεσ(σ)άμην*, there also exists another, descriptively less complex present stem (which is actually even more frequently attested), viz. simple thematic *μαχε/ο-*, which could easily be derived from an athematic Narten present stem **megʰH-*. Accordingly, one may feel inclined to derive both the pre-PT Preterit I stem **meka-* and the Greek imperfect stem allomorph *μαχε-* from a PIE athematic Narten imperfect stem **megʰH-*, so that one would not have to worry about the fact that the Greek aorist has an *-σ-*, and the Tocharian preterit has not.

It is this latter kind of analysis, however, that in our view is severely flawed. Already Frisk (1970:188)—seemingly followed by Beekes (2010:916)—suggested that *μαχε/ο-* originally functioned as an aorist stem, and we think he was right, although for the wrong reasons.⁶ The right reason is that at least in Attic-Ionic and Doric, beside sigmatic aorists in *-εσα-* of the *καλεσα-* type one only finds presents in *(*)-εε/ο-* of the *καλέω* type, and no simple thematic presents of a **kale/ο-* type; the seeming exception of *στέρομαι* is quite telling, because this archaic passive of *στερέω* ‘deprive’ does not belong with the aorist stem *σπερεσα-*, but with the asigmatic aorist stem *σπερη-*. But if *μαχε(/ο)-* indeed started out as an aorist stem, then how did it come about that it was turned into a present stem, and that a new sigmatic aorist in *-εσα-* was created?

It is the distribution of the various forms from the thematic stem *μαχε/ο-* (especially in Homer) that can provide an answer to these questions. In Homer, we do not find so many attestations of indicative present forms and imperfect forms from this stem; the main bulk of attestations is provided by the infinitive *μάχεσθαι*. It is then not unreasonable to guess that at least the forms of the indicative present and the imperfect (such as *μάχονται* and *(ἐ)μάχοντο*) have been back-formed to that infinitive. That asigmatic infinitive itself, however, could quite well have originally belonged with the sigmatic indicative forms of the aorist, since in Ancient Greek there also

⁴We think it is best to assume this semantic change happened already in pre-Mycenaean times, but we are not able to exclude the possibility that it rather occurred at the end of the Mycenaean period, in the context of the enormous change in warfare that took place at that time according to Drews (1993:209ff.). Cf. also *παλαίω* ‘wrestle’ from ‘near, approach’ (Peters 1984:39*).

⁵For similar semantic changes from ‘run, chase’ to ‘be rutting/in heat’ in various Slavic languages, see the excellent discussion in Reinhart 2003:148–9.

⁶Frisk’s wrong reasons were the existence of a future stem in *-ησε/ο-* (which was no doubt merely a substitute for more archaic *μαχέσ(σ)ομαι* and *μαζέομαι*) and the not so frequent use of the sigmatic aorist stem in Homer (which does not prove anything).

exist other examples of asigmatic non-finite verb forms evidently going together with regularly built (i.e., sigmatic) indicative forms of a sigmatic aorist.⁷

The obvious conclusion then will be that both pre-PT **mekā-* and Greek *μαχεσ(σ)α-, μάχεσθαι* derive from a PIE presigmatic aorist with Narten ablaut, and that, in Greek at least, the “classical” indicative middle forms of such presigmatic aorists (i.e., those with the endings *-μην, -σο, -το*, etc.) tended to show sigmatic inflexion,⁸ whereas in pre-PT all of the middle forms of presigmatic aorists remained asigmatic. As a matter of fact, such a treatment in pre-PT can hardly come as a huge surprise, since Jasanoff noticed already decades ago that in Tocharian there are no equivalents of the Sanskrit *-is-* aorists, and since already Ringe claimed the Tocharian middle *sā-*aorist to be an innovation.⁹

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⁷ See Peters 2002:115, 119. With respect to *μάχεσθαι*, one could, of course, in theory even make the claim that this infinitive had also started out as a sigmatic form, and only escaped (due to its frequency) the substitution of bare **-s-* by the *-σα-* that in the first millennium showed up in all middle forms synchronically belonging to sigmatic aorists in almost all of the dialects (with the notable exception of Pamphylian, which had *-σε/ο-*).

⁸ This obviously does not hold for *ἐγένετο* = Armenian *cnaw* < PIE **ǵenh₁-to*.

⁹ See the references in Malzahn 2010:212.

PIE *-Cmn-* and Greek *τῶνός* ‘clear’

Alan J. Nussbaum

1 The special treatment of *-Cmn-* sequences in PIE and IE

1.1. Johannes Schmidt devoted pages 87–159 of his *Kritik der Sonantentheorie* (1895) to a study of PIE *-Cmn-* sequences and a theory about the conditions under which these were reduced to *-Cn-* (or *-Cm-*).¹ A conspicuous example,² and one that has become the “poster case” for *-Cmn-* > *-Cn-*, is that of PIE **h₂ek̑-mon-* ‘stone (etc.)’ (Ved. *ásman-*, Av. *asman-*, Gk. *ἄκμων*, etc.). As is well known, RV nom. sg. *ásma*, acc. *ásmánam*, and loc. *ásman(i)* (plus inst. pl. *ásmabhiḥ*) have beside them not only regular-looking oblique case forms like inst. sg. *ásmanā* etc., but also inst. sg. *ásnā* and gen.-abl. sg. *ásnaḥ* with descriptively missing *-m-*. This is matched, furthermore, in Iranian, where YAv. nom. sg. *asma* ‘stone; heaven’, acc. sg. *asmanəm* (OP *asmānam*) has a frequently attested gen. sg. *ašnō*.³

1.2. Other examples⁴ of *-n-* for *-mn-* attributable at least ultimately to this reduction of *-Cmn-* to *-Cn-* include:

¹88ff., 103.

²See also, e.g., Mayrhofer 1986:159.

³In Avestan, unlike Vedic, the *m*-less oblique has served as the basis for the back-formation of a number of nom. and acc. forms in *asān-* and *asan-*. So, e.g., already GAv. *asnō* (nom. pl. used as acc.) Y 30.5.

⁴Still more discussable examples have been adduced. One is YAv. inst. *zāēna* ‘in winter’ reflecting Ilr. **ǵʰai(m)n-ā* beside Ved. *béman* ‘in winter’ (Mayrhofer 1986:107, 159). Inst. *prathiná*, the only RV form (2×) of Ved. *prathimán-* ‘extension, breadth’ (: Gk. *πλαταμών* ‘a flat’) has been taken (Wackernagel 1930:269, Wennerberg 1981:126 n. 2) as analogically motivated by semantically related *mahiná* to *mahimán-* ‘greatness’ (see §1.2.2. below). So too TS *varinā* (Wackernagel 1930:269, Wennerberg 1981:173f.) to *varimán-* ‘extent, distance’. The same analogical origin has been proposed for RV inst. *bhūná* ‘in abundance’ to *bhūmán-* (Wackernagel 1930:269), though it has also been questioned whether *bhūná* comes from the paradigm of *bhūmán-* ‘abundance’ at all (Mayrhofer 1953–80:II.513; Wennerberg 1981:144 n. 1) and it has also been maintained that *bhūná* reflects an actual **bʰuHmn-* > **bʰuHn-* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001:II.268). RV inst. *prená* to TS+ *premán-* ‘affection’ could come from a **pr(e)ǵH(m)n-* (Mayrhofer 1992–2001:II.190), but this too has been seen as an analogical form made after *mahimán-* (Wackernagel 1930:269 once again)—even though the semantic motivation is plainly not there in this case, so that this *prená* has also been regarded as an archaic *a*-stem inst. in *-ā* to a **prenā-* that is not actually reported anywhere. The YAv. inst. *sraīiana(ā)* ‘with beauty’ beside Ved. *śrémán-* ‘id.’ could also be relevant, pointing on its face to a theoretical Ilr. **ǵr(a)ǵH(m)n-*, but there are complicating factors that would take us too far afield for present purposes.

1.2.1. The YAv. inst. sg. *baršna* to GYAv. *barziman-* (or rather **barzaman-*)⁵ ‘height’, as if reflecting **b^hṛǵh-(m)n-* in the first instance (though with analogical full-grade root).

1.2.2. The particularly involved case⁶ of Ved. *mahimán-* ‘greatness, power’, ultimately reflecting **meǵh₂-mon-*, which beside nom. sg. *mahimá*, acc. sg. *mahimánam* does show inst. sg. *mahimná* (3× RV), but also has three other forms, all far more frequent: *mahiná* (38×), *mahná* (34×), *majmánā* (20×). The series of developments apparently leading to this set of instrumental forms of **meǵh₂-mon-*⁷ was **m(e)ǵh₂mn-eh₁* > **m(e)ǵmn-* (with CH.CC > CCC),⁸ at which point the rule reducing *-Cmn-* to *-Cn-* produced a **m(e)ǵn-* that would have become Ved. **majná* (and cf. RV *majmánā* for a putative trace of this *maj-*), but which was redone as *mahná*.⁹

1.2.3. Forms showing that *-Cmn-* was subject to *m*-loss not only in inflected forms of *-mEn-* stems but also in their derivatives in *-Cmn-o-*. Examples of this kind are given already in Schmidt 1895:

**b^hud^h-men-/mn-* (πυθμήν ‘bottom’ [Hom. +]) → **b^hud^h(m)n-o-* (Ved. *budhná-*, L. *fundus* ‘ground’)

**leuks-mn/-men-* ‘light’ (L. *lūmen*) → **leuks(m)n-o-* (Av. *raoxšna-* ‘bright’, Praen. L. *LOSNA* ‘moon’)

1.2.4. It consequently becomes possible to exploit forms showing the development in question here to explain yet others as derivatives of these, and thus more economically than would otherwise be the case. The scenario reported just above, for example, by which the irregular Ved. inst. sgs. *mahná* and *majmánā* may be reconciled with *mahimán-* ‘greatness’, involved a theory in which oblique **m(e)ǵh₂mn-* first became **m(e)ǵmn-* and then **m(e)ǵn-* (Ved. **majn-* redone as *mahn-*). It is immediately apparent, however, that a “possessive” derivative of ‘greatness’ would be an easily workable—if not even the unmarked—source of an adjective meaning ‘big, great’. And it therefore may well be that a **m(e)ǵn-o-* of just that analysis is the exact source of L. *magnus*, *-a*, *-um*.

1.3. The available examples of *-Cmn-* sequences subject to reduction to *-Cn-*, both in previous discussions and here as well, share a single morphological analysis for all intents and purposes. They show a zero-grade form of a nominal *-mEn-* formant suffixed to a *C*-final element and followed by a *V*-initial morpheme that is either an inflectional ending (**h₂ekmn-eh₁* etc.) or a derivational suffix (**b^hud^hmn-o-*).

⁵Bartholomae 1896–7:59, Schindler 1989/90:429, Rau 2009:69 with n. 8.

⁶Mayrhofer 1992–2001:II.339 with literature.

⁷Weninger 1981:145 (*majmán-*), 153f. (*mahimán-*), 154f. (*mahnán-*); Mayrhofer 1992–2001:II.339f. with other references as well.

⁸Most recently Hackstein 2002.

⁹The *mahná* variant reintroduced *-bi-* partly from *mahimán-* and perhaps partly from *mábi* ‘great’ (+/*-mahn-* ‘id.’) itself.

As to the paradigms that would have produced instances of (post-consonantal) *-mn-* before a vowel-initial desinence, the first things that come to mind, of course, are (masc. and fem.) hysterokinetics of the type **b^hud^h-mén-/b^hud^h-mn-* and amphikinetics like **b₂ék-mon-/b₂ék-mn-*, as above.

But there is another theoretically possible source of instances of *-mn-* before *V*-initial ending. As has been noted before,¹⁰ the inst. sg. of proterokinetic paradigms did not have the (S)uffix and (D)esinence ablaut—namely *S(é)-D(zero)*—of the proterokinetic gen.-abl., but rather showed a hysterokinetic-looking structure. That is to say, instead of **(C)éC-h₁* parallel to **(C)éC-s*, this case had **(C)C-éh₁*. So it is that reliably proterokinetic stems like those in *-ih₂/-iéh₂-* (Ved. *devī* 'goddess' / Hom. gen. *δῖης*), for example, normally¹¹ have a disyllabic inst. sg. *-(i)yā* in the RV (*sáci* 'might': *sáci(i)yā*) that thus continues **-ih₂-eh₁* and not *†-iéh₂-h₁*. Similarly, a *u*-stem paradigm with nom. sg. in **-u-s* and an unambiguously proterokinetic gen.-abl. **-ey-s* (RV *paraśúh*, *paraśóh* 'ax'; cf. Gk. *πέλεκυς*, *πελέκεως* 'id.', pointing to the same) includes an inst. in **-u-éh₁* (RV *paraśvā*). Attesting to the age of this pattern, moreover, is the circumstance that a fossilized inst., even regularly featuring a zero-grade root, of the familiar proterokinetic *-tu-* stems in Vedic (the type of, e.g., masc. *jantúh* 'creature', dat. *jantáve*; fem. *vástuh* 'dawn', gen.-abl. *vástoh*) is what shows up as the *-tvā* of the absolute or gerund of the type RV *yuktvá* 'having yoked', *śrutvá* 'having heard', *hatvá* 'having slain', etc. There is even, in effect, an old ablauting and accentually mobile paradigm still visible in *gántuh* 'course' (cf. RV gen.-abl. *gántoh*, dat. infin. *gántave* 'to go') beside AV absolute (inst.) *gatvá* 'having gone'.

The consequence of this is that there is a place even in *-mEn*-stem paradigms that were proterokinetic, the type to which the vast majority of neuters evidently belonged, where *-mn-* and therefore *-Cmn-* was theoretically expectable—namely the inst. sg. in **-mn-éh₁*. This in turn means that if Latin *unguen* 'grease' and OIr. *imb* 'butter', for example, jointly pointing as if to something as difficult to parallel as an **-n/-en-* neuter **h₃énǵ^m-n/*h₃ǵ^m-én-*, are set up at less cost in the very first instance as simply another ordinary neut. **-mn/-men-* stem,¹² it is feasible to suppose that the source of the descriptive *n*-stem **h₃(e)ǵ^m-(e)n-* was the inst. sg. of the proterokinetic neut. *-m(e)n-* stem **h₃ǵ^m-(m)n-éh₁*. This makes it possible not to have to rely only on invoking the oblique stem of the amphikinetic by-form ("internal derivative") **h₃énǵ^m-mon-/b₃ǵ^m-(m)n-* (OHG *ancho* 'butter') or on setting up an acrostatic **h_{2/3}ónǵ^m-mn/*h_{2/3}énǵ^m-mn-* to explain the origin of the descriptive *n*-stem.

1.4. In a forthcoming paper on neuter *n*-stems¹³ in Anatolian and elsewhere, Craig Melchert—my friend and colleague of almost forty years' standing to whom this contribution is affectionately and respectfully dedicated—presented Hittite evidence, with his usual acumen and sovereign command of the facts, supporting the propo-

¹⁰Schindler *ap.* Hollifield 1980:45; Nussbaum 1998:154 n. 187; Schindler and Peters *ap.* Stifter 1997:219; Peters 1997:100.

¹¹See, e.g., Macdonell 1910:274.

¹²See Melchert 2007/08, generously shown me in page proofs by the author.

¹³Melchert 2007/08.

sition, among other things, that *-Hmn-* sequences, as merely special cases of *-Cmn-*, were subject to reduction to *-Hn-*.¹⁴ A clear example is *śahhan-* ‘service obligation’ (*śahhan*, *śahhanas*, etc.), which he explained as a neuter *-m(e)n-* stem **śeh₂-mn/*sh₂-mn-* (: **seh₂-* ‘bind’) in the very first instance, adding that the stem allomorph **sh₂-mn-* was reduced to a **sh₂-n-* (which itself appears, descriptively speaking, in *iśhanittar* ‘relative by marriage’),¹⁵ and that the secondary *n-* stem oblique thus produced was the basis for backforming the nom.-acc. **śeh₂-n-* that gave *śahhan*, the stem eventually generalized throughout the paradigm. As a trivial friendly amendment concerning the details of these developments, it might be suggested that the earliest paradigm, in accord with what was noted just above (§1.3), could even have been an ideal proterokinetic **śeh₂-mn/*sh₂-mén-* with regular inst. **sh₂-mn-eh₁*, and that the inst. stem allomorph —perhaps not too implausibly in a word for ‘obligation’—was specifically the source of the *-n-* (for *-mn-*) that was generalized.

2. The Greek adjective typically given as *τῶνός*, *-ές* ‘clear’ is found from Aeschylus onward. Its distribution, however, is a bit marked. After occurring no more than five times in the tragedians, it is seen a handful of times in the 4th and 3rd centuries (e.g. in Polybius) until it becomes basically a prose word from the 1st c. BC on, occurring in such authors as Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Philo Judaeus, and Strabo.

The only forms found at all early are neut. *τῶνός* and the adverb *τῶνῶς*, which are the only ones occurring in the tragedians. Overall, the most frequent form by orders of magnitude is the adverb, with over 800 occurrences in the *TLG*. Next comes neuter nom.-acc. *τῶνός*, attested 60 times in all, but only once before the 1st c. BC. The masc. and fem. forms *τῶνός*, *τῶνῆ*, etc. occur very rarely and very late (these two first in Hierocles and in Dio Chrysostomus, respectively). The comparative *τῶνέστερος*, *-α*, *-ον* is fairly frequent after its eventual first attestation in Origenes, while superlative *τῶνέστατος*, *-ης*, *-ον* appears even later, in Didymus Caecus.

There is a competing *τῶνός*, *-ή*, *-όν*. The first datable instance of the thematic adjective as such is in a fragment (8) of the tragedian Moschion (3rd c. BC), though it is once read in the Hippocratic Corpus (*Epist.* 17.122) and several times in the *Septuagint* as well. Such forms become regular from the 1st c. BC (Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Philo Judaeus, Strabo, Flavius Josephus, Plutarch, etc.). But there is reason to admit the possibility that the thematic form is of some age, since the unambiguously deverbative *τῶνῶμα*, implying a *(*)τῶνόνω*¹⁶ that in turn implies *τῶνός*, is found already in Empedocles (Frag. 3), even if clearly as an Atticism, or rather a Doricism.¹⁷ Comparatives of the shape *τῶνότερος* (Hipparchus [2nd c. BC+]) are found much earlier than the *τῶνέστερος* type.

Since, therefore, *τῶνῶς* is just as consistent with *τῶνός* as it is with *τῶνός*, the only

¹⁴If RV inst. *bhūná* (: *bhūmán-* ‘abundance’) goes back to an actual **b^huHmn-* with reduction to **b^huHn-* (see n. 4 above), this would be another case.

¹⁵Melchert 2007/08:188, with reference to Ricken 1999:283ff.

¹⁶The factitive *τῶνῶω* exists, but is not securely attested before the 1st c. BC (Diodorus Siculus, Philo Judaeus).

¹⁷For other Doricisms in Empedocles see Martin and Primavesi 1999:239ff. I thank Martin Peters for the reference.

reason to lemmatize the word as an *s*-stem rather than as thematic is the occurrence—once—of *τῶνής* in as early an author as Sophocles. And the relatively secure indirect attestation of *τῶνής* already in Empedocles' *τῶνῶμα* goes a long way toward undermining the priority of *τῶνής* even so. Consequently, the only thing that seems sure at this point is that the adverb *τῶνῶς*, the unmarked form of this item because of its vast frequency, could have served as a pivot by which either *τῶνής* became *τῶνόν* or *vice versa*. Beyond that, it may be pointed out that thematic adjectives have been redone as *s*-stems not infrequently in Greek¹⁸ (e.g. Attic *ὁμαλής*, -ές 'even' [Pl. etc.] beside original *ὁμαλός* 'id.' [Hom. +]). In many cases the motivation is none too clear, but the influence of semantically neighboring items can plausibly be invoked in others: *πλήρης*, -ες 'full' (Hdt., A. +), e.g., which seems to continue a **plēro-* (**pleh₁ro-*) on the evidence of *πληρώω* 'fill' (A., Th. +) and Latin *plērus(que)* 'full many (a), most', could well have been influenced by compounds in *-πληθής* (: *πλήθος* 'mass, multitude') like *περι-πληθής* 'very full' (Hom. +). In this connection it could be pointed out that *τῶνής* 'clear' is both semantically close and morphologically parallel to such items as *ἀκριβές* 'exact', *ἀληθές* 'true', *ἀτρεκές* 'certain', *σαφές* 'clear' and *σαφηνές* 'clear'.

'Clear' is the gloss typically given *τῶνής* too. And although 'clear' in the sense 'easy to perceive with the eye, ear, or mind' can perhaps be found in the later authors attesting the word, the meaning early on is always 'clear' in the sense 'certain, definite, for sure' with verbs of learning and knowing (and therefore telling):

ΧΟ. σάφ' εἰδότας χρή τῶνδε μυθεῖσθαι πέρι,
τὸ γὰρ τοπάξειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναι δίχα.
ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι,
τρανῶς Ἀτρεΐδην εἰδέναι κυροῦνθ' ὅπως.

Cho. We should speak out about this only once we clearly know,
for conjecture is different from knowing clearly.

I follow the consensus in favor of this course—

that we be informed **for sure** what's happening to Atreus' son.

(Aesch. *Ag.* 1368ff.)

ΟΔ. κείνον γάρ, οὐδέν' ἄλλον, ἰχνεύω πάλαι.
νυκτὸς γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῇσδε πρῶτος ἄσκοπον
ἔχει περάνας, εἶπερ εἴργασται τάδε
ἴσμεν γὰρ οὐδὲν τρανές, ἀλλ' ἀλώμεθα.

Od. That's the man, and no other, on whose track I've been so long.

For tonight he has done us an outlandish deed—if he's really done it.

We know nothing, I mean, **for certain**, but wander around (in doubt).

(Soph. *Aj.* 20ff.)

ΗΛ. σφαγὴν ἀντεῖς τῇδέ μοι τί μέλλομεν;
ΧΟ. ἔπισχε, τρανῶς ὡς μάθης τύχας σέθεν.
ΗΛ. οὐκ ἔστι νικώμεσθα ποῦ γὰρ ἄγγελοι
ΧΟ. ἥξουσιν οὗτοι βασιλέα φαῦλον κτανεῖν.

¹⁸See Solmsen 1913.

El. You are calling out my death to me; what are we waiting for?

Cho. Hold back, to learn your fortune **for sure**.

El. No, we are defeated; where are the messengers?

Cho. They will be here; killing a king is not a paltry thing.

(Eur. *El.* 757ff.)

This meaning persists, furthermore, into the later period:

... χαλκοῦν ... ἀνδριάντα ... οὗ τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν, ἀπὸ ποίας προθέσεως ἢ χορηγίας ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀμφισβητεῖσθαι συμβαίνει καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις — οὔτε γὰρ πόθεν οὔτε τίς ἀνέθηκεν εὐρίσκεται **τρανώς**

... a bronze statue ... of which the origin is continuously disputed even among the natives—as is the question of who organized and paid for the construction; for it has never been found out **for certain** who dedicated it and why.

(Polybius 4.78.4)

And the meaning ‘declarations’ that is clearly borne by *τρανώματα* in Empedocles is derivable from something like ‘things specified’ in an entirely unforced manner:

ἀλλ’ ἄγ’ ἄθρει πάσῃ παλάμῃ, πῇ δῆλον ἕκαστον,
μήτε τιν’ ὄψιν ἔχων πίστει πλέον ἢ κατ’ ἀκοήν
ἢ ἀκοήν ἐρίδουπον ὑπὲρ **τρανώματα** γλώσσης

Consider, however, by every means how each thing (is) revealed,
neither holding something visible more trustworthy than what is heard,
nor placing the soundingly audible above the **declarations** of the tongue

(Empedocles Frag. 3.14ff.)

This *τρανής*, *-ές/τρανός*, *-ή*, *-όν* cannot really be said to have a settled etymology and analysis. The main modern approach, at least mentioned in the three most recent Greek etymological dictionaries,¹⁹ has been to put *τρανής*, understood as ‘clear’, with *τορός* ‘clear, piercing, sharp, smart’, used of the voice (*τορῶς γεγωνεῖν* ‘cry out sharply’ Eur.), emotions (*φόβος* ‘fear’ in Aesch.), and physical actions (*τορῶς ἐπερείδεσθαι* ‘bear down sharply’ Ar., *τορῶς διακονεῖν* ‘minister smartly’ Pl.)—though to the extent that *τορός* means ‘clearly perceptible’ (*ἐρμηνέως ... τοροῦ δεῖσθαι* ‘to need a clear interpreter’ Aesch. *Ag.* 1062), there can be overlap with some of the later meanings of *τρανής*. This comparandum, however, is itself to be derived from the root of *τετρῆναι*, *τρητός* (: *τετραίνω*) ‘pierce’, which is **terh₁-* (cf. *τέρετρον* ‘auger’); or, less likely, from that of *τρώσαι* (: *τρώω*, *τιτρώσκω*) ‘wound, damage’, which seems to be **terh₃-*.

The problems with these identifications, however, are insuperable. Formally, as is made clear by Chantraine (2009) and Beekes (2010) *s.v.* *τρανής*, neither **terh₁-* nor **terh₃-* is reconcilable with what would be a Proto-Greek **trā-*. In addition, it would remain to be shown that something in the family of derivatives from these roots would provide a simultaneous and satisfactory explanation of the stem morphology

¹⁹Frisk 1955–72, Chantraine 2009, Beekes 2010, all *s.v.* *τρανής*.

of a Greek **trānes-* or **trāno-*. Finally, the semantics of **terh₁-* ‘pierce’ and *τορός* ‘piercing’ are not suitable to *τῶνής*, which, as emphasized above, primarily means ‘definite’ and not ‘piercing(ly clear)’.

The idea of making *τῶνής* a direct derivative of **terh₂-* ‘cross, overcome’ (L. *trāns* ‘across’, Hitt. *tarhzi* ‘overcomes’, Ved. *tārati/tirāti* ‘id.’ etc.) has also been mentioned (Rix 2001:576 n. 1; Beekes 2010 s.v.). The semantics that this would involve, however, are still less appealing than what is encountered with **terh₁-* and *τορός*. Nor does setting up a **trh₂ne(s)-* purchase an immediate clarification of anything further.

Finally, there are too many arbitrary assumptions and imponderables implicit in supposing (Chantraine 2009, repeated from earlier editions, s.v. *τῶνής*) an *ani-* **tr-* (: **terh₂-*) of unspecified origin that has been suffixed, in an equally unspecified analogical development, with the *-ānes-* of *σαφηνής*, *-ές* ‘clear’.

In fact, an idea for a more satisfactory explanation of *τῶνής* ‘definite, determinate’ might turn out to be suggested, to put it a bit facetiously, by the two English glosses just offered—namely ‘definite’ and ‘determinate’. These, of course, are the borrowed continuators of Latin *dēfīnītus* ‘defined, definite’ (Pl. +) and *dēterminātus* (Pliny Major, Seneca Minor +) ‘delimited, designated, defined’ and ultimately derive from *finis* and *termen* ‘boundary, limit’. What is ‘bounded’, after all, or ‘defined’ is understood as ‘distinct’ from anything outside the line of demarcation and therefore ‘clear’. And it is precisely this nexus of semantic association and therefore potential development that is implicit in the earliest attested use of the adjective *τῶνής*, *-ές* altogether, namely the passage near the opening of Sophocles’ *Ajax* (quoted above) where the contrast to knowing something definite is expressed as a state of “wandering” (*ἀλᾶσθαι*).

Latin *termen*, in turn, reminds one that PIE itself already had a word—or two, actually—for a ‘crossing’ and therefore a ‘boundary’. The forms are familiar. There was a neuter mechanically reconstructable as **tér-mn/-mén-* (Gk. *τέρμα* ‘boundary, limit, end’ [Hom. +]; L. *termen* ‘boundary marker, limit, end’ [CIL I. 584 +], cf. also *terminus* [Acc. +] ‘boundary marker, limit, end’; Ved. *sutárman-* ‘providing a good, easy crossing’) and a masculine **ter-m(o)n-* (Gk. *τέρμων* ‘boundary, end’, L. *termō* ‘end point, finishing post’). These are almost universally agreed to be derivatives of **terh₂-* ‘cross’.²⁰ The only complication here is the descriptively *ani-* character of the root in these *-mEn-* derivatives. This could theoretically be accounted for by appealing to the “Saussure-Hirt effect” in masc. amphikinetic ***terh₂-mon-* (> **ter-mon-*), even if the cause is somewhat doubtful.²¹ The consistent-seeming preservation of the laryn-

²⁰The more heavily the concrete meanings ‘finishing post’ for L. *termō* and ‘boundary marker’ for *termen* are emphasized, the more possible it becomes to suggest that the abstract meaning ‘end, limit, boundary’ was developed from the concrete one. And the more one is willing to suppose that ‘finishing post’ comes from ‘post’ and this from ‘peg’ and thus ‘nail’, the more plausible it is to compare L. *termō*, at least, with Hitt. *tarma-* ‘nail’, which presumably reflects **tor(h₁)-mo-* (: **terh₁-* ‘pierce’). Recently so de Vaan 2008 s.v. *termen*. Greek *τέρμων*, however, shows little evidence of concrete origin. And Hitt. *tarma-* certainly has its best Greek comparandum in *τόμος* ‘hole, socket’ (Hdt. +) and not in *τέρμα* or *τέρμων*, which invites the view that while **tor(h₁)-mo-* was indeed a PIE word for ‘nail, peg; socket’, **ter(h₂)-mEn-* was something else. Comparing L. *termen* and *termō* to Hitt. *tarma-* thus comes close to dissociating them from Gk. *τέρμα* and *τέρμων*, an unwelcome result. See also Chantraine 2009, Beekes 2010 s.v. *τέρμα*.

²¹Cf. Nussbaum 1997:184.

geal in such *-mon-* stems as Ved. *prathimán-* ‘breadth’ : Gk. *πλαταμών* ‘a flat (stone etc.)’ (*HHerm.* +) and Gk. *τελαμών* ‘support band’ (*Hom.* +), etc. naturally casts some doubt on whether the following *-mon-* could really have triggered a “Saussure-Hirt effect” in a **ter(h₂)-mon-*. But however that may be, there is hardly an alternative to a lost laryngeal in the absence of an *aniṭ* **ter-* to invoke with any plausibility.²²

If on the one hand it makes sense to suppose that an IE word for ‘definite’ might come from a word for ‘defined’ and thus ultimately from ‘delimited, bounded’, and if at the same time an IE word for ‘limit’ or ‘bound(s), boundary’ can be reconstructed with some confidence as masc. **tér(h₂)-mon-*, theoretically alternating in its inflectional paradigm with **térh₂-mn-* (and standing beside a neut. **térh₂-mni/*térh₂-mén-* with inst. **térh₂-mn-élh₁*, or beside a neut. **tór(h₂)-mni/*tér(h₂)-mn-*), a “possessive” derivative—which is the unmarked hypothesis in an attempt to account for ‘limit’ → ‘limited’—would be **térh₂mn-ó-*. An exactly analogous case both morphologically and in its semantics, though it may well belong to a later stratum of such derivatives, is that of Gk. *ἔρμα* (*Hom.* +) ‘fence’ (**-mni*) → *ἔρμωνός* (*Hes.* +) ‘fenced, fortified’ and therefore simply ‘strong’ (**-mn-ó-*).

If, in any case, as is explicitly supported by the analyses in Melchert 2007/08, the sequence **-h₂mn-* counted as a *-Cmn-* group for purposes of Schmidt’s *-Cmn-* > *-Cn-* reduction, the further development of a **térh₂mn-ó-* (with the laryngeal retained in a stem presenting neither a Saussure-Hirt environment nor a *CH.CC* sequence) would be to **térh₂n-ó-*, whence Proto-Gk. **trānó-* by the familiar sound law. This could simply be continued at least by the *τράνός* indirectly evidenced by Empedocles’ *τράνόματα* ‘declarations’ (as above) and/or by the adverb *τράνῳ* that is the major representative of this lexical item from first to last. But Proto-Gk. **trānó-* would in any event, in this scheme of things, be the stem that was redone as a virtual **trānes-* to give the *τράνης*, *-és* that serves as the traditional dictionary entry for this word.

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²² An unavoidable but uncommon laryngeal loss somewhere in the derivational family of **tér-mni* and **ter-mon-* perhaps justifies setting up an also uncommon acrostatic neut. **tór(h₂)-mni/*tér(h₂)-mn-* here as the ancestor of Gk. *τέρμα* if not L. *termin* (n. 20 above) as well (see Melchert 2007/08:185 on Gk. *πάμα* ‘cover’ for the type). In such a neuter paradigm the laryngeal would have been lost in both stem forms—by Saussure-Hirt in the nom.-acc. stem and by *CH.CC* > *CCC* in the oblique. The descriptive *aniṭ* root shape would then have been passed on to the amphikinetic internal derivative.

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Die indogermanischen Wörter für ‚Schlange‘

Norbert Oettinger

1. In dieser kleinen Studie, die Craig Melchert in langjähriger Freundschaft gewidmet ist, wird versucht, Licht in die ursprüngliche Lautung und Funktion der indogermanischen Wörter für ‚Schlange‘ zu bringen. Pokorny (1959:43f.) begann seinen diesbezüglichen Artikel so: „*ang^u(h)i-* ‚Schlange, Wurm‘, *eg^uhi-*, *og^uhi-* und *eg^hhi-* ds.; mindestens zwei etymologisch verschiedene, aber früh verschränkte Sippen, deren Verhältnisse noch vielfach unklar sind.“ Er bezog sich dabei auf Wörter erstens mit ehemaligem **ǵ^{mh}* ohne vorausgehenden Nasal wie gr. ὄφις ‚Schlange‘, zweitens mit ehemaligem **ǵ^{mh}* und vorausgehendem Nasal wie lat. *anguis* ‚Schlange‘ und drittens mit ehemaligem **ǵ^h* ohne vorausgehenden Nasal wie armen. *ozni* ‚Igel‘.¹

1.1. Frisk (1970:453) schrieb über gr. ὄφις: „Wahrscheinlich mit ai. *áhi-*, av. *aži-* m. ‚Schlange‘ identisch; idg. **ǵ^{mh}i-s*; daneben mit *e*-farbiger Dehnstufe arm. *iž*, Istr. *-in* ‚ds.‘.“ Der erste Teil dieser Ansicht hat sich seither durchgesetzt. Einen Schritt weiter ging Schindler (1994:398 und mündlich bei Weiss 1993:126 Anm. 8), indem er ein vom Typ her neues, akro-dynamisches Paradigma mit dreifachem Ablaut *o/e/ē-*: **h₁ǵ^{mh}i-* (gr. ὄφις), **h₁ǵ^{mh}i-* (ai. *áhi-*, gr. ἔχις), **h₁ǵ^{mh}i-* (arm. *iž*) ansetzte. Allerdings würde nicht *χ*, sondern *θ* die erwartete lautgesetzliche Vertretung von **ǵ^{mh}* vor palatalem Vokal im Griechischen darstellen.

1.2. Zunächst ein Wort zu arm. *iž* ‚Schlange‘: In neuerer Zeit haben nicht nur Schindler, wie soeben erwähnt, hier Langstufe *ē* angenommen, sondern auch andere Forscher.² Dagegen führt Praust (2005:155 mit Anm. 40) den Genitiv *iži* auf **ǵ^{mh}iōs* mit kurzem *e* zurück. Und zwar habe der konsonantische Vorläufer von *ž* unmittelbar vorausgehendes kurzes *e* zu *eĭ* diphthongiert. Dieser Diphthong entwickelte sich dann zu *ē*. Der Vokalismus sei analogisch auf den Nominativ übertragen worden. Ähnlich äußert sich Beckes (in Kortlandt 2003:203) über *iž*: „it must therefore be connected with Gr. ὄφις etc.; but the word must have had *e*.“ Sergio Neri weist mich dankenswerterweise darauf hin, dass schon der in diesem Zusammenhang selten zitierte Pedersen (1905:205) die Lösung erkannt hatte: „Das *i* wird man vor *ž*-Lauten als Vertretung eines kurzen *e* anerkennen müssen; nur muss im Nominativ ursprünglich **ēž* gestan-

¹ Auch Widmer (2004:63) erwägt einen Ansatz mit palatalem **ǵ^h* neben einem **h₃ǵ^{mh}i-* oder **h₁ǵ^{mh}i-*.

² Olsen (1999:78 und bei Rasmussen 1999:408) setzt für arm. *iž* ein **h₃ǵ^{mh}i-* (mit **h₃*) und entsprechend für gr. ὄφις ein **h₃ǵ^{mh}i-* an. Vgl. auch die Diskussion bei Jasanoff und Nussbaum 1996:198 sowie Nussbaum 1998:150 Anm. 179. Tremblay (2004:587) führt arm. *iž* auf einen langstufigen Lokativ **h₁ǵ^{mh}i* zurück.

den haben; *ēz̥, Gen. *īzi* ist mit *mēj* ‚Mitte‘, Gen. *mījōy*, *ēš* ‚Esel‘, lat. *equus* [...], *gīser* ‚Nacht‘ parallel.“ Wir können also festhalten, dass arm. *iz̥* ‚Schlange‘ im Vokalismus keine Langstufe, sondern *e*-Stufe und somit den Vokalismus des schwachen Stamms von gr. *ὄφις* fortsetzt.

2. Kehren wir nun zu gr. *ὄφις* und ai. *áhi-* zurück. Rix (1976:88 und 1992:88) schrieb: „*(2)og^{whi}s: gr. *ὄφις* ai. *áhis* av. *ažiš* ‚Schlange‘ ≈ lat. *anguis* (mit tabuistischer Umbildung des Anlauts).“ Allerdings können *áhi-* und *ažī-* wegen Brugmanns Regel nicht direkt auf *Hog^{whi}- zurückgehen, so dass, wenn man im bisherigen Rahmen bleiben wollte, ein starker Stamm *h₁óg^{whi}- für gr. *ὄφις* und ein schwacher *h₁ég^{whi}- für ai. *áhi-* anzunehmen wäre.

Hier ergibt sich nun ein erstes Problem. Wenn man, wie Rix es tat, den Anlaut von lat. *anguis* für tabuistisch umgebildet hält, dann stellt sich die Frage, warum auch nicht wenige andere Sprachen den gleichen Anlaut aufweisen. Vgl. lit. *angis*, altruss. *užb*, arm. *awj* mit Gen. Pl. *awjic* ‚Schlange‘, air. *esc-ung* ‚Aal‘ (< *-ang^{whi}-ō(n)) und heth. *illuianka-* ‚Schlange‘; s. u. Man wird also diesbezüglich besser Katz 1998 folgen und mit einem eigenen indogermanischen Wort *ang^{whi}- ‚Schlange‘ rechnen.

2.1. Dieses *ang^{whi}- wurde von Katz (1998:319) zu Recht mit indogermanischem grundstufigem Vokal *a angesetzt. Einerseits kommt nämlich in Anbetracht von lateinisch und keltisch *a-* nur *ang^{whi}- oder *h₂eng^{whi}- in Frage, und andererseits wird Letzteres durch heth. *illuianka/u-* ausgeschlossen, weil es sonst – je nach Akzentuierung – *illuihanka- oder *illuihanka- heißen müsste. Das Wort geht wahrscheinlich auf ein Kompositum *h₁elHui-ang^{whi}- zurück.³ Weiterhin zeigt ahd. *unc*⁴ ‚Schlange‘ Nullstufe der Wurzel, was vermuten lässt, dass *a* mit Null ablautete, also proterokinetische Flexion mit Nom. Sg. *áng^{whi}-i-s : Gen. *ng^{whi}-éi-s das Ursprüngliche gewesen sein dürfte. Dabei steht das grundstufige *a* an Stelle des üblichen *e*; vgl. die Parallelität der Wurzeln *tiég^{whi}- ‚sich zurückziehen‘ (mit *e*) und *h₁iag^{whi}- ‚verehren‘ (mit grundstufigem *a*):

idg. Prs. *tiég^{whi}-e-toi̯ ‚zieht sich zurück‘ (gr. 1. Sg. *σέβομαι* ‚scheue mich‘, ai. 3. Sg. *tyájate* ‚zieht sich zurück‘) : Verbaladj. *tiég^{whi}-tó- (ai. *tikṭá-, umgebildet zu *tyaktá-*);

idg. Prs. *h₁iag^{whi}-e-toi̯ ‚verehrt‘ (vgl. gr. *ἅγιος* ‚heilig‘ < *h₁iag^{whi}-iHo-, ai. 3. Sg. *yájate*) : Verbaladj. *h₁iég^{whi}-tó- (ai. *istá-*).⁵

³Driessen (2005:42f.) und andere setzen *h₂eng^{whi}- (mit *h₂) an, weil sie heth. *illuianka/u-* nicht für zugehörig halten. Vgl. aber Oettinger im Druck, wo dargelegt ist, woher m. E. der Vokalwechsel zwischen *illuiank*^o und *illuiank*^o stammt und warum er kein Gegenargument gegen die indogermanische Herleitung des Wortes darstellt. Der Nom. Sg. *illuianka*s ist durch Labialdissimilation aus *ang^{whi} entstanden (Katz 1998). Zum Grundsätzlichen s. schon Melchert 1994:120.

⁴Ahd. *unc* geht auf *ng^{whi}-o- statt erwartetem *ng^{whi}-o- zurück.

⁵Zum grundstufigen *a* von *h₁iag^{whi}- und anderen Wurzeln vgl. Eichner 1988:132f. und Rasmussen 1989:260. Ein Präsensstamm lautete *h₁iég^{whi}-i- (gr. *ἅζομαι* ‚verehere‘, h.-luw. *iziya-* ‚opfern, machen, tun‘, mit Rieken 2007:273.) Da das hieroglyphen-luwische Wort ohne *h-* beginnt, kommt nur der Wurzelsatz mit *h₁ in Frage.

2.2. Wie man sieht, steht *a* in **h₁iaġ-e-toi* an Stelle von *e* in **tieġ^m-e-toi*. Angesichts dessen, dass einige Forscher die Existenz von grundstufigem *a* generell bestreiten, ist zu betonen, dass sich das *a* von **h₁iaġ-*, das auch durch lat. *iaiūnus* ‚nüchtern‘ (Forssman 1993) bestätigt wird, nicht durch Umfärbung von *e* neben *h₂* erklären lässt. Ein Ansatz **h_{1/3}h₂eġ-* wäre nämlich aus strukturellen Gründen undenkbar.⁶

3. Theoretisch könnte man hier die Diskussion beenden und sich auf die Meinung festlegen, dass es zwei grundsprachliche Wörter für ‚Schlange‘ gab, nämlich das oben erwähnte **h₁oġ^{mh}-i-s(?)* mit Gen. **h₁eġ^{mh}-i-s(?)* und das soeben diskutierte **áġ^{mh}-i-s*, Gen. **nġ^{mh}-éi-s*. Jedoch sind noch vier Fragen offen geblieben:

- a) Gab es einen Bedeutungsunterschied zwischen diesen beiden Wörtern?
- b) Wenn der Gen. Sg. des zweiten Schlangenwortes **nġ^{mh}-éi-s* lautete, stammt dann der ai. Gen. Sg. *áhes* vielleicht direkt daraus (und nicht aus **h₁eġ^{mh}-éi-s*)?
- c) Was ist der Ursprung von gr. ἔχις ‚Schlange‘?
- d) Wie verhalten sich die beiden Schlangenwörter lautlich zu arm. *ozni* ‚Igel‘ und Verwandtem?

4. Beginnen wir mit der letzten Frage. Es wäre nicht plausibel, die Bezeichnungen für ‚Igel‘ (engl. *hedgehog*) von denen für ‚Schlange‘ zu trennen, denn formal scheint der erstere Tiername vom letzteren abgeleitet zu sein, wie das Verhältnis von gr. ἔχινος ‚Igel‘ zu ἔχις ‚Schlange‘ zeigt. Auch semantisch wäre eine Verbindung unproblematisch, denn der Igel kämpft bekanntlich in eindrucksvoller Weise mit Schlangen, um sie dann zu fressen; vgl. auch Louven 2001:60. Und damit sind wir auch schon bei der ersten Frage. In Europa gibt es den grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen der – auch heute noch relativ häufig vorkommenden – Ringelnatter (*Natrix natrix*), die in und an Seen und Teichen lebt (Louven 2001:69), und den übrigen Schlangen, die sich im Trockenen oder Moor aufhalten und teilweise giftig sind; s. u. 9. Der Igel aber meidet die Nähe von Gewässern. Er kann nämlich nicht schwimmen. Auch pflegt der Fuchs den Igel nach Möglichkeit ins Wasser zu rollen, weil dieser dort seine kugelartige Schutzstellung aufgeben muss, um nicht zu ertrinken. So kann der Fuchs ihn fressen. Daraus folgt, dass dasjenige Wort für ‚Schlange‘, von dem die Bezeichnung für ‚Igel‘ als ‚Schlangentöter‘ abgeleitet ist, die Bezeichnung nicht der Wasserschlange, sondern der auf dem festen Land lebenden Schlange gewesen sein dürfte.

5. Betrachten wir die formale Seite. Die diesbezüglich aussagekräftigen indogermanischen Sprachen bieten im Wort für ‚Igel‘ ehemaligen Palatal, im Wort für ‚Schlange‘ dagegen Velar. Vgl. arm. *ozni* ‚Igel‘ mit **ǵ^h* gegenüber *awj* ‚Schlange‘ mit **ǵ^{mh}*, lit. *ežys* ‚Igel‘ mit **ǵ^h* gegenüber *angis* ‚Schlange‘ mit **ǵ^{mh}*, altruss. *ežb* ‚Igel‘ < urbalto-slav. **ežio-* mit **ǵ^h* gegenüber altruss. *užb* ‚Schlange‘ < urslav. **qžb* mit **ǵ^{mh}*, vgl. Derksen 2008:149, 388. Theoretisch könnte man also die Wörter für ‚Igel‘, die mit **h₁eġ^h-*

⁶Vgl. auch Eichner 1988:132 Anm. 34.

bzw. $*h_1oǵʰ$ - anlauten, von denen für ‚Schlange‘, die mit $*ang^{mh}$ - anlauten, generell etymologisch trennen.

6. Dagegen spricht aber gr. ἔχιδις ‚Schlange‘, das ganz offensichtlich die Derivationsbasis von ἔχιδος ‚Igel‘ darstellt. Daher erklärt sich die Tatsache, dass das Igelwort Palatal, das Schlangenwort aber aspirierten Labiovelar fortsetzt, m. E. dadurch, dass zu einer früheren Zeit, als das Igelwort abgeleitet wurde, ein ebenfalls Palatal enthaltendes Schlangenwort existiert haben muss. Dies gibt uns erstmals die Möglichkeit zu einer relativen Chronologie innerhalb der Schlangenwörter. Die Bezeichnung des Igels als ‚Schlangentöter‘ ist ja ein zum Appellativum gewordener Beiname. Es ist a priori wahrscheinlich, dass ein solcher Name eine archaische Lautung bewahrt, während das zugehörige Appellativum geneuert hat. Vgl. z.B. das *e-* im lakonischen Personennamen Ἐνυμακράτιδας gegenüber dem Appellativum ion.-att. ὄνομα, dor. und äol. ὄνυμα ‚Name‘.

7. Postulieren wir also die Existenz eines chronologisch älteren indogermanischen Schlangenwortes mit Palatal. Dieses könnte am ehesten dort bewahrt sein, wo einerseits ein direkter Bezug zum Wort für ‚Igel‘ besteht und andererseits eine lautliche Rückführung auf $*ǵ^{mh}$ nicht möglich ist, also bei gr. ἔχιδις ‚Schlange‘. Rekonstruieren wir dieses daher als $*h_1eǵʰ-i-$ und das derivierte ἔχιδος ‚Igel‘ als $*h_1eǵʰ-i-h_3no-$. Das so genannte „Herrschersuffix“ $*-h_3no-$, das vom possessiven Hoffmann-Suffix $*-h_3en-$ abgeleitet ist, hat die spezielle Bedeutung ‚herrschend über, verfügend über‘. Dies hat Schindler erkannt (mündlich bei Peters 1980:161) und auch unser ἔχιδος als Beispiel angeführt.⁷ Der Igel ist also ‚der über die Schlangen Verfügende, Herrschende‘ wie lit. *Perkūnas* ‚Wettergott‘ < $*perkuh_3no-$ ‚der über die Eichen Herrschende‘ oder lat. *Portūnus* ‚Hafengott‘ < $*prtuh_3no-$ ‚der über die Furten Herrschende‘.

Der Ansatz von ἔχιδος < $*h_1eǵʰ-i-h_3no-$ mit Palatal erfolgt wegen arm. *ozni* ‚Igel‘ < $*h_1oǵʰ-i-h_3n-i-$.⁸ Dies könnte für eine akro-dynamische Flexion der ‚Schlange‘ mit Nom. Sg. $*h_1oǵʰ-i-s$, Gen. $*h_1eǵʰ-i-s$ sprechen. Möglicherweise stellt ahd. *igil* ‚Igel‘ als $*h_1eǵʰ-i-h_3lo-$ eine Umbildung von $*h_1eǵʰ-i-h_3no-$ ‚der über die Landschlangen Verfügende‘ dar. Das indogermanische Wort für die Landschlange war also ursprünglich $*h_1oǵʰis$, Gen. $*h_1eǵʰis$ und für den Igel wahrscheinlich $*h_1eǵʰ-i-h_3no-$, für die Wasserschlange (Ringelnatter) dagegen $*ang^{mh}is$, Gen. $*ng^{mh}eizis$.⁹

Urbaltoslavisch $*ežio-$ < $*h_1eǵʰ-i-o-$ ‚Igel‘ (lit. *ežys* usw.) muss wegen des Palatals auf das alte Igelwort zurückgehen und dürfte daher aus $*h_1eǵʰ-i-h_3no-$ umgebildet sein.

8. Später, wahrscheinlich in der gemeinsamen griechisch-armenischen Epoche, kam es dann, wie ich annehme, zu einer Beeinflussung von $*h_1oǵʰi-$ ‚Landschlange‘ durch

⁷Das Suffix ist m. E. nach wie vor im Sinne von Hamp 1972 mit $*h_3$ anzusetzen. Vgl. zu diesem Suffix auch Pinault 2000 mit Lit., besonders 62–67 und 92–102.

⁸Mit sekundärem *o* der Wurzelsilbe, wahrscheinlich analog nach dem Nominativ der Derivationsbasis. Ableitungen erfolgen ursprünglich stets vom schwachen Stamm des Grundwortes.

⁹Auch Katz (1998) erwägt bereits für $*ang^{mh}i-$ die Bedeutung ‚Wasserschlange‘. Die Unterscheidung zwischen ‚Landschlange‘ und ‚Wasserschlange‘ dürfte m. E. wichtig gewesen sein; vgl. die alte Religion der baltischen Völker (unten 9.).

den Labiovelar von **ang^{wh}i-* ‚Wasserschlange‘, die – analog zur Flexion von **h₁oǵ^hi-* – zu einem neuen Paradigma mit Nom. **h₁oǵ^{wh}i-s* (gr. ὄφις) und Gen. **h₁eg^{wh}i-s* (arm. իջ ‚Schlange‘ analog nach Gen. իջի) führte.¹⁰

9. Abschließend ein Wort zur vermutlichen ehemaligen Wichtigkeit der Unterscheidung zwischen ‚Wasserschlange‘ und ‚Landschlange‘. Man kann zum Vergleich vielleicht die alte Religion der baltischen Völker heranziehen. In der Tradition der Landbevölkerung Litauens und Lettlands wird nämlich noch heute ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen der „guten“ und der „bösen“ Schlange gemacht. Die „böse“ Schlange¹¹ ist die „Waldschlange“, also die giftige Kreuzotter und die Glattnatter, die „gute“ dagegen die Wasserschlange, nämlich die Ringelnatter, lit. *žaltys*. Dieses Wort hat das ererbte *angis* ersetzt, das zur Bezeichnung der Gattung Schlange verallgemeinert worden ist (Louven 2001:80f.). Ein anderes Wort für ‚Schlange‘, lit. *gyvatė*, muss ursprünglich ebenfalls die Ringelnatter bezeichnet haben, weil es von *gyvatà* ‚Grundstück‘ abgeleitet ist. Die Ringelnatter lässt man nämlich gern im Bereich des Bauernhauses wohnen, weil sie Segen über das Vieh bringt, und stellt auch eine Schale mit Milch für sie hin. Laut alten Erzählungen wohnte sie auch unter dem gemauerten Herd, trank mit den Kindern gemeinsam aus dem Napf und schlief mit ihnen im Bett (Louven 2001:196 bzw. 125ff.).¹² In der Volksmythologie bildet sie eine Verbindung zu den Verstorbenen, also sozusagen zur Unterwelt, was an anatolische Verhältnisse (heth. *illuianka-*) erinnert. Man vergleiche folgendes Lied aus der litauischen Gemeinde Daukštai (Louven 2001:57):

Oi tu žalty, žaltinėli,	O du Ringelnatter, Natterchen,
Dievų siuntinėli	Gesandte (dimin.) der Götter,
Veskie mane in kalnelį	Führe mich in das Hügelchen
Pas mielą dievėlį.	Zu dem lieben Gottchen.

Wie viel Altes die baltischen Sprachen in linguistischer Hinsicht bewahrt haben, ist bekannt. Es ist daher m. E. möglich, dass auch der religiöse Bereich des Kults der Ringelnatter (Hausschlange) in Litauen und Lettland, von dem bereits frühe Quellen berichten (Louven 2001:84 und passim), teilweise ererbt ist. Vielleicht war die Unterscheidung zwischen Ringelnatter und Giftschlange also auch bei den Indogermanen nicht nur von praktischem Wert.

¹⁰Zu zahlreichen weiteren gemeinsamen Neuerungen des Griechischen und Armenischen vgl. Clackson 1994 mit Lit. und jetzt Melchert und Oettinger 2009:65f. – Gr. ἔχελυς ‚Aal‘ kann ein **h₁eǵ^helu-* fortsetzen, das analogisch von **ang^{wh}i-* ‚Wasserschlange‘ den Nasal bezogen hat, wozu die Semantik von ‚Aal‘ passen würde. In anderen Sprachen, wo das alte **h₁eǵ^hi-* außer im Igelwort ganz durch **ang^{wh}i-* ersetzt wurde, findet sich Letzteres dementsprechend auch beim Wort für ‚Aal‘: lit. *ungurys* aus **ang^{wh}urjo-* mit Vokallangleichung gegenüber apr. *angurgis*; vgl. das baltische Lehnwort *ankerios* im Finnischen. Ahd. *angar* ‚Kornwurm‘ kann aus **ang^{wh}aro-* stammen, wie *singan* ‚singen‘ aus **seug^{wh}ono-*. Die Hesychglosse ἰμβρησις ἔχελυς könnte ein **h₁eng^{wh}ēri-* (Rekonstrukt) fortsetzen, das im Anlaut von ἐχρς beeinflusst ist.

¹¹Ein lettischer Spruch (Louven 2001:101) hat folgenden Inhalt: „Schlafe, liege, Bewohnerin des dünnen Grases, in neun Windungen: Dir gehören die Sümpfe und Wälder, mir die offenen Fluren.“

¹²Aus dieser Vorstellungswelt stammt m. E. auch Grimms Märchen vom Froschkönig; vgl. die Bedeutungsentwicklung von ahd. *unc* ‚Schlange‘ zu nhd. *Unke* ‚Kröte‘.

English summary

In PIE the old word for ‘snake’ was **h₁óǵʰ-i-s*, gen. **h₁éǵʰ-i-s*. It is still hidden in the derived noun **h₁éǵʰ-i-h₃n-o-* ‘hedgehog’. The PIE word for ‘water-snake’ was **ángʷb-i-s*, gen. **ngʷb-éi-s*, with an old *a* as shown by Hitt. *illui-anka-*, *illui-anga-* ‘snake’. Vedic *áhi-* ‘snake’ probably comes from **ngʷb-i-*. In the common period of Proto-Greek and Proto-Armenian the noun **h₁óǵʰ-i-* was influenced by **ángʷb-i-* so that Greek nom. ὄφις (**h₁ogʷb-i-s*) and Arm. gen. *iz̄i* (from **h₁egʷb-*) developed.

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On the *r*-Endings of the Tocharian Middle

Georges-Jean Pinault

1. Ever since the decipherment of the Tocharian languages, their verb inflection has attracted attention because of the final *-r* of the primary middle endings. With Anatolian, Italic, Celtic, Phrygian and Armenian, CToch. belongs to the group of IE languages that feature **-r*, probably a particle in origin, as the final element of the middle endings.¹ In addition, the middle endings featuring final *-r* in CToch. and final *-ri* in Anatolian are exclusively primary. The set of the middle endings of the present is also used in both Tocharian languages for the subjunctive and the optative.² The forms are identical for thematic and athematic inflection:

	TB	TA	CToch.
Sg. 1.	<i>-mar</i>	<i>-mār</i>	<i>*-mār</i>
Sg. 2.	<i>-tar</i>	<i>-tār</i>	<i>*-tār</i>
Sg. 3.	<i>-tär</i>	<i>-tār</i>	<i>*-tār</i>
Pl. 1.	<i>-mtär/-mttär</i>	<i>-mtär</i>	<i>*-mtär</i>
Pl. 2.	<i>-tär</i>	<i>-cär</i>	<i>*-tär</i>
Pl. 3.	<i>-ntär</i>	<i>-ntär</i>	<i>*-ntär</i>

A few remarks are in order about some of these endings. As for the variants of the 1st pl. in TB, Peyrot (2008:155–6) has shown that their distribution is identical to that of the corresponding ending of the preterit middle, 1st pl. *-mte/-mtte*. The forms TB *-mttär* and *-mtte* are confined to late and colloquial texts, while they never occur in archaic texts. Their interpretation is still problematic, since it is quite difficult to distinguish the spellings <tt> and <nt> as second element of a ligature. Therefore, the reading *-mntär* (and *-mntte*) as proposed by Peyrot is far from being warranted. I would suggest that geminate <tt> was a device for marking the voiceless dental (and not nasalized) pronunciation of *-t-* after the bilabial nasal *-m-* which was probably voiced. The cluster *-mt-* remained unassimilated after the syncope in the first syllable of **-mätär*, which is a reshaping of expected **-mätā* < PIE **-med^hh₂*. As for the 2nd pl., the discrepancy between TB *-tär* and TA *-cär* is parallel to the contrast between TB *-t* and TA *-c* in the 2nd pl. middle preterit. Those endings should go back in one way or another to some allomorph(s) of the PIE ending **-d^hu(u)e*. The 2nd sg. ending **-tār* goes back to **-th₂e+r*; similarly, the 1st sg. ending **-mār* goes back to **-ār* <

¹ See the surveys given by Watkins (1969:174–94) and Jasanoff (1977; 2003:45–55).

² Cf. Krause and Thomas 1960:254–5, 260–1.

*-*h₂e*+*r*, preceded by *-*m* imported from the active athematic inflection. It is obvious that in the plural endings, the final *-*är* has been extended from the 3rd pl., which is itself symmetrical with the 3rd sg. The present paper will concentrate on the vexed question of the origin of these endings, which occur at key places of the paradigm.

2. In both languages the texts show variation between -*tär* and -*trä*, which are found before consonant as well as before vowel, and at sentence break, with the sandhi form -*tr* before vowel in verse. Since TB -*tär* (alternating with -*trä*) goes back to PIE acc. sg. *-*tr̥m* in the kinship terms (*pātär*, *protär*, *tkātär*, etc.), one may consider that CToch. had a syllabic /*r̥*/.³ But there are several possible origins of the CToch. vowel **ä*, which was phonetically close to [i]. The literature on this topic is extensive,⁴ and I will review here only the most significant proposals. PIE *-*(n)tr̥* has been a minority view, but it is not warranted by any other language. PIE *-*(n)tri*, as per Jasanoff 1977:162–6, is now undermined by the results of the inquiry by Yoshida (1990) about the Hittite endings -*ta(ri)* and -*nta(ri)*. Anatolian inherited PIE *-*o-r*, *-*to-r* and *-*nto-r*, but final *-*r* was lost in CAnat. after unstressed vowels, hence the forms Hitt. -*a*, -*ta*, -*nta*; originally end-stressed middle forms retained the liquid, which was augmented as -*ri* after the model of the active primary endings, and this element was then analogically extended to all middle forms. Because -*r-i* is an inner-Anat. creation, it cannot be used for the interpretation of the CToch. endings.⁵ PIE *-*(n)tor* appears then to be the only safe morphological source, because it is supported by Anatolian, Italic (Lat. -*tur*, -*ntur*), Celtic (OIr. deponent conj. -*thar*, -*tar*), and Phrygian (-*τορ*). But this recurring idea has to face the fact that a shift of final CToch. *-*er* (< PIE *-*or* as well as *-*ēr*) to *-*är* has not been recorded so far in any morphological category. One could assume an irregular evolution of CToch. **e* in unaccented, final or posttonic context;⁶ such an evolution may also be conceived in a closed and unaccented syllable, that is before the pronoun suffixed to the verb form. Nevertheless, this hypothesis remains without any support in the shape of any other verbal endings.

3. Since the PIE endings of the type *-*(n)tor* are excluded on phonological grounds, it remains to be explored if endings of the type *-*(n)tro*, which have been proposed for other IE languages (Sabellic and Celtic), would yield CToch. *-*(n)tär*. At first sight, this seems impossible, judging from words with well-accepted etymologies whose stems end in *-*Tro*- (**T* standing for a PIE voiced aspirate or voiceless dental stop that became CToch. **t*): TB *ratre*, TA *rtär* ‘red’ < CToch. **rätre* < **h₁rud^h-ró-*, TB *astare* (prose)/*āstre* (verse), TA *āstär* ‘pure, stainless’ < CToch. **āstäre* < pre-Toch. **astro-* < **h₂astr-o-* ‘belonging to fire’, itself a vr̥ddhi-derivative based on **h₂stér-* <

³Cf. Peyrot 2008:61.

⁴See Van Windekens 1982:272–7 and Thomas 1985:86.

⁵As noted by Pinault (1991:139–40).

⁶Cf. Van Brock 1978:227, Adams 1988:17, Klingenschmitt 1994:409, Ringe 1996:86, Peters 2004:438 n. 40. This idea is an old ghost of Tocharian scholarship, which does not like to remain in its grave. The stem **ä-*/**tä-* beside **se-*/**te-* in the demonstrative pronouns can receive an independent explanation, see Pinault 2009:232–41.

**b₂h₁s-tér*- ‘fire’.⁷ The noun TB *etre*, TA *atär* ‘hero’ < CToch. **etre* is more difficult to use, since it does not have an IE etymology. As I have shown elsewhere,⁸ it may be taken as a secondary thematicization of a loanword from a non-IE language of Central Asia. Another example that has been recently adduced as showing the reflex of the PIE instrument suffix **-tro-* is TB *šätre* ‘grain’, which can be interpreted as meaning originally ‘means of living’. It would accordingly be based on a derivative of the PIE root **ǵʰleh₃-* ‘to live’, or better to the present stem CToch. **šāme-* (< PIE **ǵʰleh₃-uo-*) that yielded **šā-* through regular contraction, see the participle TB *šāmāne*, TA *šāmām* ‘living’ < CToch. **šāmāne* < **šāme-māne* (cf. Adams 1999:625 with previous literature). However, this derivation of B *šätre* is highly questionable, since Tocharian does not have any other certain examples of the PIE instrument suffix **-tro-*, which would be reflected by CToch. **-tre* > TB *-tre*.

4. If one sees the problem from a different angle, both Toch. languages possess numerous nouns ending in *-tär* that are borrowed from Sanskrit nouns ending in *-tra-*, *-trā-* or *-trī-*: TB/TA *sütär* < Skt. *sūtra-*, TB *kottär*, TA *kotär* < Skt. *gotra-*, TB/TA *šästär* < Skt. *śāstra-*, TB *yāntär*, TA *yantär* < Skt. *yantra-*, TB *mait(t)är*, TA *maittrā* < Skt. *maitrī-*, etc. This is due to the normal loss of the final vowel of all nouns that have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Only the proper names were later reshaped and received a final stem vowel: e.g. TB *Vemacitre* < Skt. *Vemacitra-*, TB *Wiryamitre* < Skt. *Vīryamitra-*, TB *Šāriputre* < Skt. *Śāriputra-*, TB/TA *Sunetre* < *Sunetra-*, TA *Mitre* < *Mitra-*.⁹ The process is not peculiar to the Skt. nouns ending in *-tra-*, but is found in all nouns ending in *-Cra-* (C standing for any stop), which are reflected in Tocharian by words ending in *-Cär* (with variant *-Crä*), cf. TB/TA *cākkär* (*cäkrä*) < Skt. *cakra-*, TB *samudtär*, TA *sāmudtär* (*sāmudrā*, *sāmutrā* and other variants) < Skt. *samudra-*, TB *wājär*, TA *vājär* (*vājṛā*, *wācrā* and other variants) < Skt. *vājra-*, etc. The original point of departure of the best represented among these borrowings, the thematic stems, was a form of northwestern Prākṛit (Gāndhārī), where the nom. sg. and acc. sg. of thematic stems, masculine and neuter (Skt. *-as* > MIndic *-o*, Skt. *-am* > MIndic *-am*) ended in a neutralized vowel that could be noted *-o*, *-u*, *-a*; these spellings show a complex distribution, but the MIndic nom. sg. masc. *-o* tends predominantly to be written *-o* or *-u*.¹⁰ To be precise, there existed quite a number of examples of TB/TA *-tär* effectively borrowed from MIndic *-tro* during the first centuries CE.

Despite the large chronological gap, it would be theoretically possible to argue that the final vowel of the verbal endings PIE **-tro* and **-ntro*, or later CToch. **-tre* and **-ntre*, underwent apocope in a somehow parallel way to the process observed in the loanwords, resulting in **-tr* and **-ntr* respectively; then those clusters yielded

⁷ See Pinault 2007:271–4 for an account of this etymology.

⁸ Pinault 2003:177–88.

⁹ See Krause and Thomas 1960:93 (§86.1, Anm. 1). The morphological (rather than purely phonological) nature of this process is proven by the fact that TA features *-e* besides loss of the final vowel in proper names of Skt. origin, probably after the model of TB *-e*. The TB inflection of masc. proper names in *-e*, having obl. sg. in *-en*, is probably modeled on the inflectional type of TB *enlwe*, obl. sg. *enlwen* ‘man’, TB *śaswe*, obl. sg. *śaswen* ‘lord’.

¹⁰ Cf. Brough 1962:113–5; Hinüber 2001:221–2.

CToch. **(n)tär* through anaptyxis. Along the same line of reasoning, one may toy with the idea that PIE **-tro* featuring **-o* in absolute final position had a different outcome from the nouns that actually ended in PIE **-tro-s*, **-tro-m*, etc. But this would be a quasi-desperate expedient, because most final consonants had disappeared at the pre-Tocharian stage, and left no trace. It is therefore preferable to assume that any difference between **(n)tro* in the verbal inflection and **-tro-s*, **-tro-m* in the nominal inflection had been totally lost, and that all these forms yielded CToch. **-tre* in the first place. To that general loss of final consonants there is however a well-known exception, the PIE liquids **-r* and **-l*, which were kept in CToch. and down to the two languages. A few examples of accepted etymologies may suffice to illustrate this point: TB *pācer*, TA *pācar* ‘father’ < CToch. **pācer* < **ph₂tēr*, TB *yasar*, TA *ysār* ‘blood’ < CToch. **yāsār* < **esōr* < PIE **h₁ésh₂-ōr*, B *pikul*, A *p_ukāl* ‘year’ < CToch. **p_uk_wāl* < **pék_w-l* ‘maturing’,¹¹ TB *camel*, TA *cmol* ‘birth’ < CToch. **cām_l* from an abstract in PIE **-ol* (generalized in place of the sg. **-ōl* of the amphikinetic inflection) from an allomorph of the root TB/TA *tām-* ‘be born’. Consequently, it may be worth investigating what would be the outcome of the final sequence PIE **-tror* or, to take the process at a later stage, of CToch. **-tr_{er}*.

5. The PIE language had a nominal suffix **-tro-*, as allomorph of the suffix **-tero-* that formed derivatives of appurtenance with contrastive value, based on adverbs in **-ter*.¹² These formations were originally based on pronominal stems and local or temporal adverbs, cf. Ved. *katará-*, Gk. *πότερος*, Go. *hwapar*, OE *hwæper*, Lat. *ne-cuter*, Lith. *katràs*, dial. *kataràs*, Latv. *katrs*,¹³ OCS *kotorъ* (< **k^w-tero-*), Gk. *δεξιτερός*, Lat. *dexter*, Ved. *ántara-*, Gk. *έντερα*, Lat. *inter-ior*, Ved. *prataram*, Av. *fratarā-*, Gk. *πρότερος*, etc. As a near cognate of the type **k^w-tero-* reconstructed above, one can reconstruct a type **k^w-tro-* that would show the same suffix shape as in the adverbs Ved. *kútra*, Av. *kuθra*, Arm. *owr*, etc. and in the Gmc. derivatives in **-fra-* of the type **sunþra-* ‘south’, **austra-* ‘east’, etc. Pedersen (1941:122) referred to the Lith. form *katràs* quoted above in order to account for TB *ketara/ketra* ‘whoever’s, of whomever’, genitive of the indefinite pronoun TB *ksa* ‘whoever, any’, which has a single paradigm for all numbers and genders. It is likely that this connection was found appealing on the basis of external similarity, in addition to the functional link. It is commonplace for the genitive case to be provided by an adjectival derivative of appurtenance, especially in the pronouns. The derivative **k^w-tr-o-* meant originally, as did the type **k^w-ter-o-*, ‘belonging (being related) to which one, by contrast to some other one’; the weakening of the contrastive value is expected, and is met in other languages as well.

But a PIE **k^w-tro-* that would yield CToch. **ketre* cannot account directly for the

¹¹This remains the safest etymology, since **pi-k^wl* vel sim. ‘the returning one’ as per Katz (1994) has to face severe difficulties. See Pinault 1998:360–1 for those and for further arguments supporting the connection to a root meaning ‘to mature’.

¹²Cf. Brugmann 1906:323–7.

¹³According to Stang 1966:237, the original stem is **katara-* and Lith. *katràs* goes back to *kataràs* through syncope of an interior unaccented vowel. Lith. *katràs*, fem. *katrà* functions as interrogative/relative pronoun (‘who/which [of two]’) and as indefinite pronoun (‘anyone [of two]’), also in some dialects simply ‘who/which’, equivalent to *kuràs*, interrogative/relative pronoun, cf. Senn 1966:200, 203.

shape of TB *ketara/ketra*. From the Toch. point of view, this morpheme contains the particle *ra* 'also' (compare Germ. *wer auch immer* 'whoever', Skt. *ko 'pi* 'anyone' from the interrogative *kah* plus the particle *api* 'even, also', *kutrāpi* 'anywhere' < **kutra + api*, etc.) added to the genitive of the interrogative/relative pronoun, that is *ket*, being synchronically the short form of *kete*. The relationship between the indefinite pronoun and the interrogative/relative pronoun, which is also indifferent to number and gender, is clear in the TB forms: indefinite nom. *ksa*, obl. *kca*, gen. *ketara/ketra* vs. interrogative/relative *kuse*, obl. *kice*, gen. *ket(e)*. The formation of the stem of the nominative and oblique is irrelevant for the present discussion.¹⁴ It is enough to recall that it contains the CToch. stem **kwā-* < PIE **wī-*, and that the genitive is based on another stem allomorph, that is PIE **kʷo-* > CToch. **ke-* > TB *ke-*.

On the basis of the analysis of TB *ketara/ketra* as *ket + ra*, the comparison offered by Pedersen was judged to be mistaken and fell into oblivion. The genitive TB *ket(e)* of the interrogative/relative has been interpreted so far in a somewhat ad hoc fashion, and without external and compelling evidence: 1) as an adjective **kʷo-to-s* according to Hilmarsson (1987:41; 1996:197); or 2) as an adverb of origin **kʷo-tos* 'from which' according to Adams 1999:191. But these reconstructions, while accounting for the allomorph TB *kete*, fail to explain its byform *ket*. The latter is seen as the "reduced" or "apocopated" variant of the former. It should be stressed that there is no convincing parallel for this kind of reduction of final TB *-e*. The case of TB *ompe* (hapax!) besides the normal form of the adverb *om(p)* 'there', as adduced by Adams (1999:191), is fallacious, since the form *ompe* (B123a5) is surely due to the wrong segmentation of a broken text by the editors.¹⁵ In any case, the original form of this adverb is *om(p)*, phonetically [oβ], which has a reinforced form *ompek* actually attested, but based probably on **omp-te-k*, that is **oβtek* (cf. Pinault 2009:235 with n. 45). The structure of the genitive forms TB *kete* and *ket* seems to be totally different.

6. The distribution of the variants TB *ket* and *kete* of the genitive of the interrogative/relative pronoun and of the variants TB *ketara* and *ketra* of the related indefinite pronoun has been ably surveyed by Peyrot (2008:168–70), who has noted quite interesting facts on the basis of a nearly exhaustive documentation. It appears that TB *ket* is by far the most frequent variant in the archaic language, whereas *kete* is found in all periods; both *kete* and *ket* are found in classical texts, without any clear distribution according to the following phonetic context (vowel vs. consonant) or to the literary genre, but *ket* is unknown at a late stage, where *kete* is normally used. This objective result contradicts the routine idea (still accepted by Hilmarsson and Adams) that *ket* was a reduced variant of *kete*, which was the older form. In addition, *kete* is never found before the particle *ra*, which makes an indefinite pronoun from the interrogative pronoun. This fact confirms that *ket* (or *ketā*), to which the indefinite *ketara/ketra* is related, is the older form, and that it survived in the standard language despite the generalization of *kete* as the free form.

The notation *ket(a)ra* given by the standard handbook (Krause and Thomas 1960:

¹⁴Cf. Hilmarsson 1996:183–4, 196 and Pinault 2008:544–8.

¹⁵See also the discussion in Peyrot 2008:168.

166 §274) is somewhat misleading, because it seems to presuppose that both variants can be found in any kind of text.¹⁶ The revised account given by Peyrot (2008:169) of the distribution of TB *ketara* and *ketra* is not exact, however. He states that TB *ketara* is a younger variant of *ketra*. As a matter of fact, *ketara* is the prose form and *ketra* the verse form, as seen correctly by Hilmarsson (1996:182). Both are based on **ketārā*, as proven by the derived adjective *ketrāññe* (B89a4, after negation) ‘belonging to somebody’. In addition, the oldest form *ketrā* surfaces in poetic texts of the archaic period (B137a4, 139a2). The second element is clearly the enclitic particle TB *ra* ‘also’, in its original form **rā*.¹⁷ This is not contradicted by two occurrences of TB *ketrā* and *ketra* in prose texts. In B511a2 (interpretation of dreams, a late and eastern text), one finds *ketrā* besides *ketara* in the same line: *gaje mārjāreṃpa ketara klaiñ ketrā-ṣaṇ-waiṃpecce-ṣārmasonṭ palskalñe ṣarpi* ‘An elephant together with a cat should point to thinking having as cause the woman of someone else [and] the possession of someone else [or] of oneself’. In this sentence, *ketara* is the free form usual in prose and *ketrā-* is the corresponding bound form, which bears the accent on the second syllable in a compound. In THT 111b2 (KVāc 19b2) one finds *ketra* in a prose dialogue, whereas the same text, which is entirely in prose, normally uses *ketara*, as in THT 1102b4 (KVāc 9b4): *mapi ketra ca-peri nestā totka tsamo wat* ‘Don’t you have any debt to somebody else, either little or much?’¹⁸ The corresponding Skt. text runs as follows: *mā te kasya-cit kiñcid. deyam alpam vā prabhūtaṃ vā* ‘Du hast niemandem etwas zu geben, weder wenig noch viel?’ (text and translation according to Härtel 1956:80).¹⁹ This question belongs to the query directed to the applicant about the personal circumstances that may impede his ordination (*upasampadā*), that is the entering into the community of monks. One may suppose that this fixed ritual text, which is entirely parallel to the Skt. wording, uses hieratic sentences that have been transmitted from archaic TB language. As a matter of fact, this part of the text, otherwise reflecting the classical language, contains other instances of older TB forms, such as *nestā*, 2nd sg. act. pres. of the verb ‘to be’ (vs. standard *nest*), or *lāntāścā*, allative sg. of *valo* ‘king’ (vs. standard *lāntās*).

All other occurrences (more than twenty) of TB *ketra* are found in verse, in manuscripts of all periods. It should come as no surprise that the same classical text, the *Karmavibhaṅga* in verse, uses *ketara* (PK AS7Hb5) beside *ketra* (PK AS7Hb1). The poetic texts may use prose variants according to the requirement of the meter. The distribution of TB *ketara*/*ketra* is identical to that attested by other such variants, the syncopated one being confined to verse, such as TB *astare/āstre*, *naumiye/naumye*, *preś-ciyyai/preścyai*, *onuvaiññe/onvavaiññe*, *śeśuwer/śeśiver*, *aśamo/aśmo*, *waśamo/wāśmo*, etc. (cf. Pinault 2008:402–4). The shorter forms are archaic doublets with syncope that have been kept in the poetic idiom, and that underwent accent retraction onto the first syllable: e.g. TB *āstre* (verse) < **āstre* < **āst(ā)re*, whereas the longer forms received the

¹⁶The matter has also been obscured by the fact that the standard editions of TB texts kept in Berlin print *ket ra* (or *ket rā*) as two words vis-à-vis the form *ketara* printed as a single word.

¹⁷The etymology of this particle is irrelevant for the present argument; see the literature in Adams 1999:525.

¹⁸Cf. Schmidt 1986:52 (restored text), 86 (German translation), 137 (commentary).

¹⁹Compare the German translation of the Chinese version in Chung 2004:85 (XIII.7.2).

normal accent on the second syllable, hence **āstāre* > TB standard *astare* (prose). The case of TB *ketra* (verse) < **kétrā* vs. *ketara* (prose) < **ketārā* is parallel. The original form of TB is definitely **ketārā*. Therefore, one may reconstruct the following scenario: the old form TB *ket* was originally associated with the indefinite **ketārā* and this association remained alive at the classical stage, when the usual forms were TB *ketara* (prose) and *ketra* (verse). It explains why the form *ket* was not ousted from the standard language. The byform *kete*, while also being old, is secondary by nature, but it was synchronically motivated because it had an overt ending, that is *-e*. TB *-e* is the genitive ending found mostly in stems ending in *-nt*,²⁰ cf. B *lānte* from *walo* 'king' on the stem **lānt-*; B *pernente*, gen. sg. masc. of the adjective *perne* 'glorious' on the stem **pernent-* < CToch. **perne-ment-*. Because of the synchronic interpretation as a true genitive form, *kete* remained in existence until a late stage, and finally eliminated its byform *ket*.

One should then reopen the question of the origin of TB *ket(e)*. There is no real motivation for the anaptyxis in an original sequence **ket-rā*. The internal cluster *-tr-* was perfectly acceptable without vowel epenthesis, as proven by many examples, starting with TB *ratre* 'red' < CToch. **rātre*, already quoted above; see also TB *etre* 'hero', *mātre* 'sharp', *sātre* 'grain'. The archaism is thus on the side of pre-TB **ketā-rā* and of the "short" genitive TB *ket*. This point should lead us to another explanation of the sequence **ketā-rā* and of the whole set of forms.

7. I propose then the following hypothesis. The starting point of the whole story is **k^ho-tro-*, the contrastive derivative of appurtenance based on the interrogative/relative pronoun that was integrated into the paradigm as a substitute for the genitive. Its outcome CToch. **ketre* gave an indefinite pronoun by addition of the particle **rā* 'also': the sequence **ketre-rā* yielded **ketrārā* and finally **ketārā* > TB **ketārā* by sound law (see further §8 below). The syncopated form TB **ketrā* may be traced back to CT **ket(ā)rā*, which in turn acted on the form of the independent interrogative/relative pronoun. The form **ketre* was perceived as not sufficiently differentiated and resegmented as **ket-re*, parallel to **ketā-rā*, and its basic form was selected as **ket(ā)* > TB *ket*, parallel to the other forms of the paradigm in CToch., nom. **kwāse*, obl. **kwāce*, which became monosyllabic, to wit TB *kuse*, *kace*. The form TB *kete* was created at an early date due to morphological regularization, with importation of the ending *-e* of stems ending in *-nt-*, as seen above.²¹

²⁰Cf. Krause and Thomas 1960:106 §134.

²¹The ending TB *-e* is found only after stems in *-nt-*, and in productive classes of adjectives. It would then not be surprising that this pronoun ending in *-t-* was marked as a genitive form through the addition of *-e*. The single exception to this distribution of TB *-e* would be *tkātre*, gen. sg. of *tkācer* 'daughter', obl. sg. *tkātār*, but this point should now be revised. The only occurrence of TB *tkātre* is found in an archaic text in verse which describes the life in the future golden age when Maitreya will appear: B275b4 *tkātr epetso aiṃṃ cai sāmmā yāst pi(ś) kānte pik_ulaññai* "those men will give [their] daughter to marry (lit. as wife) just with five hundred years" (pāda of 15 syllables, rhythm 8/7). This reading with sandhi of *tkātār epetso* is definitely to be preferred to *tkātre petso*, and the final palatal nasal of the subjunctive 3rd pl. act. *aiṃṃ* is also due to sandhi with the next consonant. This is clearly confirmed by parallel texts, see in the *Ārya-Maitreya-Vyākaraṇa* translated by Lévi (1932:391), stanza 12: "Les femmes, quand elles arrivent à cinq cents ans, prennent alors seulement

Now this scenario should provide also a realistic source for the genitive *ke* of the related interrogative pronoun TA nom. *kus*, obl. *kuc*, which go back to CToch. **kwäse*, **kwäce* as well. The form TA *ke* presupposes a final diphthong, that is CToch. **key* or alternatively **keye*, since the final vowel of CToch. should be lost by every account. Hilmarsson (1989:26–8; 1996:197) and after him Adams (1999:191) have proposed to trace back this form **keye* to an adjective of appurtenance PIE **kʷo-iHo-* on the basis of direct comparison with Lat. gen. sg. *cuius* (OLat. *quius*) ‘whose’ and Gk. adj. *ποῖος* ‘what kind of’. However, the latter two forms are better interpreted as independent developments of the genitive sg. PIE **kʷo-sjo* of the interrogative/relative pronoun.²² In addition, the atomistic reconstruction of two different PIE prototypes for related forms of the two Toch. languages is not the most commendable procedure. It is always preferable to reconstruct an inherited CToch. form, from which the divergent, albeit cognate, forms of TA and TB can be internally derived. In the present case, one can take a simpler course, by surmising that the CToch. **ket*, which was deprived of any case marking, was remodeled as **ke+i* in the prehistory of TA, by extension of the genitive ending *-i* that was generalized in the demonstrative pronouns, both in the singular and the plural, cf. gen. sg. masc. *camī*, fem. *temī*, gen. pl. *cesmī* of *sām*, fem. *sām*; gen. sg. *caši*, pl. *cessī* of *sās*; gen. sg. *canī*, pl. *cesnī* of *sam*, the genitive ending being added to the sequence oblique + index of the demonstrative.²³ The pre-TA form **ka.i* yielded a final diphthong **kay* > A *ke*. Alternatively, one may consider that *-i* was added to a CToch. **ket* that had suffered some weakening of the final consonant, resulting in **keθi* > pre-TA **kahi* > **ka.i*.²⁴ Be that as it may, the question of the origin of TA *ke* does not affect the previous interpretation of TB *kete*.

8. The crucial result of this reappraisal of the prehistory of TB *ketara/ketra* < **ketārā* is an independent proof for the phonetic process CToch. **trærV* > **trärV*; to put it differently, CToch. **e* underwent raising (or weakening) between two /r/s. The resulting sequence was simplified to **tärV* in medial position. This development is due either to dissimilation or to the following Latin-like²⁵ sequence of changes: **-trärV* > **-trrV* (syncope) > **-tärrV* (anaptyxis) > **-tärV* (degemination). One may surmise a similar development in final position: **-trær* > **-trär* > **-trä* or **-tär*.

The consequence of this fact for the history of the 3rd sg. and 3rd pl. middle endings is now near at hand. But the proper reconstruction has to take into account some external data. In theory, one could explain through this sound law in a linear way

un mari”; in chapter 22 of the *Book of Zambasta* in Khotanese Saka, 123cd: *pañja-satā-saluvo anū-ḍo māta päte kṣundai beḍā* “A mother, a father will give to a husband their five-hundred-year-old daughter as yet un-matured” (text and translation after Emmerick 1968:306–7). As a consequence, and until contrary evidence is produced, the only ending of the genitive singular of the kinship terms was *-i* (TB *pātri*, *mātri*, etc.), and TB *tkātre* should not be taken as an isolated archaism. More about the interesting form TB *epetso*, obl. sg. fem., in a forthcoming context.

²²Cf. Rix 1976:187; Meiser 1998:166.

²³Cf. Pinault 2009:230.

²⁴For other possible examples of contraction of vowels after lenition of intervocalic stop, see Pinault 2008:42, 640. The idea of a contraction with the genitive ending in order to explain TA *ke* was evoked by Pedersen (1941:122).

²⁵Compare the account by Meiser (1998:74, §56).

both 3rd sg. **-tär* and 3rd pl. **-ntär* from CToch. **-trær*, **-ntrær* < PIE **-tror*, **-ntror*. This would be purely mechanical, however. There is no evidence in any other IE languages for middle endings of the shape **-(n)tror*. In order to interpret the CToch. facts, one may start from the scheme of primary middle endings that has been reconstructed by Jasanoff for the prehistory of Italic and Celtic (1997:151–60; 2003:52–4): 3rd sg. **-tor*, 3rd pl. **-ntro*. According to the argument of Jasanoff, the primary ending **-ntro*, reflected by U., Osc. *-nter*, *-ndi(r)* and by OIr. pres., future and subj. deponent absol. *-itir*, conj. *-etar* (pointing to a cluster **-(n)trV(s)* in the 3rd sg. form as well) has been created by combination (or contamination?) of **-ntor* and **-ro*. The older 3rd pl. ending **-ro* is itself explainable as the “medialization” of a 3rd pl. perfect ending. An important observation (Jasanoff 1997:155–6) is that the absence of a primary ending **-ror* as counterpart of sg. **-or* and **-tor* is due to a preventive dissimilation of liquids.²⁶ The same case could be made for the absence of a PIE ending **-ntror*. The existence of the reflex of the 3rd sg. PIE ending **-tor* as CToch. **-tær* is presupposed by the spread of the final *-r* to the other endings of the singular, CToch. **-[m]är* and **-tär* (see § 1). But the whole system has evolved because of the generalization of this final *-r* to the plural, starting from the 3rd plural, which is of course symmetrical to the 3rd singular. The successive stages of the evolution of the Toch. 3rd person primary middle endings can be schematized as follows:

	3rd sg.	3rd pl.
PIE	<i>*-tor</i>	<i>*-ntro</i>
pre-Toch.	<i>*-tær</i>	<i>*-ntre</i>
CToch.	<i>*-tær</i>	<i>*-ntre + r > *-nträr > *-ntär</i>
CToch.	<i>*-tär</i>	<i>*-ntär</i>

The other plural endings have been remade with final **-är* after the 3rd pl., as we have seen (§1). The marking of the primary ending has been leveled in favor of **-är* in the 3rd persons, in a parallel way to the secondary middle endings, which have both inherited the final vowel **-e* (< PIE **-o*), see CToch. preterit 3rd sg. **-te* : pl. **-nte* > B *-te*, A *-t* : B *-nte*, A *-nt*. One may say that after this restructuring the system of middle endings had reached a state of perfect equilibrium. The trigger of the whole change was certainly the need to better differentiate the 3rd pl. primary ending **-ntre* from the 3rd pl. secondary ending **-nte*, which did match the 3rd sg. **-te*. The obvious recourse was the addition of final **-r*, taken from the 3rd sg. primary ending **-tær*.

If accepted, our demonstration would have two results. First, it confirms the reconstruction of the 3rd pl. middle primary ending **-ntro*, by adding a third branch, Tocharian, to Italic and Celtic. This ending **-ntro* is not a newcomer in scholarship.²⁷ Second, the addition of Tocharian as a third player will lead us by necessity to revise or modify the hypothesis that this ending represented an exclusive Italo-Celtic isogloss. But, by way of compensation to this revision, it would add substantial evidence speaking for the affinity between CToch. and western IE languages.

²⁶ On the PIE dissimilation of the liquid /r/ in some nouns, see Pinault 2007:275.

²⁷ Cf. Brugmann 1916:663 and Kurylowicz 1964:65–7.

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Un nuovo verbo luvio-geroglifico: *zapa-*, e la sua correlazione al luvio cuneiforme *zapp(a)-*

Massimo Poetto

Nel mio ultraventennale rapporto scientifico e di amicizia con Craig ho più volte colto l'opportunità di dibattere questioni linguistiche, in specie di argomento anatolico, ricavandone regolarmente fruttuosi risultati. La prospettiva etimologica qui affacciata (§9) — risalente a qualche anno addietro¹ — è uno dei casi. Ritengo dunque questa la sede appropriata per porla in luce, a coronamento di una mia deduzione ermeneutica relativa al verbo conclusivo di un inedito testo in luvio geroglifico che mi pregio di offrire al festeggiato in segno d'ammirazione per la sua dottrina.

1. L'iscrizione, consistente in due righe graffite bustrofedicamente (r. 1 sinistrorsa, r. 2 destrorsa) su un blocco calcareo squadrato (mt. 0,55×0,34 ca.), qui denominata ŞARAGA — dalla zona di ritrovamento, i dintorni di Şaraga Höyük, a breve distanza da Keleklioğlu,² sulla riva occidentale dell'Eufrate, circa 10 km. a nord di Karkamiş,³ attualmente conservata presso il Museo di Gaziantep⁴ —, appare databile, in base a criteri stilistici, all'VIII sec. a. C.; la lapide, dedicata al dio Santa, è stata eretta da un certo *S-ha-sa/si*, figlio del *governante Á-ti_x/ta_x-mu*.⁵

Il segmento contenente il verbo in esame recita:

R. 2 §3 *TRW-na/ni-s*, *'á-ti_x/ta_x-mu-s₂* ^{DINGIR}_{s₃-ta} ^{WAW}*'u-wa/wi-n* *'á-na/ni-a/i-ta-wa/wi-n* [¹]*s-ha-sa/si-s* ^{KDUMU}_{K-za-s₂} *á-pa-s ar+ha za-pa-ta*

‘Il *governante Á*. (e) *S.*, il di lui figlio, de-... rono al dio Santa (un) bué (e) (un) *á*.’

¹A sua volta amabilmente evidenziatami di recente anche da Norbert Oettinger. Altre miglione di carattere filologico derivano da fattive discussioni con J. David Hawkins.

²Da cui proviene la stele di KELEKLİ (Hawkins 2000:92–3, tav. 9).

³Vd. il rapporto di scavo di Sertok et al. 2008, con riferimento a questo documento a p. 414 e fotografia a p. 417, fig. 16, qui riprodotta a **Plate I** al fine del volume. — Sono debitore a Kemal Sertok e Fikri Kulakoğlu per la liberale concessione di anticipare quanto verrà più dettagliatamente esposto nella congiunta trattazione finale del complesso archeologico-epigrafico.

⁴Dove ho potuto effettuarne la collazione nel settembre 2005 grazie alla cortese autorizzazione della Direttrice, l'archeologa Sig.ra Fatma Bulgan.

⁵R. 1 §1 [*z*]*a-s-wa/wi* [^{NA}]*ku-ta*¹-*s₁+r-s* [^{DINGIR}]*s₃-ta-sa/si*¹-*s₂*

§2 *ta-ma-tà-pa-wa/wi-tà* [¹]*s-ha-sa/si-s* *'á-ti_x/ta_x-mu-s₂* ^{KDUMU}_{K-na/ni-za} <*s₂*>

‘Questo (è) l'*ortostato* del dio Santa; (§2) lo costruì *S.*, figlio di *Á*.’

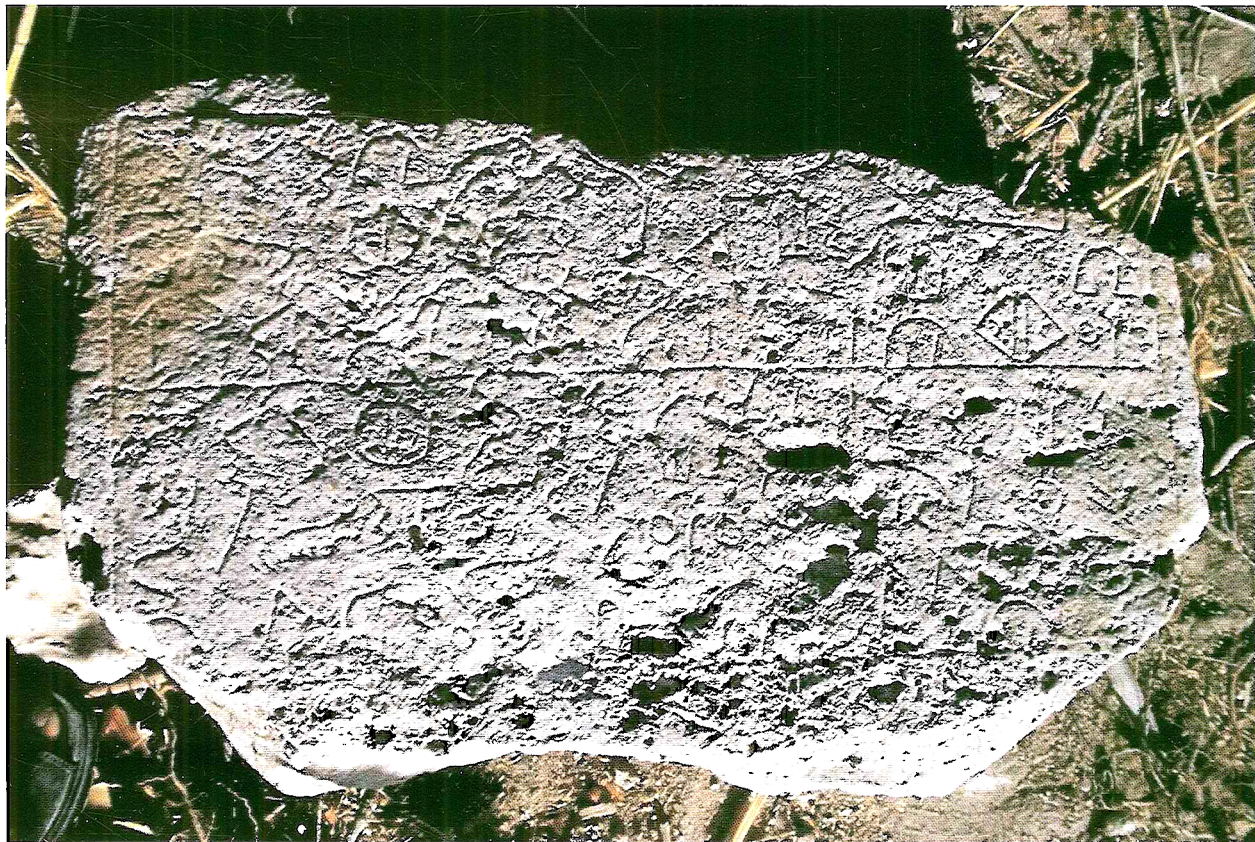


PLATE I. ŞARAGA. See pp. 296ff.

1.1. Nota. Il termine *á-na/ni-a/i-ta-wa/wi-n* risulta praticamente coincidente—salvo che per l'assenza del determinativo toponimico interposto—con l'etnico *á-n-a/i^{KUR}-ta-wa/wi-n(-à)* di TELL AHMAR 2 r. 6 §10, equiparato (in virtù di tale sequenza di lettura) ad *á-n^{KUR}-a/i-ta* di TELL AHMAR 6 r. 8 §34 (Hawkins 2000:30), formazione in *-a/i(a)* sulla base Ana (*á-n^{KUR}* in TELL AHMAR 1 r. 4 §9) in cui si è voluto riconoscere la terra di 'Ana(t) sul Medio Eufrate.⁶ Solamente, preferisco ritenere *á-n-a/i^{KUR}-ta-wa/wi-n* acc. sg. com. sostantivato (detto e.g. di una divinità)—invece di acc. pl. nt. ("the Anaitcan (things)", i.e. 'districts'): Hawkins 2000:228b, 229b)—, al pari dell'attestazione di ŠARAGA. Se ciò è vero, *á-na/ni-a/i-ta-wa/wi-* potrebbe designare (sulla mancanza di KUR mediano vd. appresso) un animale in relazione alla razza, così come noi diciamo *una chianina* (dalla Val di Chiana) per un tipo di bovino, *una bergamina* (dalle Prealpi bergamasche) o *una frisona* (dalla Frisia) di una vacca, *un lipizzano* scil. cavallo, *un siamese*: gatto, *un pechinese*: cane, etc. Se poi l'ideogramma *WAW* qualificasse collettivamente ambedue le voci (asinderiche) *una/wi-* (inconsueta la grafia con *-u-*) e *á-*, giacché precede il "determinativo di rispetto" ("") della prima, anche *á-* rappresenterebbe, in siffatta eventualità, un bovino per la cui specie il suddetto paese di 'Ana(t) era evidentemente rinomato sí da rendere pleonastica la qualifica KUR.⁷

1.2. Sorprende l'utilizzo del "determinativo di rispetto" (invertito nelle tre occorrenze di questa riga) dinanzi a bestie: il fatto però che esse siano da immolazione (vd. infra)—cioè in qualche modo "speciali", "trascelte"—potrebbe giustificare siffatto impiego.

In alternativa—quantunque con tutta riserva—, andrà attribuito—pur nell'ambito di un'anomala disposizione dei glifi—il valore 'r' a "" (collocato obliquamente, com'è ad es. per "" = '2' di MARAŠ 3 r. 2, benché qui forse per ragioni di spazio ma regolarmente anteposto a : ["marca ideografica"] *HAW* 'pecore'⁸), e comunque con la classe tipologica d'entrambi gli zoonimi sempre caratterizzata da *WAW*?

2. In relazione al verbo *za-pa-*, il contesto medesimo ne palesa il senso: 'offrire in sacrificio'. Questo nuovo lessema viene quindi ad accrescere il manipolo degli omosemi già conseguiti in geroglifico: il frequente *sar-la/li-*, contrassegnato—unitamente alla forma raddoppiata *sasar-la-*—dall'ideogramma 6, un "braccio piegato che eleva una coppa di libazione" (oggetto: bue, pecora, capra, ovvero bue + pecora/e, bue + capra,⁹ oltreché orzo (?),¹⁰ la 'nona (parte)' [⁹(*nú-u-za¹-à¹¹*!], la 'decima' [²²¹(*ti-n-ta¹²*)]); lo *hapax* (nuovo) *kumani/na-* 'consecrate' (oggetto: il supporto stesso dell'epigrafe¹³); l'inedito¹⁴ *ka+r-*¹⁵ (oggetto: bue + pecora e pecora rispettivamente).

2.1. Nota. Esistono in realtà ulteriori sinonimi; tuttavia, essendo questi caratterizzati dalle "fiamme" (*205*), esprimono propriamente 'offrire in sacrificio mediante olocausto, bruciare in oblazione'; si tratta di *lá-š3-lá-š3-* (con il derivato nominale *lá-za-li-*; oggetto: bue)¹⁶ e *kinú(wa/wi)-* (oggetto: vitello, pecora).¹⁷

⁶Vd. già il commento in Hawkins 2000:229b, 242a.

⁷Che in posizione interna, peraltro, ritorna unicamente in *á-šú+r^{KUR}-ia-URU* 'Assur' / *á-šú+r^{KUR}-wa/wi-n/-na/ni/-ná/nú^{URU}* 'assiro' di vari passi di KARKAMIŠ (Meriggi 1962:39), "pedissequo calco dell'accadico *Ašur^{KI}*" (Meriggi 1966:13 §11 Nota 1).

⁸Cf. Hawkins 2000: tavv. 116–7 con p. 268 §4.

⁹Per quest'ultimo tributo (ANCOZ 11 rr. 1–2 §2) vd. Poetto 2004:470–1.

¹⁰KÜRTÜL r. 4 §8 (Hawkins 2000:272b).

¹¹MARAŠ 5 §2 (Poetto 1986:15 e tav. I).

¹²ANCOZ 1 r. 1 §2 (Hawkins 2000:346–7b).

¹³KARKAMIŠ stone bowl §1 (Hawkins 2000:139 e tav. 47).

¹⁴Da cortese informazione di J. David Hawkins.

¹⁵All'imperat. 3^a sg. *ka+r-tu* in ALEPPO 6 (citadel) r. 6 §6 e r. 9 §10.

¹⁶HAMA 4B r(r). 3(–4) §11, di cui ribadisco la mia esegesi: 'e in nessuna occasione (essi) immoleranno alla dea [scil. Ba'lat] (alcun) bue puro (e) destinato al sacrificio' (Poetto 1979:674).

¹⁷MARAŠ 5 §1 e CEKKE ro alto rr. 1–2 §4 (rispettivamente *ki-nú-wa/wi-ti-a/i* e '*ki¹-nú¹-ti*', pres. 3^a sg.),

3. Immediato è naturalmente il richiamo al verbo luvio cuneif. *zapp(a)*-¹⁸, per il quale tuttavia si evince — dai passi più intellegibili — un concetto sfavorevole che suffraga la schematica indicazione di Melchert (1993:278): “‘?’ (a destructive action)”.

4. Si tratta anzitutto del pret. 3^a sg. *zappatta* di *KUB* 35.54 ro II 38 (Starke 1985:67):

37 *a-ta pi-ia-at-ta im-ma-[r]a-as-sa-an* DINGIRIŠKUR-ti

38 *[a-ta za-ap₁-pa-at-ta at-tu[-wa]-al-za ú-tar-sa*

39 *[ha-al]-li-is-sa a-ta a-[ap-p]a* DINGIRMEŠ-an-za

40 ŠA EN SISKUR.SISKUR *par-ra-an ni-[is]*

‘[Il mandante del rituale] li ha dati [scil. gli oggetti elencati nel capoverso precedente] al dio Tarhunz della campagna; (r. 38) le ha ... ate — la malvagia parola (e) (r. 39) la *disgrazia*; (ed) esse (cose) davanti agli dèi (r. 40) del signore del rituale non ri(tornino)!¹⁹,

in cui significati quali ‘sopprimere, eliminare, liquidare, distruggere’ (e sim.) certo si attagliano al verbo qui indagato.

4.1. *Nota.* Degna di rilievo la simmetria esibita per le rr. 38–40 da vo III 37–8 (Starke 1985:69), ma con l’impiego del vb. *labuni-* (al pret. 1^a sg. *labuniha*) ‘lavare, purificare’ (Carruba 1982:3; Melchert 1993:120 e 2003:149); relativamente poi all’annientamento di avversità in eteo cf. e.g. *KBo* 17.1 III 10–13 (col vb. *həriya-* ‘scippellire’): “O Sonnengott (und) Wettergott! Seht, ich habe dem König, der Königin und ihren Kindern in² Hattuša ihre Krankheit, ihre Bluttat, ihr Böses (und) ihr Furchtbares vergraben und dies soll nicht mehr nach oben kommen!” (Ottén e Souček 1969:30–1; vd. inoltre Friedrich et al. 2000:278b [con altri rinvii]; Melchert 2003:147 con n. 5).

5. Lo stesso dícasei dell’identica forma in *KBo* 22.137 vo III 9, se risulta legittima l’esegesi sotto affacciata di r. 8, in séguito alla restituzione del verbo conclusivo:²⁰

8 DINGIR_{si}-*wa-ta hu-wa-i-ú-na-ti a-as-d[u]*

9 *za-ap-pa-at-ta za-am-ma-an-za ú-tar-sa* [

‘Oh, il dio S., sia di *soccorso*! (r. 9) Ha *soppresso* la z.²¹ parola’.

¹⁷(cont.) (*ki-ni-wa/wi-ha*, pret. 1^a sg.). — Esclusi, in considerazione dell’uso non sacrale, *205(-)lābā/hanuwa/wi-* ‘dare alle fiamme’ (edifici / città: TOPADA r. 4 §14, r. 6 §24) e il sostantivo ²⁰⁶*ma-ru-s₃-n-* (retto da un verbo per ‘colpire, annientare’: KARKAMIŠ A 24a r. 3 §7): ‘firebrand’ in Hawkins 2000:135b e 136 commento.

¹⁸Attestazioni in Starke 1990:112 e n. 311, da combinare con Melchert 1993:278. — Si osservi però in Starke che *zappa*[*n-* di *KUB* 49.93 ro II 3 è in parallelo a ‘*zappantalanzi* di *KUB* 50.6+ vo III 14 e *KUB* 16.77 ro II 63 (senza “marca d’alloglossia”) = luv. cuneif. *zappant^{la}laenti* di *KUB* 16.77 ro III 38, pres. 3^a pl. di *zappant^{la}lai-* ‘remunerate(?)’ (van den Hout 1998:184, 227, 248, 250), da includere in Melchert 1993:279 (dove va depennato “[*KUB* 16.77] iii 13”).

¹⁹Cf. Melchert 2003:146.

²⁰Nella quale evenienza da inserire in Melchert 1993:33.

²¹“Apparently deriv. of preceding [*zammān-*], the word has a negative connotation” (Melchert 1993:276); del pari già Meriggi (1980:310 §113), a cui si conforma Hutter (1988:94).

5.1. *Nota.* La resa ‘soc-corso’ per *huwayur*²²/n- (qui all’abl./strum. sg.; Melchert 1993:81, “‘?’”) ne rispetta la corradicalità al verbo per ‘correre’, *hui(ya)-* / et. *huwai-*, *huiya-*.²³ — Per le tracce di -d[u] (imperat. 3ª sg.) a fine riga (“-x[” in Starke 1985:69 e Groddek 2008:131) cf. quelle del medesimo grafema in d[u]-wa-‘ar’-na-[ab-bi] di r. 2.²³

6. Del resto, un inquadramento nella sopra argomentata (§4) sfera semantica non riuscirebbe inappropriato neppure per il pret. 3ª pl. *za-ap-pu-un-[ta]* di KUB 35.68:10,²⁴ riferito a *wassanza wassati* ‘il tavolo (acc. sg.) mediante un tavolo (abl./strum.)’ della stessa riga, con ^{GIŠ}kuppessa ^{GIŠ}kuppi[sati] ‘lo sgabello mediante uno sgabello’ a r. 9.

7. Infine, la suddetta implicazione negativa appare altresì avvalorata dall’agg. *za-ap-pi-ia-an* — acc. sg. nt. (Melchert 1993:279, “‘?’”) in contesto eteo: [*hinga*]n / *ÚŠ-an z. ausdu*, KUB 35.145 vo 14 / KUB 44.4+ vo 32 (Beckman 1983:rispettivamente 194, 178–9, 199, egualmente senza interpretazione del lessema²⁵) — una volta collegato appunto al vb. *zapp(a)-*; quindi: ‘veda una distruzione *rovinoso*!’.

8. Un’apprezzabile simmetria al dualismo di accezione riscontrato nel luvio gerogl. *za-pa-* vs. cuneif. *zapp(a)-* mostra ad es. il lat. *mactāre* ‘offer sacrificially (to a god)’ / ‘slay (a victim) sacrificially, sacrifice’ onde ‘kill, slay’²⁶ (Glare 1976:1058c; s’aggiunga Prosdocimi 1989:151–2). La nuance semantica tra ‘far perire’ e ‘distruggere’ è banale.

9. Il preverbio *ar+ba*, propriamente ‘ex, ab; de-/di-, re-/ri-’, sta a indicare il compimento dell’azione / intenzione, dunque con la forza insita in *de-* del lat. *de-vovēre* il quale, esprimendo ‘offrire in voto alla divinità’ vs. ‘consacrare agli dèi per espiazione’, quindi ‘maledire’ (cf. Glare 1971:534c), fornisce altresì un rimarchevole riscontro — in ottica etimologica — all’accostamento istituibile tra il luv. gerogl. *za-pa-* ‘porgere in sacrificio’ e il ved. *śap-* ‘(ver)fluchen’: *√kep-*; col che si acquisisce un ulteriore caso di affricazione in luvio dell’originaria velare palatale indoeuropea.²⁷ Senza insistere, sem-

²²Da notare pure (con “*Glossenkeil*”) *‘himmayalli* (dat./locat. sg.) di KUB 6.46 IV 53, epiteto del dio Sole, “fleet” (Puhvel 1991:422), o piuttosto — in preferenza a “runner”, with reference to the observable movement of the Sun through the sky” — “helper”, if it is semantically derived from the common Hittite idiom *peran huwai-* ‘to assist’ (lit. ‘to run in front of’), which has an exact counterpart in Luv. *paran buya-*” (Yakubovich 2010:378).

²³L’integrazione (pur non in toto precisa) “*a-as-[du]*” si trova invero già in Ivanov 1998:77 §1.6; improbabile, invece, la decodificazione del passo nel suo insieme: “‘Oh the God of the Sun! He should run. The coming [...] water (or: the water of the coming [god]?) has been evaporated’. The boiling water and/or the smoke produced by it has been considered a condition for the coming of the god”.

²⁴*za-ap-pu-un-ta* a r. 11 (struttura incompleta; Starke 1985:395).

²⁵Analogamente Collins 1989:37, 219; Reichardt 1998:27(, 56); Giorgieri 2004:410. Erronei Haas e Thiel 1978:200 (con n. 254).

²⁶Quest’ultimo cristallizzatosi nell’ant. ital. *matrare* (cf. il deverbale, tuttora in uso, *matatoio* ‘macello per animali’), spagn. *matar*; etc.

²⁷Per una sistematica illustrazione del fenomeno vd. anzitutto Melchert 1987:190–204; cf. anche i successivi quadri sinottici in Tischler 1990:87–8 e 1992:257–8. — Al vedico non è perciò comparabile (come dato ancora e.g. in Mayrhofer 1995:608; Kümmel ap. Rix 2001:327 n. 1) l’agg. luv. cuneif. *k^appilalli-* ‘ostile, avvers(ari)o’ (da cui il vb. *k^appilazza-* ‘inimicarsi’) / gerogl. ²⁷⁰*ka-pi-la-li-* (Starke 1990:102 n. 261, 232 con n. 787; Melchert 1993:100–1; cf. in più Yakubovich 2010:409); vd. di recente Kloekhorst 2008:439–40.

pre all'interno della sfera religiosa, sull'analoga, notoria, ambivalenza semantica di gr. ἄγιος, lat. *sacer*,²⁸ etc.

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²⁸Per il primo vd. Chantraine 1968:13b (sub ἄγιος), 25a (sub ἄζωμαι). Sul secondo cf. Glare 1980:1674, in particolare ad 1 e 2.b; Morani 1981:38-42 §§7-8; di taglio più generico (e con risultati non sempre condivisibili) l'indagine di Solari 1995; stimolante, infine, l'abbinamento all'antitetico cimr. *hagr* 'ugly' (Maier 1987).

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Fiery Seed: Remarks on the Tiers of Hittite Royalty

Jaan Puhvel

Under the first rule of succession in the Edict of Telipinus, LUGAL-*us-san hantezziyas-pat* DUMU.LUGAL DUMU-*RU kikkistaru* ‘king shall become by priority the foremost son of a king’ (KBo 3.1 II 36). Such a dynastic specimen had to be sired by the king upon the lawful queen, as seen indirectly in definitions of princes, e.g. ŠEŠ.MEŠ^DUTU-ŠI-*ya kuyēs IŠTU* SAL.LUGAL *hassantes* ‘those brothers of his majesty (who are) begotten upon (or: born of) the queen’ (KUB 26.12 I 12–3; I purposely stick with SAL rather than MUNUS). A slightly different formulation reads: ŠEŠ.MEŠ^DUTU-ŠI-*ya kuyēs sakuwassaras-a* SAL.LUGAL *awan* GAM *hassantes* (KUB 21.42 IV 16–7). Here the additional term *sakuwassar(a)-* qualifies not the following SAL.LUGAL ‘queen’ (as wrongly suggested in Güterbock and Hoffner 1989– :Š 62) but rather ŠEŠ.MEŠ, thus ‘those brothers of his majesty (who are) also *sakuwassaras*, (namely) born of the queen’. Whatever the etymology of *sakuwassar(a)-*, the sense is ‘entire, complete, integral’, thus ‘every inch a prince royal’.

In the very next line (KUB 21.42 IV 18) such worthies are distinguished from the brood (DUMU.MEŠ) of a ^{SAL}NAPTARTU of the incumbent king’s father, lower-grade half-brothers of the princes proper, born of a mistress or common-law co-wife (Akk. *naptartu* [root *paṭāru* ‘set free’]). Her status is hard to distinguish from that of a ^{SAL}ESERTU, a concubine whose name involves an almost antonymic root (Akk. *esēru* ‘confine’; cf. the figura etymologica *eserta esēru* ‘take a mistress’; cf. further Hitt. *nasarta-* ‘kept woman, favorite’ [vel sim.], presumably Akk. **našartu* from *našāru* ‘protect’). Such consorts, who bring to mind “morganatic” spouses or “mâîtresses royales” of other climes and eras, produced offspring who were *tān pedas* ‘second-rank’ but still subsidiary regal timber, as in the famous instance involving the king-maker Hattusilis: *nu ANA ŠEŠ-YA kuit ŠA DAM-ŠU hu-u-i-hu-is-su-wa-li-is* DUMU-*as nāwi kuiski ēsta* ‘because my brother as yet had no son validated by physical birth from his wife’ (KUB 6.29 I 34–5, emended from dupl. KUB 21.15 + 760/v I 6–7), Muwatallis’ throne went to Urhitesupas (a.k.a. Mursilis III), *tān pedas* son of a concubine (DUMU *ESERTI*; reduplicated *huuihuissuwali-* recalls both Luw. *huidwali-* ‘alive’, Hitt. *huisu-* ‘(a)live’ and *annawali-* ‘equivalent’, hence the tentative rendering ‘qualified by birth’ [Puhvel 1984– :vol. 7, 145–6]).

But the procreative activities of a king did not stop with the lawful queen and the assorted royal mistresses. There was yet a third tier of offspring beneath the first and second ranks, exemplified as follows: ŠEŠ.HI.A ^DUTU-ŠI-*ma kuyēs sakuwasarrus* DUMU.MEŠ ^{SAL}MEŠ *ISARTI-ya kuyēs ŠA ABI* ^DUTU-ŠI *namma-ya kuit tamai* NU-

MUN LUGAL-UT[*TI*] ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*pahhurzi-s ta kuyēs* ‘those who are integral brothers of my majesty, and those who are sons of my majesty’s father’s concubines, and also what other seed of royalty (there be), such as *pahhurzi-s*’ (KUB 23.1 II 10–3).

A (^{LÚ}*pa-(ab-)hur-si-* (*pa-ab-hu-ur-si-*, *pa-ab-hu-wa-ar-si-*, *pa-ab-hur-zi-*) was frankly extramarital offspring, illegitimate progeny, thus a “natural son” or “bastard”, excluded from the legitimate line of royal succession. The word may be originally adjectival, with its nominalized neuter form meaning ‘illegitimacy’ (KUB 58.112 + Bo 3010 Vs. 11–2 *ishanittari-mi-s* [sic; dupl. KBo 38.55, 7 -*mi-z*, i.e. -*za*] *pahhursi-mi piran* ... ‘in the face of my marital alliance [and] my illegitimacy ...’). But mostly it is an animate noun, either singular (e.g. KUB 23.1 II 29 ^{LÚ}*pahhursin-pat pahhashi* ‘must I be loyal even to a bastard?’) or plural (KUB 29.1 III 41–3 *nu-zan É-as BELU.MEŠ-TIM LUGAL-us SAL.LUGAL-s-a DAM.MEŠ pahhuwarses esantari* ‘housemasters, king and queen, wives, extramaritals take their seats’ [wrongly read ^{DAM.MEŠ}*pahhuwarses* in Güterbock and Hoffner 1989:P 17, as if denoting a type of consort])).

Royal feminine brood was further typified as ‘family’ (MÁŠ) and ‘seed’ (NUMUN), e.g. *namma-tta* ^DUTU-ŠI *kuin kūn NIN-YA ANA DAM-U[TTI-K]A ADDIN nu-si NIN.MEŠ-ŠU ŠA MÁŠ-ŠU ŠA NUMUN-ŠU mekkaēs asanzi* ‘as for this sister of mine whom I have given you in marriage, she has many sisters of her family (MÁŠ = *hassatar*), of her seed’ (KBo 5.3 III 25–26). A difference is not quite patent; possibly royal princesses (*hassatar* elliptic for *salli hassatar* ‘royal family’?) and lesser breeds being distinguished. But *hassatar*, besides metonymic meanings like ‘family’ or ‘womb’, also had the literal sense of ‘begetting’, so that the hypostatic noun *has-sannassas* (literally ‘of his begetting’) was an umbrella term that could encompass all tiers, including the offspring of royal mistresses and even low-rank partners such as hierodules or prostitutes (^{SAL}SUHUR.LAL, ^{SAL}KAR.KID). Hence possibly this very juxtaposition of MÁŠ and NUMUN is largely pleonastic rather than dichotomous.

Male *pahhu(wa)rses* figure in the dynastic turmoil of the Old Kingdom. The patricidal king Ammunas was succeeded by his bastard son Huzziyas, after the clandestine murders of the legal heirs apparent and their families. Huzziyas would also have rubbed out the leading female claimant, Istapariyas, but a preventive coup by her husband Telipinus thwarted the usurper. Yet a second conspirator, whose death sentence Telipinus had once imprudently commuted, managed to perpetuate the turmoil and at some later point even attain the kingship. This Tahurwailis, another bastard of the old Ammunas (KUB 11.1 II 12 [emended from dupl. KBo 3.1 II 16] *hassannas-sas DUMU-ŠU Tahurwailin*), was the son of a prostitute (KUB 26.77 I 18 DUMU ^{SAL}KAR.KID) but styled himself LUGAL.GAL (KBo 28.109, 7) and *Tabarna Tahurwaili* (Bo 69/200).

Pahhu(wa)rsi- is “ohne Etymologie” (Tischler 1977–: P 371). Such terms frequently have “roundabout” origins, witness English *bastard* or *morganatic*. In this instance, however, a more than homophonous tie-in with Hittite *pahhu(wa)r*, Luwian *pāhūr* ‘fire’, Luwoid *pawarriya-* ‘make fire, bivouac’ suggests itself, specifically a syncopated adjective **pahhu(wa)r(as)si-* ‘fire-related, igneous’. In this context it bears considering that the word lurking under the Sumerogram NUMUN ‘seed, offspring’ is the neuter noun (∞)*war(ru)walan* (gen. sg. ∞*wa-ar-ru-wa-la-na-as* [KUB 21.37 Vs. 13, be-

side *ibid.* Vs. 50 NUMUN-*as*]; dat.-loc. sg. (4) *wa-ar-wa-la-ni* alternating with NUMUN, without gloss wedges on the Bronze Tablet [Bo 86/299 III 2, 6, 16, IV 24], but with wedges in its analog, the Ulmitesub treaty [KBo 4.10 Rs. 22, 24, with “ergative” nom. pl. c. 4 *wa-ar-wa-la-na-an-te-es* *ibid.* Rs. 25]). The reading is firm; our honoree in his *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon* (Melchert 1993:261) did well to reject Starke’s (1990:479–84) wayward alternative *wa-ar-wa-at-*, to which van den Hout (1995:46, 48, 282) succumbed. This word for ‘seed’ seems to be a syncopated and dissimilated Luwoid dialectal form related to the Hittite phrase *wariwaran pabbur* (e.g. KUB 44.4 Rs. 4), *urivaran pabbur* (KUB 17.10 III 22) ‘blazing fire’, beside e.g. *waranti pabhu* [eni ‘in burning fire’ (KUB 15.34 III 57)]. As a nominalized term for ‘blazing matter’, the neuter *war(i)waran(t)* may have been reinterpreted as a neuter *n*-stem. Somewhat as *pabhu(wa)rsi-* has beside it]SAL.MEŠ *pa-ah-hu-ri-es* [(Bo 6873, 8), *warwalan* is paralleled by ^D*Wa-ar-wa-li-ya-an* (KBo 4.11, 59). In KUB 12.21 8–9 (LUGAL-*us* ^DU-*an* ^DUTU-*un* ^DHalkin ^DMiyatan[*zipan*] ^DPabbur-a *sallanut*) the king is told to extol in one breath thunder-god, sun-god, grain-god, growth daimon, and deified fire.

The notion that royal seed was somehow igneous thus seems to inhere in Hittite and Luwian vocabulary. In contrastive terminology, it refers particularly to uncere-monious “begats”, extraneous and unregulated expenditure of regal sperm. Parallels are not far to seek. In ancient Iran, Avestan *x³arəmah-*, Old Persian *farnah* (Farsi *farr*) meant ‘halo, nimbus, blazing glory’, literally ‘solar matter’ (Vedic *śvar-*, Latin *sol*). It was the hallmark of the Great King, but Zoroastrian speculation on its essence identified it with ejaculate and sperm. As we move west to Greek tradition, Danaë’s “golden shower” and the deadly effulgence that undid the hapless Semele (both courtesy of Zeus) bear witness to reckless sexuality “at the highest level”. In Etruscan-tinged Roman legend, the strange low-born mystery baby at the Tarquin court, Servius Tullius, whose fiery-head-related *prodigia* portended eventual kingship (*caput arsisse, caput divino circumfuso igni* [Livy 1.39.1, 1.41.3]), was reputedly sired on a slave-girl by a miraculous phallus erected from the royal hearth-fire (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book 4). Tullius became a good king, regulating Roman society with the census and other reforms, yet his reign was but an interlude between two bad Tarquins. On the paintings of the François tomb at Vulci in Etruria, a certain Marce Camitlnas kills Cneve *Tarklunies* Rumakh, while someone named *Macstma* frees Caile Vipinas from bondage. That great Etruscologist of his age, the emperor Claudius, perpetuated the identification of the liberator Mastarna with Servius Tullius, and later scholarship tends to agree. This allonym is usually taken as a title borrowed from Latin *magister*, but reflects perhaps an age-old Italic term for ‘low-born, illegitimate’, seen in Latin (Petronius) *burdubasta*, literally ‘mule-burden’ (i.e. ‘klutz’ as a sobriquet for a clumsy and slovenly gladiator), *bastum* ‘packsaddle’ (Old French *bast* [French *bât*], *filz de bast*, *bastard*, alluding to the saddleback coitional habits of muleteers). *Bast-* in turn can reflect **bankst-*, which might elucidate parallel words such as German *Bankert* or *Bänklings* ‘bastard’ (borrowed in turn as English *bantling*). Etruscan *macst-* may likewise go back to **ba(n)kst-* (cf. e.g. *Melerpanta* < Greek *Bellerophontās*). These Etruscan traditions relate to internecine rivalry between warlords around early Rome, but they distantly resemble what is told of early Hittite history, where Telipinus the interca-

lated reformer (cf. *Tullius*) was sandwiched between two interlopers (Huzziyas and Tahurwailis [= **Tarhmailis*?; cf. *Tarquinius*]). While the “igneous” nature is implicit in the “bad” *pabhurses* of the Old Kingdom, it applies to the “good” regulator in Old Rome. Fiery royal seed being potent for good or ill, this inversion may be due to some partisan attempt to extol or denigrate one faction at the expense of another. It is thus not impossible that the Asianic Etruscans deposited some remnants of Anatolian legend onto the soil of Italy.

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The Derivational History of PIE **d̥iēu-/diu-* ‘(god of the) day-lit sky; day’

Jeremy Rau

The PIE nominal stem **d̥iēu-/diu-* has three meanings in the IE languages:² (1) ‘day-lit sky’, cf. Ved. *dyāus/divás* ‘id.’, Gk. *εὐδιος* ‘clear’, OCS *doždъ* ‘rainstorm’, etc.; (2) ‘day-lit sky’ personified as a divine figure, cf. Gk. *Ζεύς*, etc. and the inherited collocation **d̥iēu-* *ph₂tér-* ‘father heaven’³ > Gk. *Ζεὺς πατήρ*, Ved. *dyáuḥ pitṛá*, etc.; and (3) ‘day’, cf. Ved. *dyāus/divas* ‘id.’, Lat. *diēs* ‘id.’, Gk. *ἐνδιος* ‘mid-day’, etc. The original paradigm of the stem is easily reconstructed from what is found in the languages:⁴

sg. nom.	<i>*d̥iēus</i>	>	Ved. <i>dyāus</i> , Gk. <i>Ζεύς</i> , Hitt. <i>ḫiūs</i>
voc.	<i>*d̥iēu</i>	>	Ved. <i>dyāus</i> , Gk. <i>Ζεῦ</i>
acc.	<i>*d̥iēm</i>	>	Ved. <i>dyām</i> , Hom. <i>Ζῆν(’)</i>
gen. abl.	<i>*diuē/ós</i>	>	Ved. <i>divás</i> , Gk. <i>Δι(ε)ός</i>
dat.	<i>*diuēi</i>	>	Ved. <i>divé</i> , Gk. <i>Διφι</i>
instr.	<i>*diuēh₁</i>	>	Ved. <i>divā</i> (adv. <i>divā</i> ‘during the day’)
loc.	<i>*d̥iēu(i)</i>	>	Ved. <i>dyāvi</i>
	<i>*diui</i>	>	Ved. <i>diví</i> , Gk. <i>Δι(ε)ί</i>

The deep root-etymology of the stem is also clear. The basic element **di-* found in this noun can be aligned with what underlies the *n*-extended nominal stem **di-n-* ‘day’ in OCS *dnъ* ‘id.’ and other languages (see below) and further with the *h₂*-extended verbal root **deih₂-* ‘be light, shine’ in the Ved. pf. *didāya/did,yur* ‘shine, appear’, the Hom. 3rd sg. impf. mid. *ἔεατο* ‘appeared’ and the adj. *ἠλός* ‘clear’ < **deih₂-(e)lo-*.⁶

While so much is obvious and uncontroversial, the noun has long resisted a clear morphological analysis. As the late Jochem Schindler noted, this is because it can be reasonably analyzed in two competing ways,⁷ either (a) as an *e/zero*-ablauting root

¹It is my pleasure to thank Alan J. Nussbaum, Martin Peters and the honorand himself for much useful discussion during the preparation of this paper.

²See Schindler 1985:999f.

³See Strunk 1982:427ff. with lit.

⁴See Schindler 1973:148ff.

⁵The stem also served as the basis for several derivatives already in the proto-language, including a *vrddhi*-formation **deiyó-* ‘of the sky’ > ‘celestial; god’ > Ved. *devá-* ‘id.’, Lat. *deus* ‘id.’, etc., a *deví*-feminine **deiyib₂-/diyib₂-* ‘celestial; goddess’ > Ved. *deví-* ‘id.’, Gk. *θεά* ‘id.’, and a genitival adjective **diuiio-* ‘of the (day-lit) sky’ > Ved. *diviyá-* ‘celestial’, Lat. *dius* ‘bright, celestial’.

⁶See Mayrhofer 1992–2001:s.v. *dyāv-* with lit.

⁷Schindler 1973:149.

noun (= RN) made to a root **d̥ieṇ-* ‘shine, light up’ or (b) as a hysterokinetic *u*-stem **d̥i-éṇ-/di-u-* made to the basic root **d̥i-* that appears in **di-n-* ‘day’ and **d̥ei-h₂-* ‘be light, shine.’ The purpose of this contribution is to determine which of these alternatives represents the best analysis.

1 PIE **d̥ieṇ-/d̥iṇ-* as a root noun

Since the RN analysis seems to represent the simplest approach to the stem and is the analysis advocated by Schindler, our discussion will begin with it. To make a case for this approach, what is ultimately needed is clear evidence for the verbal root from which this RN could have been derived. Evidence for such a root is generally held to survive in the Vedic verbal root *dyut-* ‘light up; shine’ which is well attested in the *RigVeda* in the *s*-aorist *ádyaut* (16× RV; a replacement of an earlier root aorist, cf. e.g. mid. aor. part. *dyutāná-* RV), the intensive *dávidyut-* (9×), the perfect *didyuté* (1×), the causative *dyotáyati* (1×), and the innovative thematic present *dyótate* (1×),⁸ and further in various nominal forms, including the root noun *dyút-* f. ‘light, shine’ (3×).⁹

This root is usually said to continue a *t*-extended variant of **d̥ieṇ-* ‘shine, light up’ of the sort found in pairs like **k̥eṭi-t-* ‘id.’ (> e.g. Ved. pf. *cikēta* ‘observes; understands’) : **k̥eṭi-* ‘perceive, notice’ (> e.g. Ved. *cáyati* ‘id.’) and **(s)ker-t-* ‘id.’ (> e.g. YAv. *kərəntaiti* ‘id.’) : **(s)ker-* ‘cut’ (> Gk. *κείρω*).¹⁰ There are two ways to approach the *t*-extension in this root. Both are ultimately unconvincing. First, one might start with a *te/o*-present **d̥ieṇ-te/o-* ‘shine, light up’ (> RV+ *dyótate* ‘id.’) made to **d̥ieṇ-* ‘shine, light up’, of the sort found in pairs like **plek-te/o-* ‘weave’ (> Lat. *plectō*, *-ere* ‘id.’, etc.) : **plek-e/o-* ‘id.’ (> Gk. *πλέκω* ‘id.’) or **keis-te/o-* ‘be in movement’ (> *cēṣṭati* ‘rührt sich, ist beschäftigt’ AV+) : **keisor* (> Hitt. *kīša* ‘becomes, happens’), and assume that this was reinterpreted as a thematic present to a *t*-final verbal root *dyut-* (viz. **d̥iāṇ-ta-* → **d̥iāyt-a-*) and then had non-present formations backformed to it in the same way as *cēṣ-* was ultimately extracted from *cēṣṭati* and used as the basis of the absolutive *cēṣṭitvá* Br+ and *iṣ*-aorist *cēṣṭiṣi* Sū+. However, as Hoffmann (1968:217 n. 16) rightly noted, the present *dyótate* is very weakly attested in the *RigVeda*, appearing only one time in a late hymn in the 10th *maṇḍala* (10.177.2c) and only as a middle participle *dyótamāna-*, and is best seen as a late analogical creation based on its suppletive counterpart *rócate*. A second possibility would be to invoke an analysis like that of Scarlata 1999:241, who modifying Brugmann 1906:364 argues (1) that Indic inherited an ath-

⁸See Hoffmann 1968:217 n. 16, who remarks on the primacy of the aorist in this *averbo* and who argues that the present *dyótate* has been backformed from the aorist under the influence of *rócate*, a verb with which *dyut-* stood in a close suppletive relationship. As a parallel for the (not uncommon) pattern full-grade thematic present : intransitive root aorist, cf. e.g. *bhrājate* ‘shine’ : *ābhrāt* and further Cl. Skt. *śvetate* ‘shine, be light’ : *viśvītan* RV.

⁹This verbal root is also often said to be reflected in the noun *didyū-* ‘projectile, arrow’ (RV+), which is taken as an agentive root noun made to a reduplicated verbal stem. See Mayrhofer 1992–2001:5.2. In my view the noun is more easily explained as a *u*-stem adjective derived from the perfect that survives in Ved. *d̥idāya/d̥id̥yur* ‘shine, appear’. For the type, cf. e.g. YAv. *jagāuru-* ‘awake, vigilant’ = Ved. *jāgri-* ‘id.’ (: *jar-* ‘wake up’).

¹⁰See Kretschmer 1924:108ff. and Schindler 1973:149.

ematic 3rd sg. aor. *ádyot** to **dyn-* ‘shine; light up’, (2) that this was reinterpreted as the 3rd sg. of an **ádyot(st)* under the influence of the *t*-extended nominal form *dyút-* ‘light’ and the semantically similar *s*-aorist *ásvet** (: *śvit-* ‘shine; light up’), and (3) that the new *t*-final root-form *dyut-* was then extended to other verbal formations, eventually replacing the original form of the root. See already Wackernagel (1918:396ff.) against this approach. While there is in principle nothing objectionable in this, root-determinations are not a morphological phenomenon that we actually control, and explanations built on such elements can be considered truly convincing only in cases where there is no other reasonable explanation — that is, in situations where both variants are unambiguously attested and where the extended variant cannot convincingly be aligned with any other known morphological type. In the case of **diéu-/diu-*’, the verbal root that would underlie this RN is itself nowhere directly attested and hinges entirely on the evidence of a single formation attested in a single subbranch. Before this verbal root can be taken as providing unambiguous support for an unextended **diéu-*, the question must thus be asked whether this Vedic root cannot be reasonably explained in a different way.

The obvious way to answer this question is to start by trying to reverse the relationship between noun and verb and by seeing if it is possible to explain verbal *dyut-* ‘light up; shine’ as a specifically Indic or Proto-Indo-Iranian backformation based on nominal *dyút-* ‘light’. This requires (1) finding a suitable origin for this noun and (2) identifying a reasonable model on which it could have acquired verbal forms. Both requirements are easily met.

As for the origins of *dyút-* ‘light’, the best approach is to analyze the noun not as a deverbative root noun as the scenario above would require but rather as the continuant of an inherited *t*-stem. Anatolian in fact has evidence of a *t*-stem made to the same root in Hittite *šimatt-* ‘day,’ Palaic *ṽtiāt /tiyad-/* ‘sun-god’ and Luwian *ṽTiūt- /tiwad-/* ‘id.’¹¹ In a recent article K. Yoshida (2000:175ff.) has demonstrated that these two forms go back to a Proto-Anat. **diéuot-* with mobile accent, viz. weak stem **diéuot-* > Hitt. */šivat-/* and strong **diéuot-* > Luv. */tiwad-/* with lenition between unaccented vowels, which in PIE terms continues the generalized strong stem of an originally amphikinetic *t*-stem **diéuot-/diūt-*’. Pre-Proto-Anat. **diéuot-/diūt-*’ would thus seem to provide a close match to the *t*-stem that may underlie Ved. *dyút-* ‘light’, and to take the equation of these forms seriously it is only necessary to explain the morphological development of the stem in Vedic and the semantic differences between Vedic and Anatolian.

The morphological developments leading from an originally amphikinetic *t*-stem **diéuot-/diūt-*’ to the non-ablauting Vedic form *dyút-/dyut-*’ are straightforward. As a general rule Vedic does not tolerate root and stem allomorphy of the kind that would have been present in PIIt. **diáuāt-/diūt-*’, and typically remodels paradigms like this by generalizing one root, stem or suffix allomorph. In the case of **diáuāt-/diūt-*’ ‘light, shine’, the strong stem **diáuāt-* would have had limited morphological and semantic support in Indic (and Iranian) since *t*-stems with a full- or lengthened-

¹¹For the attested forms of Hitt. *šimatt-*, see Ricken 1999:102ff., and for those of Luw. *ṽTiūt-*, Starke 1990:145ff. On the meaning of Luw. *ṽTiūt-*, see Hutter 2003:224ff.

grade suffix constituted a small and unproductive class in this language and were all, apart from the kinship term *nápāt-* ‘descendant, grandson’, unambiguous agent nouns like *śravāt-* ‘stream’ or *vāghāt-* ‘singer, priest’ which in Proto-Indo-Iranian and early Indic likely followed a completely different inflectional pattern involving a strong-/weak-stem alternation **srauāt-/srauāt-*.¹² The weak stem **dīut-*, on the other hand, would have closely resembled in form and function non-ablauting *t*-extended RNs like *stūt-* ‘praise’ and plain RN formations like *rūc-* ‘light’ and *bhrāj-* ‘id.’, and it is easy to see how this resemblance could have led to the generalization of this weak-stem allomorph.

The best approach to the deeper morphological analysis of the stem is to assume that it continues a secondary amphikinetic *t*-stem with possessive semantics of the type that appears in the PIE *t*-stem **uēidu-ot-/uīdu-t-* ‘knowing one; witness’ (> Go. *weitwod-* ‘id.’, etc.), a denominative formation made to the *u*-stem verbal abstract **uōidu-/uēidu-* ‘(activity of) knowing; knowledge’ that appears e.g. in the infinitive OAv. *viduiiē* ‘to know’—viz. **dīēu-/dīu-* ‘(god of the) day-lit sky; day’ → **dīēuot-/dīut-* ‘the one/thing connected with the day-lit sky, day’ as **uōidu-/uēidu-* ‘(activity of) knowing; knowledge’ → **uēidu-ot-/uīdu-t-* ‘knowing one; witness’.¹³ The stem should thus in the first instance have meant ‘the one/thing connected with the day-lit sky, day’, and as many other secondary derivatives to **dīēu-/dīu-* ‘day-lit sky; day’ from here have further developed the sense ‘that which shines with (day-)light, is light’. The further semantic developments in Vedic and Anatolian fall perfectly into place under the assumption that the stem took on the meaning ‘light’ in Indic in the same way as Ved. *dyumánt-* ‘light, shining’, originally a possessive adjective made to *dyāv-/dyu-*, and the substantive *dyumná-* ‘light, radiance’, the continuant of a substantivized genitival adjective,¹⁴ and that it came to compete with the reflex of **dīēu-/dīu-* ‘(god of the) day-lit sky; day’ in Proto-Anatolian, basically replacing this noun in Luwian and Palaic and taking over the meaning ‘day’ in Hittite once **šins* was specialized in the sense ‘god’.

The obvious candidate for a verb that may have contributed to the creation of verbal forms to the noun *dyūt-* ‘light’ is the one that has long been held to have influenced verbal **dīēu-* ‘shine, light up’, the semantically similar verbal root *švit-* ‘shine, light up’ RV+.¹⁵ Unlike *dyut-*, this verbal root has clearly been inherited. In the IE languages it shows up as a root aorist (Ved. 3rd pl. *ásvitan* RV+, later replaced by an *s*-aorist) and further in derived stative (Lith. *švitėti* ‘be light’), inchoative (Lith. *švintu* (: *švisti*) ‘be-

¹²These Vedic *t*-stems belong together with verbal nouns and adjectives like Lat. *tegēs, -etis* ‘cover’, Gk. *πένης, -τος* ‘poor man’, and Av. *fiṇavāt-* ‘going forth’, which consistently have *e*-grade vocalism in the root and *-ē-* or *-e-* in the suffix. The type is ultimately of secondary origin and is to be aligned with the denominative hysterokinetic *t*-stem type outlined by Schindler (1976:351ff.).

¹³See Rau 1998:133ff.

¹⁴On the suffix here and its semantics, see Melchert 1983:1ff. Both *dyumánt-* and *dyumná-* are mostly used of the ‘splendor’ or ‘radiance’ of riches, power, etc. For the more basic meaning of *dyumánt-*, cf. e.g. RV 6.16.45 *īd agne bhārata dyumnád ājasrena dāvidyutat/ śócā ví bhāb, ajara* // “Flamme, o Agni, Bharatide, hell auf mit unerlöschlicher (Flamme) leuchtend; erstrahle, du Alterloser.” Here and below all translations of the *RigVeda* are taken from Geldner 1951.

¹⁵So Brugmann 1906:364, Kretschmer 1924:108f., Wackernagel 1925:68 n. 1 and Schindler 1973:149.

come light, light up', ORuss. *svnūti* 'id.').¹⁶ and causative/factitive forms (Lith. *švaitaũ* 'make light', OCS *svētiti* 'id.').¹⁶

As has long been noted, *dyut-* 'shine, light up' and *svit-* 'id.' largely overlap in form in the RV. In the first place, both verbs are best attested in the aorist: for *svit-* all attested forms are aorists (*s*-aor. *ásvait* 4×, root aor. *ásvitan* 1×, root aor. mid. part. *svitāná-* 1× and redup. (intensive) aor. *áśīsvitat* 1×) while for *dyut-* nearly two-thirds are (*s*-aor. *ádyaut* 16×, root aor. part. mid. *dyutāná-* 9× and act. *dyutánt-* in *dyutádyāman-* 'lighting the way', and redup. aor. *ádīdyuta-* 3×). The remaining non-aorist forms of *dyut-* are all, apart from the intensive *dāvidyut-*, which appears nine times in the special meaning "aufblitzen," limited to a handful of occurrences: causative *dyotāya-* 1×, pf. *didyuté* 3× and pres. part. *dyótamāna-* 1×. Both verbs also preserve traces of an original root aorist—*ásvitan*, *svitāná-* and *dyutánt-*, *dyutāná-* and *ádyutat* JB (<< 3rd pl. **ádyutant*)—that has been replaced by an *s*-aorist.¹⁷

Both *dyut-* and *svit-* also largely agree in usage. As a result of their frequent use in the aorist, both verbs have the same basic inchoative meaning, cf. e.g.¹⁸

RV I.124.11

*áveyām ásvaid yuvatīḥ purástād yunīkté gávām aruṇānām dñikam /
ví nūnām uchād ásatī prā ketúr. grhām-grham ūpa tiṣṭhāte agnīḥ //*

"Im Osten schimmerte die junge Frau hernieder, sie schirrt die Reihe ihrer roten Rinder an. Jetzt möge sie aufleuchten; ihr Banner soll vorausgehen: In jedem Hause stelle sich das Feuer ein."

3.1.8 *babhrānāḥ sūno sahaso v; adyaud dādhanāḥ śukrá rabhasá vápūṃṣi /
śótanti dhārā mādhumo-ghṛtāsya vṣā yātra vāṇḍhē kāv; yena //*

"Ausgetragen bist du Sohn der Kraft aufgeleuchtet, lichte, grelle Farbenpracht annehmend. Es triefen die Güsse des süßen Schmalzes dort, wo der Bulle an Seherweisheit groß geworden ist."

They both also pair with the same subjects (*uṣās-*, *agnī-*) and designate roughly the same activity, cf. e.g.

RV 7.77.2

*vīśvam pratīcī saprāthā úd asthād rūsad vāso bibhratīśukrām ásvait /
hīraṇyavarṇā sudṛśikasamdr̥g gávām mātā netr; áhnām aroci //*

"Jedem sich zuwendend ist sie (sc. *Uṣas*) in ganzer Breite erstanden; ein weißes liches Kleid tragend ist sie erglänzt. Goldfarbig, schön anzusehen ist die Mutter der Kühe, die Führerin der Tage erstrahlt."

I.123.7 *ápānyád ét; abh; anyád eti vīśurūpe áhanīsāṃ carete /
parīkṣīto támo anyā gūhākar. ádyaud uṣāḥ śósucatā ráthena //*

¹⁶See Rix 2001:3.11.

¹⁷See Narten 1964:148, 261.

¹⁸For a discussion of the usage and semantics of the two verbs, see Roesler 1997:32–48, 107–12.

“Die eine (Tageshälfte) geht, die andere kommt: die beiden ungleichartigen Tageshälften treffen sich. Die andere hat das Dunkel der beiden umgebenden (Welten) versteckt. Uṣas ist erschienen auf flammendem Wagen.”

They further appear together in the same hymn as more or less interchangeable synonyms, cf. e.g.

RV 1.113.14–15

vṛi añjībhir divā ātāsu adyaut āpa kṛṣṇām nirmājam devī āvalḥ /
prabodhāyanti aruṇēbhir āsvair āṇṣā yāti suyūjā rāthena //
āvāhantī pōṣṣyā vārjyāni citrāṇi ketūṇi kṛṇute cēkitānā /
īyūṣīnām upamā śāsvatīnām vibhātīnām prathamōśā vṛi āsvait //

“Mit aufgeschminkten Farben ist sie in den Torpfosten des Himmels aufgeblitzt;¹⁹ die Göttin hat das schwarze Gewand abgedeckt. Als Weckerin kommt Uṣas mit rötlichen Rossen auf wohlgeschirrtem Wagen her. Gedeihliche erwünschte Gaben bringt sie mit; sie steckt das bunte Banner auf, die Augen auf sich ziehend. Als die letzte aller vergangenen, als die erste der Erstrahlenden ist Uṣas hell geworden.”

and share the same formulaics, cf. e.g. 1.113.15d *vibhātīnām prathamōśā vṛi āsvait //* “(als) die erste der Erstrahlenden ist Uṣas hell geworden” and 1.124.2d *āyātīnām prathamōśā vṛi adyaut //* “(als) die erste der Kommenden ist Uṣas aufgeleuchtet.” In short, the only real differences between these verbs are ones of frequency and distribution: *dyut-* is more common than *svit-* in the RV, stands in a close suppletive relationship with *rue-* ‘shine, be light’ and *dayi-* ‘id.’, has developed a slightly fuller verbal system,²⁰ and ultimately displaces this verb in post-Rigvedic texts.

Given the close formal, functional and semantic correspondence between these two verbs, nothing stands in the way of assuming that the inherited verbal root *svit-* has played a decisive role in the creation of verbal forms to *dyūt-* ‘light’. I therefore propose that verbal *dyut-* ‘shine, light up’ be seen as a specifically Indic (or possibly Proto-Indo-Iranian) backformation from the inherited *t*-stem *dyūt-* ‘light’, which has been made on the analogy of the aor. *āsvet**, *āsvait* ‘lit up’ and the root/root noun *svit-* ‘light’ and on the model of a simple proportion of the form root/root noun *svit-* ‘light’ : aor. *āsvet**, *āsvait* ‘lit up’ :: root/root noun *dyūt-* ‘light’ : *x*, *x* = aor. *ādyot**, *ādyaut* ‘lit up’.²¹

¹⁹The meaning is rather ‘aufgeleuchtet.’ See Roesler 1997:35, 37.

²⁰See Hoffmann 1968:217 n. 16 and Roesler 1997:139–41.

²¹As Vedic parallels for the backformation of what is descriptively a primary verb from a root-plus-one-suffix formation that has been secondarily reinterpreted as a root noun, cf. *bhāṣati* ‘shine, be light’ RV+, which is based on the original neuter *s*-stem *bhāṣ-* ‘light, ray of light’ RV+ (< *bʰēh₂o/es- ‘id.’), and *bhyasate* ‘be afraid’ RV+, which is based on the amphikinetic *s*-stem *bhiyās-/bhiṣ-* ‘fear’ RV+ (< *bʰēh₂os-/bʰih₂s- ‘id.’). See Mayrhofer 1992–2001:5.111. Given the frequent appearance of *dyut-* in the aorist and its close association with Uṣas, it is likely that this verb was first generated as an expression for the lighting up of day, something that would have been favored by the fact that the noun *dyūt-/dyut-* had a recognizable phonological and semantic similarity with *dyāv-/div-* ‘(god of the) day-lit sky; day’ and likely retained some of its original association with ‘daylight’ into the history of Vedic.

The explicit proposal for the origins and development of this stem can be summarized as follows:

- i) PIE **diéuot-/diut-* 'the one/thing connected with the day, day-lit sky' > 'the one/thing that shines, is light' > PIIr. **dīáúāt-/diut-* 'light' → Ved. *dyút-/dyut-* 'id.'
- ii) Ved. *dyút-/dyut-* 'light' is reinterpreted as a root noun/root and has an aorist system analogically created to it on the basis of *śvit-* 'light up', viz. root/root noun *śvit-* 'light' : aor. *ásvet**, *ásvait* 'lit up' : root/root noun *dyút-* 'light' : *x*, *x* = aor. *ádyot**, *ádyaut* 'lit up'.
- iii) The aor. *ádyot**, *ádyaut* 'lit up' gets associated with *ruc-* 'shine, be light' and *dayi-* 'id.', develops non-aorist verbal formations in analogy to these verbs and eventually displaces *śvit-* 'shine, light up.'

Since this approach starts with a *t*-stem that has good comparative evidence in Anatolian and is able to provide a reasonably well-motivated source on which this *t*-stem could have acquired verbal forms in Vedic (or Proto-Indo-Iranian), it should be preferred to an analysis of *dyut-* 'shine, light up' that would see it as a *t*-extended variant of an otherwise unattested verbal root **diéu-* 'shine, light up'. In view of these considerations it should be clear that *dyut-* 'shine, light up' cannot be taken as good evidence for an inherited verbal root **diéu-* 'shine, light up', and that the root that is essential to the root-noun analysis of **diéu-/diu-* ' (god of the) day-lit sky; day' cannot be shown to have any unambiguous support in the IE languages.

2 **diéu-/diu-* as a hysterokinetic *u*-stem

With no direct support for the root-noun analysis of this stem, it is time to determine whether a case can be made for explaining the form as a hysterokinetic *u*-stem **di-éu-/di-u-*. To make a reasonable case for such an analysis, it is necessary (1) to find a suitable derivational basis on which this *u*-stem could have been made and (2) to parallel the derivational morphology used to generate this *u*-stem.

Although there is no verbal root **dei-* 'be light, shine' directly attested in the languages to which **di-éu-/di-u-* could have been made as a primary derivative²² and no *u*-stem **dei-u-* 'light' *uel sim.* from which it could have been internally derived,²³ there is some evidence in the languages for a nominal stem **di-* in the meaning 'day'. This appears above all in Indic, where there are three relevant forms.

The first form is the adverb *sadyás* which means 'on the same day', cf. e.g.

RV I.115.3

*bhadrā ásvā haritah sūryasya citrā étagvā anumādīyāsaḥ |
namasyānto divā ā prsthām asthuh pári dyāvāpṛthivī yanti sadyāḥ ||*

²²The only verbal root like this in the languages is the *h*₂-extended **dei-h*₂- noted above.

²³For such an approach, see e.g. Meid 1991:29f.

“Die glückbringenden falben Stuten des Sūrya, die prangenden Etagva’s haben von Jubel begrüßt, sich beugend (?) den Rücken des Himmels erstiegen. In einem Tage umwandeln sie Himmel und Erde.”

and, as an extension of this meaning, ‘right away, quickly’²⁴, cf. e.g.

RV 1.5.6

t_uvām sutāsya pītāye sadyo vṛddho ajāyathāh / indra jyaīṣṭhyāya sukrato //

“Du wurdest sogleich erwachsen zum Trunke des Soma geboren, zur Oberhoheit, du wohlverständiger Indra.”

This adverb, which reconstructs as **sm-diēs*, consists of the zero-grade of the adverbial element **som-/sem-* (cf. e.g. *sakṛt* ‘one time, once’) and the genitive of a nominal stem **di-* ‘day’.²⁵ Cf. the frequent use of the genitive of time in Vedic (cf. e.g. RV 1.90.7a *nāktam utōśaso* (≅ TS 4.2.9.3 *uśāsi*) “bei Nacht und des Morgens”) and other IE languages (cf. e.g. Pl. + *dīus* ‘during the day’ < **diuó/és*) and the exactly parallel formation RV *sadīvas* ‘on the same day’ < **sm-diyo/es*²⁶ at RV 2.19.6.

The second form is the adverb *adyā/adyā* ‘today’ RV+. This continues an adverbial compound of the type found in Gk. *ἐχθές* (: *χθές*) ‘yesterday’ and contains the deictic particle **(h₁)e-* and the instrumental of **di-* ‘day’.²⁷ Cf. the frequent use of the instrumental of time in Indic (cf. e.g. *naktayā* (RV 4.11.1c) ‘at night’ and *dīvā* ‘during the day’) and other IE languages (cf. e.g. Go. *himma daga* ‘today’ and OCS *trъmi dьnъmi* ‘τρίων ἡμέρων’). The short-vowel variant *adyā* is presumably the result of laryngeal loss in *pausa*, a straightforward development in a time-word that would have been regular in listing sequences and often used alone in response to questions.²⁸

The third form is the adjective *sadandī-* ‘constant, perpetual’ which appears in a “fever hymn” in the *AtharvaVeda* traditions, cf.

AVŚ 5.22.13

*trītyakam vitṛīyām sadandīm utā sārādām /
takmānam śītām rūrām [ca] graśman nāśaya vārsikam //*

“The fever of the third day, of the two days out of three, the constant, and the autumnal, the cold, the hot, that of the hot season, that of the rainy season, do thou cause to disappear.”²⁹

²⁴ For the semantics, see Schulze 1966:837.

²⁵ See Mayrhofer 1992–2001:s.v. following Schindler 1977:34.

²⁶ The accent of *sadīvas* is presumably adverbializing, cf. e.g. the adverbialized locative *pradīvi* ‘in olden times’, ablative *pradīvas* ‘from olden times’ and instrumental *dīvā* ‘during the day’.

²⁷ See Mayrhofer 1992–2001:s.v. following Schindler 1977:34.

²⁸ Contrast Schindler 1977:34 and Mayrhofer 1992–2001:s.v., who, following Kuiper 1955:282ff., start with the short-vowel variant *adyā* and assume that *adyā* is a “rhythmische Sandhivariante” with secondary lengthening.

²⁹ The translation is that of Whitney and Lanman 1905:261.

and further as an adverbialized neuter acc. sg. *sadadi* 'always' MS. This stem contains the adverb *sadam* 'always' RV+ and the noun *di- 'day',³⁰ and is originally a possessive compound meaning 'having a day that is always' > 'constant, perpetual'.

The archaic character of the Vedic nominal stem *di- 'day' is confirmed by the word for 'yesterday' in the IE languages: Ved. *hyás*, Lat. *heri*, Gk. *ἑχθές*, etc. As Schindler (1977:34) rightly argued, this adverb continues a preform *ǵ^h-diés 'on that day' > 'yesterday' which contained a deictic particle *ǵ^h- and the same case form of *di- 'day' as RV *sadyás* — a genitive singular, as noted above.³¹ Taken together with the three Vedic forms outlined above, PIE *ǵ^h-diés points clearly to an inherited root noun *di- 'day' which, to judge by the zero-grade root vocalism in the gen. sg. *^odī-és and inst. sg. *^odī-éb₁, likely originally belonged to the *e*/zero-ablauting root noun type, viz. *dēi-/di- ' , found in *h₂nér-/h₂nr- 'man' (> Gk. *ἄνθρωπος*, *ἄνδρως*) and other stems and which was probably in the first instance a concretized abstract (cf. *deī-h₂- 'be light, shine') — viz. 'light, shine' > 'daylight' > 'day'.³²

Beside this root noun, there is also evidence in the languages for a masculine athematic stem *din- meaning 'day'. This is most clearly seen in the originally athematic OCS masc. *dъnъ* 'day' (cf. e.g. gen. sg. *dъne* < *dines, nom. pl. *dъne* < *dines, and gen. pl. *dъnъ* < *dinōm)³³ and in derived forms like the substantivized *ṛddhi*-derivative Lith. *dienà* 'day', Latv. *diena* 'id.', OPruss. acc. sg. *deinan* 'id.' — viz. *din- 'day' → *deinō- 'of the day' → *deinēh₂- 'daytime; day', exactly as *ǵ^him- 'winter' (> YAv. *zim*- 'id.') → *ǵ^heimō- 'of the winter' → *ǵ^heimēh₂- 'wintertime' > Lith. *žiemà* 'winter', OCS *zima* 'id'.³⁴

This noun further shows up in possessive compounds like Ved. *sudīna*- 'bringing good days',³⁵ "Komplexivkomposita" like Lat. *noundinum* 'period of nine days' (SCdB+), and various other forms. The animate *n*-stem underlying these forms, which has the same meaning as the RN *dēi-/di- 'day' and obviously shares the same basic root element,³⁶ is to be traced to an originally amphikinetic ablauting *dēion-/din- ' or hysterokinetic *dēin-/dīn- ' .³⁷

The best approach to the history of this *n*-stem is to collapse it with the root noun *dēi-/di- 'day'. In addition to endingless and *i*-locatives, PIE had a further locative type that was especially common among time words and that was formed by suffixing

³⁰ See Schulze 1966:843–4.

³¹ The various simplifications of the initial "thorn cluster" found in the languages are "einzelsprachlich" and will not be discussed here. See Mayrhofer 1986:155 and further Ringe in this volume.

³² For the semantics, cf. Lat. *lux*, *lucis* 'light; daylight; day'.

³³ See the survey at Diels 1931:163f. and at Schulze 1966:842f.

³⁴ For this approach, see Darms 1978:382, who however ultimately argues against a *ṛddhi*-analysis of the form. For the morphological and semantic development, cf. e.g. Lat. *diurnus* 'of the day' → *diurnum 'that which is of the day; daytime' > Ital. *giorno* 'day'.

³⁵ Note also n. *purudīna*- 'many days' RV+ and m. *madhyāndina*- 'mid-day' RV+. On the last form, see Schulze 1966:843, who traces it to an acc.-plus-gen. collocation *madhyāni dīnās 'in the middle of the day'. The neuter *dīnam* 'day' Sū+ is decompositional to determinative compounds like *sudīnam* 'good day' RV+.

³⁶ See e.g. Mayrhofer 1992–2001:s.v. *madhyāndina*-.

³⁷ The reconstruction of a proterokinetic *dēin-/dēin- is excluded by the fact that it would not provide a ready source for the zero grade in OCS *dъnъ*; an acrostatic starting point would also pose morphological problems and would make it difficult to explain the gender of the form.

a locative postposition in *-en* or *-er* to the nominal basis. Since Bartholomae 1889:14ff. it has been known that locative formations like this were often subject to reinterpretation as endingless locatives of *n*- or *r*-stem nouns and then had full or partial *n*- or *r*-stem paradigms backformed to them.³⁸ Clear instances of this phenomenon are found in the *n*-stem YAv. *xšapan-/xšafn-* ‘night’ (: RN YAv. *xšap-* ‘id.’, Ved. *kṣáp-* ‘id.’) and further the *r*-stem Ved. *uśár-/usr-* ‘dawn’ (: Ved. *uśás-/uś-* ‘id.’). Cf.:

en-locative: RN **k^hsep-* ‘night’ > *en*-loc. **k^hsep-en* ‘at night’ (→ **k^hs(e)pen-t-* ‘that which is at night’ > Hitt. *išpant-* ‘night(time)’) ⇒ **k^hsepén-/k^hsepn-* ‘night’ > YAv. fem. *xšapan-/xšafn-*, where the *en*-locative was reinterpreted as the endingless locative of a hysterokinetic *n*-stem;

er-locative: *s*-stem **h₂éusos-/h₂us(s)-* ‘dawn’ > *er*-loc. **h₂us(s)-ér* (> RV *uśar-búdh-* ‘awake in the morning’, Gk. *ἥρι* ‘early’) ⇒ **h₂us(s)é/ór-/h₂us(s)r-* ‘dawn’ > RV fem. *uśár-/usr-*, where the *er*-locative was reinterpreted as the endingless locative of an amphi- or hysterokinetic *r*-stem.

If it is assumed that the root noun **dēi-/di-* ‘day’ reconstructed above made an *en*-locative **dī-én* ‘during the day’ already in the proto-language (cf. e.g. Lat. *diū* ‘during the day’ < loc. sg. **dīiēu*), the amphi- or hysterokinetic *n*-stem **di-n-* ‘day’ can be explained as a backformation from the loc. **dī-én* ‘during the day’ exactly as the fem. *uśár-/usr-* ‘dawn’ from the loc. *uśár** ‘at dawn’. Cf.:

<i>en</i> -locative	<i>er</i> -locative
RN <i>*dēi-/di-</i> ‘day’	<i>s</i> -stem <i>*h₂éusos-/h₂us(s)-</i> ‘dawn’
Gen. sg. <i>*dī-és</i>	gen. sg. <i>*h₂us(s)-és</i> > <i>uśás</i> RV
loc. sg. <i>*dēi(i)</i> ‘during the day’	loc. sg. <i>*h₂usés(i)</i> > <i>uśási</i> ‘at dawn’ RV
<i>en</i> -loc. <i>*dī-én</i> ‘during the day’ ⇒ PIE	<i>er</i> -loc. <i>*h₂us(s)-ér</i> > <i>uśár*</i> ‘at dawn’ RV
<i>*dēion-/din-</i> or <i>*dīén-/din-</i> ‘day’	⇒ Pre-Ved. <i>*h₂us(s)é/ór-/h₂us(s)r-</i>
	‘dawn’ > fem. <i>uśár-/usr-</i> ‘id.’ RV

The *n*-stem **di-n-* ‘day’ can therefore be identified with the root noun **dēi-/di-* ‘day’ and taken as further evidence of this stem in the proto-language.

For PIE it is thus possible to reconstruct two stems that partially overlap in meaning and that obviously share the same basic root: a root noun **dēi-/di-* (→ **di-n-*) that meant only ‘day’ and a *u*-stem **dīēu-/diu-* that, in addition to ‘day’, designated the ‘day-lit sky’ and the ‘god of the day-lit sky’. Given the close semantic and etymological agreement of these two forms, the most natural place to start in the *u*-stem analysis of **dīēu-/diu-* ‘(god of the) day-lit sky; day’ is to make this stem some kind of derivative of the root noun **dēi-/di-* ‘day’.

The simplest way to understand the morphological relationship between these two nouns is to segment **dīēu-/diu-* as **dī-ēu-/di-u-* and to argue that it continues a denominative *u*-stem with hysterokinetic inflection made to the root noun **dēi-/di-*, viz. **dēi-/di-* ‘day’ → **dī-ēu-/di-u-* ‘(god of the) day-lit sky; day’. Although there are

³⁸ See Nussbaum 1986:187ff., 235ff.

no direct parallels attested in the languages for denominative hysterokinetic *u*-stems, a denominative amphikinetic *u*-stem suffix is found in the inherited *u*-stem *ph₂tr-ou-/ph₂tr-ū- 'ascendant kinsman on the father's side' (> Gk. *πάτωρ*, *-ωος* 'ascendant kinsman on the father's side; father's brother' and further in derivatives like Ved. *pitṛyā-* 'father's brother', YAv. *tūirīa-* 'id.', and Lat. *patruus* 'id.').³⁹ A curious fact about the distribution of secondary suffixes in the IE languages is that where we find such a suffix with amphikinetic inflection it almost always co-occurs with a hysterokinetic variant. A clear instance of this kind of alternation is found in Greek in the *uent*-stems, where beside the hysterokinetic *-uent-/unt- that is common in all periods of the language (cf. e.g. Myc. neut. nom. acc. sg. <wo-do-we> /wordowen/ ≅ Hom. + *ῥοδόεντ*- 'having roses, rose-perfume'), evidence for an amphikinetic *-uont-/unt- appears in Mycenaean place-names like dat. sg. <a₂-ru-wo-te> /halwontei/ 'the place occupying the sea' (: *ἅλς* 'sea; salt') or nom. sg. <e-ri-no-wo> /erínowons/ 'the place with wild fig-trees' (: *ἐρινός* 'wild fig-tree').⁴⁰ The same kind of alternation can be seen in other suffixes that make denominative substantives with exocentric semantics like the denominative *uen*-stems, where beside the amphikinetic form of the suffix well attested in Greek, Vedic and other languages (cf. e.g. Hom. *ὀπάων* 'attendant companion', Myc. /hok^wāwon-/ 'id.') we find a hysterokinetic variant in e.g. Av. *ašāunān-* 'follower of Order',⁴¹ and further in Hoffmann-suffix derivatives,⁴² where beside the well-attested amphikinetic form we find in e.g. Ved. *yūvān-/yūn-* 'young', etc. a hysterokinetic variant appears in forms like RV nom. sg. *kanyā́*, *kanyānām* 'maiden; young woman'.^{43,44} Beside the amphikinetic secondary formation found in *ph₂tr-ou-/ph₂tr-ū- 'ascendant kinsman on the father's side' (: *ph₂tér-/ph₂tr- 'father'), a secondary hysterokinetic *u*-stem suffix *-éu-/u- 'can thus be reasonably postulated.

As for the semantic relationship between the hysterokinetic *u*-stem *d̥éu-/diu- ' (god of the) day-lit sky; day' and the RN *d̥éi-/di- 'day', the first thing to note is that this *u*-stem, to judge by the relationship between *ph₂tr-ou-/ph₂tr-ū- and *ph₂tér-/ph₂tr-, should in the first place have been substantival and had exocentric semantics *vis-à-vis* its basis—viz. *d̥éi-/di- 'day' → *d̥éu-/diu- 'the one who is connected with

³⁹ See the discussion of this stem at Rau forthcoming.

⁴⁰ On *uont*-stems in Mycenaean and their sporadic survival in first-millennium Greek, see Lejeune 1970:43f. On *uont*-stems in Tocharian, see Thórhallsdóttir 1988:197.

⁴¹ On the reconstruction of this word in Indo-Iranian and the generalization of hysterokinetic *-uan- in Avestan, see Tichy 1986:91f.

⁴² The laryngeal is best taken as *-h₁- as Hoffmann (1955:35ff.) suggests.

⁴³ The reconstruction of the root vocalism is difficult here. See Mayrhofer 1992–2001:5.11. *kanyān-*. On the original hysterokinetic inflection of this word, see Hoffmann 1955:38f. The trisyllabic acc. sg. *kanyānām* (: AV *kanyā́lā*) at RV 8.35.5a is obviously a somewhat late "feminization" of the *n*-stem *kanyān-* of the same basic type found in the *ā*-stem nom. pl. *kanyās* and loc. pl. *kanyāsu* from the nom. sg. *kanyā́*. For similar "feminizations" and a possible model for *kanyān-* → *kanyānā-*, cf. RV *yōsānā-/yōsānā-* 'maiden' and *yōsā-* 'id.' beside the hysterokinetic *n*-stem *yōsān-* 'id.'

⁴⁴ This alternation is also found among secondary *t*-stems; cf. e.g. amphikinetic *d̥éu-ot-/diu-t- 'the one/that which is connected with the day-lit sky' ← *d̥éu-/diu- ' (god of the) day-lit sky; day' vs. hysterokinetic *h₂(e)r̥je-et-/t- 'the shining, bright one' (> Gk. *ἄργής*, *-ήτος* 'bright') ← *h₂(e)r̥jō- 'shining, bright' (> Gk. *ἀργός* 'id.'). It is further found among secondary *n*-stems of the *Catō*-type, which while generally appearing in amphikinetic form also show up in a hysterokinetic variant in Greek proper names like *Ἀριστήν* (: *ἄριστος* 'best').

the **dēi-/di-*'. Although it is difficult to gauge the precise semantic range of these two stems when this derivational process would have taken place or the exact relationship between the day and the day-lit sky in the worldview of the speakers of the proto-language, the further semantic development of this derivative falls perfectly into place under the assumptions (1) that the stem was specialized in the sense '(god of the) day-lit sky' as the place where the day resides⁴⁵ or as the entity that produces and/or is in charge of it,^{46,47} and (2) that 'day-lit sky' secondarily acquired the meaning 'day', either by the metaphorical identification of the 'day-lit sky' with the 'day' or via the reinterpretation of 'day-lit sky' in certain usages as an alternate designation for the day.

3 Conclusion

To sum up, a fairly strong case has been made for seeing **diēu-/diu-* '(god of the) day-lit sky; day' as a hysterokinetic *u*-stem and in particular as a secondary derivative made to the root noun **dēi-/di-* 'day.' In favor of this analysis we have been able to find support for a secondary hysterokinetic *u*-stem suffix that made denominative substantives with exocentric semantics and to provide a reasonable scenario for how an exocentric derivative to a stem meaning 'day' could have developed the meanings 'day' and '(god of the) day-lit sky.' Although there is naturally much in this analysis that is speculative and that will no doubt be subject to revision in the future, it is clear—contrary to what might at first glance be expected—that the *u*-stem analysis of **diēu-/diu-* '(god of the) day-lit sky; day' represents the most economical and best-motivated approach to the derivational history of this stem.

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⁴⁵For this self-evident notion, cf. e.g. RV 7.24.5d *divīva dyām ādhi nah śrómataṃ dhāh* 'place the benefit of obedience in us just as you have placed the day in the sky' and Seneca *Oed.* 219 *caelo lucidus currit dies* 'the bright day departs from the sky'.

⁴⁶Note that Zeus is said to send the day in Homer and Hesiod. Indirect evidence that the 'god of the day-lit sky' was somehow in charge of the 'day' can be inferred from his role as father of the dawn and the sun in Vedic (see e.g. Euler 1987:35f.), both of whom are of course intimately involved both in the bringing of the day (cf. e.g. *sudīna-* 'bringing good days' RV+ and *netrī ālmām* 'leader of the days' RV+, epithets of Uṣas) and in its generation (cf. e.g. *divākavā-* 'day-maker; sun' AV+).

⁴⁷As a parallel for this kind of morphological and semantic development, cf. the various formations meaning 'sun' found in the languages, viz. Gk. *ἥλιος* 'sun', Ved. *sūr̥ya-* 'id.', Lat. *sōl, sōlis* 'id.' (< **sēh₂uol-/sh₂ul-*'), etc., which depend on secondary derivatives to the *-ul-/-(y)en-* stem **sēh₂ul-/sh₂uén-* 'sunlight (*uel sim.*)' preserved e.g. in Ved. *sn̥ān̥*. On the meaning of this noun in Vedic, see Roessler 1997:232f. with lit.

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Spaltsatzphänomene im Hethitischen

Elisabeth Rieken und Paul Widmer

Das Gros der hethitischen Relativsätze ist strukturell relativ einheitlich und besteht aus einer biklausalen Konstruktion mit einem adsentenziellen Relativsatz, wobei der Matrixsatz dem Relativsatz folgt. Der Relativsatz (RS) enthält eine Form des Pronominaladjektivs *kui-/kue-* (Hoffner und Melchert 2008:149), das im Matrixsatz (MS) in der Regel pronominal wieder aufgenommen wird, wie (1) zeigt.

- (1) [S [RS ... *kui-/kue-j* ...] [MS ... PRO_j ...]]¹

Im Althethitischen ist in der kanonischen Abfolge RS – MS die pronominale Resumption und die Markierung der Klausengrenze im Matrixsatz nicht obligatorisch (Held 1957:41f.; Friedrich 1960:157; Justus Raman 1973:126ff., 166; Luraghi 1990:61; Probert 2006; Hoffner 2007:391f.), was die Existenz eingebetteter Relativsätze wahrscheinlich macht (Probert 2006:46).

Seltener ist die umgekehrte Abfolge, in der der Relativsatz dem Matrixsatz folgt (Held 1957:48–52, Garrett 1994:47). Restriktive Funktion weist IBoT 1.36 IV 20–I auf:²

- (2) IBoT 1.36 IV 20–I

[S [MS *mān ta[m]aiš-ma kuiški BELUM ḫandāitta*]
[RS *kuiš ḫantezzi[a]nni arta*]]

,Wenn irgendein anderer Vorgesetzter vorhanden ist,
(einer,) der in der ersten Reihe steht.'⁴

Im folgenden soll gezeigt werden, dass zusätzlich zu diesen beiden Typen im Hethitischen ganz vereinzelt noch eine weitere komplexe Konstruktion existiert, die drei der oben genannten Merkmale auf sich vereint: asyndetische Verknüpfung, relativsatz-ähnliche Syntax des Nebensatzes und Nachstellung dieses untergeordneten Satzes. Hinzu kommt eine minimale Form des Matrixsegments.

Das erste hier zu besprechende Beispiel findet sich in HBM 68 Rs. 23f. (Alp 1991):

- (3) HBM 68 Rs. 18–24

§ ANA ZÌ.DA=*ma-mu* *kuedani appiškanzi*
nu ^m*Himu-DINGIR-LIM* *kuit ANA* ^m*Kapiia* U ANA ^m*Zilapiia* *paiš*

¹S. Held 1957:9–11; Garrett 1994; Probert 2006:20f.; Hoffner und Melchert 2008:424.

²Sätze des appositiven Typs scheinen sich in der Übersetzungsliteratur zu häufen, vgl. die Beispiele bei Held.

n=at anda armunum (22)
n=at'ANA LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Kašipūra ADDIN
apedani-ma-kan kuit ZÌ.DA dahhun

§ ‚Was des Weiteren das Mehl betrifft, für das man mich festgenommen hat, – da Himuili (*scil.* das Mehl) dem Kapija und dem Zilapija gegeben hat, habe ich es (in die Stadt?) hinein bringen lassen, um es den Leuten von Kašipūra zu geben.
*apedani-ma-kan kuit ZÌ.DA dahhun*⁴

Der Absender des Briefs, ein Offizier im Grade eines UGULA NIMGIR.ÉRIN.MEŠ³, setzt sich auf der Vorderseite der Tafel gegen intrigante Betrugs- und Veruntreuungsvorwürfe zur Wehr.⁴ Wegen einer Streitigkeit um Mehl ist er festgesetzt worden⁵ und versucht sich im folgenden zu erklären. Man wirft ihm offenbar vor, dass er Mehl – vielleicht aus Militärbeständen – veruntreut habe. Der Beschuldigte weist darauf hin, dass das Mehl schon zuvor von Himuili an Kapija und Zilapija ausgegeben worden war. Er selbst hat es erst zu diesem Zeitpunkt weiter an die Leute von Kašipūra (vgl. Z. 22f.) verteilen lassen. Damit scheint er betonen zu wollen, dass er weder eigenmächtig noch zur persönlichen Bereicherung gehandelt hat, sondern zum Wohl der Bevölkerung von Kašipūra. Darauf folgt der fragliche Satz, nach dem das Thema mit einem Paragraphenstrich abgeschlossen wird.

Hoffner (2009:225) übersetzt die Passage als Frage: ‚What flour did I take from that one?‘ Dabei bleibt unklar, auf wen der Dat. Sg. *apedani* im Sinne eines *dativus incommodi* (Hoffner und Melchert 2008:258f.) referieren könnte, da ein betreffender Referent, dem das Mehl weggenommen worden ist, nicht genannt worden ist. Hinzu kommt ein funktionales Problem: Das Demonstrativpronomen *apā-* hat die Hauptfunktion, einen kontrastiven Fokus für einen aktivierten Referenten lexikalisch zu realisieren,⁶ und muss somit im Kontext fest verankert sein.

Eine funktional und formal gängige Lösung ergibt sich, wenn der Satz nicht als Frage interpretiert wird, sondern als deklarativ im Sinne von ‚DAFÜR (und für nichts anderes) habe ich das Mehl genommen (und nicht etwa, um mich zu bereichern o. ä.)!‘, wobei *apedani* auf den eben genannten, topikal Sachverhalt referiert, dass der angeklagte Absender des Briefs das Mehl genommen habe, um es zu verteilen. Diese funktional erschlossene Interpretation setzt syntaktisch voraus, dass *kuit* kein Frage- oder Relativpronomen ist, sondern Subordinator, was durch das Fehlen von Kongruenz zwischen *apedani* und *kuit* bestätigt wird. Der Umstand, dass die Partikeln der syntaktisch untergeordneten Prädikation im Matrixsegment auftreten, lässt sich aber als Entwicklung hin zu einer monoklausalen Struktur verstehen. Dies impliziert, dass eine komplexe Konstruktion vorliegt:

(3') [_S [_{MS} *apedani-ma-kan*] [_{US} *kuit ZÌ.DA dahhun*]]
DEM:DAT/LOC = PTCL = PTCL SUBOR/REL Mehl:ACC.SG nehmen:PRT.SG1

³Vielleicht handelt es sich um Kaššū, s. de Martino und Imparati 1995:112.

⁴S. dazu Beckman 1995.

⁵Zu ANA ZÌ.DA-ma-nu *kuedani appišanzi* s. Hoffner 2009:225 und Widmer 2009.

⁶S. Goedegebuure 2009:109: ‚Thus the main function of the stressed pronoun *apāš* is to mark a highly topical referent as the Contrastive Focus of a clause.‘

Diese biklausale Konstruktion vereinigt die formalen und funktionalen Merkmale einer Spaltsatzkonstruktion, vgl. die folgende Definition von Lambrecht:

- (4) „A CLEFT CONSTRUCTION (CC) is a complex sentence structure consisting of a matrix clause headed by a copula and a relative or relative-like clause whose relativized argument is coindexed with the predicative argument of the copula. Taken together, the matrix and the relative express a logically simple proposition, which can also be expressed in the form of a single clause without a change in truth conditions.“ (Lambrecht 2001:467)

Die spezielle formale Eigenschaft dieses hethitischen Spaltsatzes besteht darin, dass die Kopula im Matrixsegment nicht realisiert werden muss, was damit korreliert, dass im Hethitischen kopulalose Nominalsätze gebildet werden können (Hoffner und Melchert 2008:306, 412f. mit Literatur).

Funktional ist diese Form des Spaltsatzes eindeutig ein Fokussierungsverfahren, das der Definition von Funktionen von Spaltsätzen von Lambrecht in (5) entspricht.

- (5) PRINCIPLE 2:
„Cleft constructions are focus-marking devices used to prevent unintended predicate-focus construal of a proposition. Clefts serve to mark as focal an argument that might otherwise be construed as nonfocal, or as nonfocal a predicate that might otherwise be construed as focal, or both.“ (Lambrecht 2001:489)

Während im ersten Beispiel für einen hethitischen Spaltsatz (3) der untergeordnete Satz mit dem Subordinator *kuit* eingeleitet wird, erfolgt im zweiten Beispiel (6) die Subordination durch ein flektiertes Relativpronomen. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Passage aus der hethitischen Übersetzung des Gilgameš-Epos. Zunächst spricht Uršanabi, dann antwortet Gilgameš, der Uršanabi widerspricht:

- (6) Gilgameš KUB 8.50 + KBo 22.91 III 2'–4' mit Dupl. KUB 33.124 IV 1'f.

[z]iḡ-*'an'* zāšī ANA ^mUR[ŠANABI ...]

[S [MS [z]ik-*uar-an-kan*]
PRO:SG2=QUOT=PRO:AKK.SG.C=PTCL

[RS *kuiš* 'UD-ti GE₆-*anti*' zāiškišī]] \$
REL:NOM.SG.C Tag:DAT/LOK.SG Nacht:DAT/LOK.SG überschreiten:PS.SG2.AKT

„Du überschreitest es (*scil.* das Meer).“ [Gilgameš sprach] zu Ur[šanabi]:

»[Du]_{FOKUS} (bist es, nicht ich), der es Tag (und) Nacht überschreitet!“⁶

Aus dem Kontext geht eindeutig hervor, dass zwischen den beiden Personalpronomina der 2. Person, die von verschiedenen Sprechern verwendet werden und damit unterschiedliche Referenten besitzen, ein Kontrastfokus besteht: Das Merkmal, das Meer überschreiten zu können, wird jeweils dem anderen Gesprächspartner zugeschrieben.

Auf der formalen Seite sind bei diesem Beispiel folgende Punkte von Bedeutung:

1. Das Beispiel kann auch formal nicht als gewöhnlicher Relativsatz gedeutet werden, weil sonst kein Matrixsegment vorhanden ist. Es folgt ein Paragraphenstrich.
2. Die Klausengrenze zwischen dem MS und dem RS ist aufgehoben.
3. Die Fokuskonstituente des MS fungiert als Actor des RS und kongruiert als solcher mit dem Verb des RS (vgl. den franz. Typus *C'est moi qui vais*) ‚ICH gehe.‘

Das Matrixsegment ist, wie 2. zeigt, in seiner syntaktischen Autonomie eingeschränkt: Sein Partikelslot wird von den Satzpartikeln der formal untergeordneten Prädikation besetzt. Das Matrixsegment verfügt damit über weniger syntaktische Freiheiten als kanonische Hauptsätze.

Mit den beiden zitierten Beispielen erschöpft sich nach unserem Wissensstand das Vorkommen der eindeutigen Belege für diese marginale Konstruktion in den hethitischen Texten. Aber eine weitere Struktur, die mindestens diachron eine zunächst biklausale Deutung im Sinne der oben beschriebenen Spaltsätze zulässt, ist diejenige der *kī(eni) kuit*-Sätze, die im allgemeinen zur „Ersteinführung von Themen“ verwendet und in der Übersetzung im allgemeinen durch „was dies betrifft, dass ...“ wiedergegeben werden, s. (7).

- (7) HBM 13 Vs. 3ff.

kī-mu kuit ŠA^m Marūya LÚ^{URU} Himmuya haliātatar hatarāeš ...

‚Was das betrifft, dass du mir über die Unterwerfung des Marūya, des Mannes aus Himmuya, geschrieben hast: ...‘

Auch Hackstein (2004b:348–53; s. auch 2004a:264) hat Argumente dafür vorgebracht, dass diese Konstruktionen auf biklausale Strukturen zurückgehen, nach seiner Auffassung allerdings auf Fokalfragen. Die Fokalfrage *kī kuit* ‚was (ist) das?‘ (8a) ist im Zuge eines Grammatikalisierungsprozesses selbst zur komplexen Einleitung von Fokalfragen mit dem Pronomen ‚was?‘ (8b) geworden (Hackstein 2004b:351):

- (8) a. KBo 22.2 Vs. 2 (Otten 1973:6; Hackstein 2004b:351)

[k]ī-ya kuit

‚Was [ist] dies?‘

- b. HBM 70 Vs. 4 (Hackstein 2004b:351, Übersetzung nach Hackstein)

kī kuit iiaš

‚Was hast du da nur getan!‘

Für die weitere Beurteilung der *kī(eni) kuit*-Konstruktionen sind Sätze wie (9) relevant, die in vergleichbaren Kontexten wie *kī kuit* zum Zwecke der „Ersteinführung von Themen“ auftreten (Ünal 1978:104; s. auch Cotticelli-Kurras 1992:125), aber nicht auf den Nom./Akk. Sg. Neutrum beschränkt sind:

- (9) a. HBM 57 Vs. 10ff.

§ *kāš kuiš*^m *Kaštanda* ARAD LÚDUMU SANGA URU*Urišta ešzi*
nu=za=kan MUNUS URU*Gašša*¹ *ušta*

„Dieser Kaštanda, welcher der Diener des Jungpriesters(?)⁷ von Urišta ist, er hat sich eine Frau aus Gašša gekauft.“

- b. HBM 27 l. Rd. 1ff.

§ ŠA BELI=*ma kuiēš* LU.MEŠ⁸ *TEMI iḫandar*[i]
n=aš=kan [a]mmuk *parā naiškem*[i]

„Welche Boten meines Herrn des Weiteren kommen, ich schicke sie jeweils aus.“

- c. HBM 6 Rs. 17ff.

§ *kīššan=ma=mu kuit* *ḫatrāeš kāša=ua* LU.MEŠ⁹ *šapašalleš* AŠPUR ...
n=at AŠME

„Was du mir des Weiteren folgendermaßen geschrieben hast: „Ich hier⁸ habe Kundschafter ausgesandt ...“, ich habe es vernommen.“

Diese Konstruktionen weisen die für das Hethitische typische relative Form des Diptychons auf; und die Parallelität der *kī*/(*eni*) *kuit*-Sätze mit ihnen lässt vermuten, dass letztere ebenfalls relativisch konstruiert sind. Von seiner Struktur her kann deshalb *kī*/(*eni*) *kuit* nicht nur mit Hackstein als Fragesatz, sondern alternativ durchaus auch als relativisch konstruierter Teil eines Diptychons beschrieben werden. Für die historische Perspektive ergibt sich daraus die Konsequenz, dass die Herkunft von *kī*/(*eni*) *kuit* aus Relativkonstruktionen zumindest nicht auszuschließen ist, was wegen der Konvergenz von Relativsatz-, Fragesatz- und Fokuskonstruktionen⁹ ohnehin gegeben ist.¹⁰ Und so ist es interessant, dass für eine Untermenge der Konstruktionen unter (9) biklausale Lesarten verfügbar sind:

- (9c') § *kīššan=ma=mu kuit ḫatrāeš*

„Des Weiteren (ist es) folgendermaßen, dass du mir geschrieben hast: ...“

Auch für einen Teil der *kī kuit*-Konstruktionen ist eine Lesart als Spaltsatz wie in (10) möglich:

- (10) a. KUB 22.70 Vs. 49 (Ünal 1978)

[[*kī*] [*kuit namma* NU.SIG₅-ta]]

„Es (ist), dass/weil (das Omen) ferner ungünstig ausgegangen (ist): ...“

⁷S. CHD Š:184bf., „junior(?) priest“.

⁸Zum Sprecherbezug von *kāša* s. Ricken 2009.

⁹S. grundlegend Schachter 1973.

¹⁰Für *kīššan kuit* fehlen im Übrigen die prototypischen Interrogativphrasen im Sinne von Hackstein 2004b:350 bzw. Hackstein 2004a:264f.

- b. HBM 13 Vs. 3ff.

[[*kī-mu*] [*kuit* ŠA ^m*Marūya* LÚ ^{URU}*Ḫimmuṣa* *ḫaliātār ḫatrāeš* ...]]

,Es (ist), dass/weil du mir über die Unterwerfung des Marūya, des Mannes aus Ḫimmuṣa, geschrieben hast: ...‘

Diese Lesart wird auch von Hackstein (2004b:351, vgl. (12)) implizit in Betracht gezogen und dürfte der synchronen Deutung recht nahe kommen.

- (11) VBoT 2, 1f. (Text und Übersetzung nach Hackstein 2004:351)

[*k*]āša-mu *kī* *kuit* ^m*Kalbayaš* *uttar memišta* ... ¹¹

,siehe, was dies [ist = betrifft] dass Kalbaya mir [gegenüber] folgende Äußerung tat: ...‘

Schließlich ist die strukturelle Nähe der *kī(eni) kuit*-Konstruktionen zu den Spaltsätzen auch deshalb gegeben, weil die hethitische Konstruktion in einfache Sätze überführbar ist, ohne dass die Wahrheitsbedingungen der Aussage sich ändern, was für Spaltsätze konstitutiv ist, s. (4).

Formal erinnern diese Bildungen auf Grund der Reduktion des Matrixsegments auf ein Pronomen (mit oder ohne Kopula) an biklausale Strukturen, die *inferential clefts* oder *sentential focus clefts* (s. (12)) genannt werden (Bearth 1999; Delahunty 2001; Lambrecht 2001:503f.; Di Tullio 2007:488f.).¹²

- (12) a. Französisch (Bearth 1999:267)

C'est que j'ai peur que Nicolas fasse des gaffes.

,Es ist, dass ich Angst habe, dass Nicolas Faxen macht.‘

- b. Spanisch (Di Tullio 2007:488)

¿Por qué no te quedas a comer? – Es que estoy apurada.

,Warum bleibst du nicht zum Essen? – Es ist, weil ich in Eile bin.‘

- c. Englisch (Lambrecht 2001:503)

Not that he is stupid. It's simply that he can't explain the use of clefts.

Auf der funktionalen Seite werden die *inferential clefts* zwar bevorzugt für Korrekturfunktionen benutzt (Delahunty 2001:521f.), doch hat Delahunty (2001:453f. Anm. 11) gezeigt, dass solche *inferential clefts* durchaus auch zu Beginn von Diskurseinheiten vorkommen können, wie (13) zeigt. Die Äußerung reagiert dann nicht auf eine zuvor gemachte Aussage, sondern auf eine außersprachliche Situation.

¹¹Dieses Beispiel ist insofern ungünstig, als die Lesung von VBoT 2, 1f. unklar ist. In Zeile 1 ist die Lesung *kī kuit* keineswegs gesichert. Rost (1956:331) liest *ut-tar te-et*, Hoffner (2009:269) zieht *ki-i te-et* vor, wobei das erste Zeichen von *te-et* bzw. *ku-it* nach der Autographie zu schließen kaum als *ku* zu lesen sein dürfte. In Z. 2 ist das erste Wort stark beschädigt. Ein [*u*]-*tar* ist denkbar, möglich ist aber sicher auch ein [*k*]-*tar*, s. Hoffner 2009:269.

¹²Ob die *inferential clefts* prinzipiell als Spaltsätze anzusehen sind, ist umstritten. Lambrecht (2001:504) weist darauf hin, dass seine funktionale Definition der Spaltsätze (s. oben (5)) auf diesen Typus nicht zutrifft.

- (13) Spanisch (Delahunty 2001:543)

Kontext: Die Mutter kommt nach Hause und findet in der Wohnung eine Unordnung vor. Der Vater:

Es que estaba buscando las ceras para la niña.

‘It’s that I was looking for the crayons for the child.’

Die komplexe hethitische *kī kuit*-Konstruktion bezieht sich ebenfalls auf eine Situation, in diesem Fall auf die Rezeptionssituation, indem sie die Interpretationsmöglichkeiten der folgenden Äußerung gleich zu Beginn durch die Vorgabe der Thematik der folgenden Diskurseinheit einschränkt.

Ob das pronominale Element im MS solcher Konstruktionen referentiell ist oder nicht, ist umstritten. Delahunty (2001:530ff. mit Lit.) lehnt eine referentielle Interpretation ab. Im Hethitischen kann allerdings an der Referentialität des pronominalen Elements kaum ein Zweifel bestehen, da *kī* einerseits kataphorisch auf den Inhalt im US verweist und alternativ *eni* (14) anaphorisch auf einen Sachverhalt verweist.

- (14) a. KUB 22.70 Vs. 51 (Ünal 1978:70)

§ *eni-kan kuit* ‘*naštanza ŠÀ É* ^{NA}*hekur* ^DLAMMA *āššunanzi* SI×ŠÁ-at

,Jenes (sc. aus Z. 49) (ist es), nämlich, dass das Verbleiben einer Verfehlung im Felsheiligtum der Schutzgottheit festgestellt wurde: ...‘

Die hethitischen *kī(eni) kuit*-Konstruktionen sind aus diesen Gründen also nur oberflächlich mit den *inferential clefts* vergleichbar.

Die oben besprochenen komplexen Satztypen treten im Hethitischen nur mit einer geringen Frequenz auf. Dieser Frequenzwert korreliert gut mit der nicht allzu rigiden Wortstellung des Hethitischen, die Raum lässt für funktional motivierte Linearisierungsvariationen bei Argumenten und Adverbialen, und deutet auch auf die Verfügbarkeit prosodischer Mittel zur Fokussierung. Dies entspricht dem Prinzip der formalen Motivation für Satzspaltung von Lambrecht (15) und Jespersen (16).

- (15) „PRINCIPLE 1:

The occurrence of cleft constructions in a language correlates with the degree of positional freedom of prosodic accents and syntactic constituents in that language.“
(Lambrecht 2001:488)

- (16) „In some, though not in all cases, this construction may be considered one of the means by which the disadvantages of having a comparatively rigid grammatical word-order (SVO) can be obviated.“
(Jespersen 1937:86)

Die Verfügbarkeit alternativer Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten für die Fokussierung hat möglicherweise dazu beigetragen, dass Spaltsatzkonstruktionen in einer spezialisierten Funktion grammatikalisiert werden konnten, als Verfahren der Ersteinführung von Themen. Daneben kam die typologisch so verbreitete Satzspaltung in der zentralen Funktion als Fokussierungsverfahren nur sporadisch zur neuerlichen Anwendung, ohne dass sie sich gegen andere Verfahren mit gleicher Funktion durchgesetzt hätte.

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“Thorn” Clusters and Indo-European Subgrouping

Don Ringe

Craig Melchert’s extensive and groundbreaking work on Anatolian languages has often shed light on the wider subgrouping of Indo-European (IE). It therefore seems only right to dedicate this small contribution to him. It is largely a synthesis of earlier work, especially the work of Wierand Merlingen and Jochem Schindler, also briefly reviewed in Melchert 2003; what is new are the detailed conclusions about the subgrouping of the family that I believe this synthesis suggests.¹

In what follows I will adopt the working hypothesis that Anatolian is one of the first-order subgroups of the IE family, all the other daughters together constituting the other first-order subgroup, and that within the latter subgroup Tocharian is the outlier, constituting half of the non-Anatolian half of the family. Though there is still no unanimity on these points, the evidence in favor of such a hypothesis is by now substantial (see e.g. Winter 1998, Jasanoff 1998, 2003:218–21, Ringe 2000, Ringe et al. 2002).

The problem of “thorn” clusters in IE is well known; for earlier discussion and copious references see especially Schindler 1967, 1977, Mayrhofer 1983, 1986:150–8, Melchert 2003. The situation can be summarized briefly as follows. Immediately following a PIE dorsal stop an Indo-Iranian (IIr.) coronal stop normally corresponds to a coronal stop in the other subgroups, and an IIr. sibilant normally corresponds to a sibilant. However, there is a third set of equations in which an IIr. sibilant corresponds to a coronal stop in Greek and Celtic. If we restrict ourselves to the certain examples (following Mayrhofer 1983), there are five such correspondence sets. (On the words for ‘yesterday’ see the excursus.) Three sets are completely straightforward:

	‘bear’ ²	‘(s)he, they dwell’	‘(s)he destroys’ ³
Sanskrit	<i>ṛkṣas</i>	<i>kṣéti, kṣiyánti</i>	<i>kṣināti</i>
Avestan	<i>aršō</i>	<i>šaēiti, šīeinti</i>	—
Greek	<i>ἄρκτος</i>	Myc. —, <i>ki-ti-je-si</i>	<i>φθίvet</i> , Hom. <i>φθίvet</i> ‘it wanes’
Latin	<i>ursus</i>	—	—
Middle Irish	<i>art</i>	—	—
Hittite	<i>hartaggas</i>	—	—

¹An earlier version of this paper appeared as part of a post on the Language Log (language-log.ldc.upenn.edu) on Feb. 20, 2009. I am grateful to Joe Eska for helpful discussion of the Cisalpine Celtic form cited below, and to Benjamin Fortson for alerting me to Melchert 2003.

The third item is most plausibly reconstructed as a causative present stem in **-néw-* ~ **-nu-* (possibly replacing an older nasal-infixed present; cf. Rix 2001 s.v.) with shift of inflectional class in Sanskrit (and of valence in Greek), since the Greek vowel correspondences lead to the reconstruction of a Proto-Greek stem in **-nwe/o-*. The root means 'perish' in intransitive forms (cf. also Skt. *áksitas* = Gk. ἄφθιτος 'imperishable'); if Lat. *sitis* 'thirst' is really derived from the same root (thus = Skt. *kṣítis*, Gk. φθίσις 'perishing, disappearance, decay'), it shows the same outcome of the cluster as *ur-sus*, necessarily **ks* in the first instance, since intervocalic **ɾs > rr* in Latin (Schindler 1967:200).

In these words we seem to have a PIE cluster that yielded, in the first instance, a dorsal plus a sibilant in IIr. and Latin, a dorsal stop plus a coronal stop in Greek, a coronal stop in Celtic, and a coronal stop plus a dorsal stop in Hittite. Since the Hittite reflex is the only one that does not reflect merger with anything else, even the limited evidence adduced so far should lead us to reconstruct coronal-plus-dorsal clusters for these forms in PIE, thus:

<i>*h₂ṛt̥kos</i> 'bear'	<i>*dʰg^wley-</i> 'perish'
<i>*t̥kēy-ti</i> '(s)he settles'	<i>*ṇ-dʰg^whi-tos</i> 'imperishable'
<i>*t̥ki-enti</i> 'they settle'	<i>*dʰg^whi-néw-ti</i> '(s)he destroys'

We need to explain how such clusters could have yielded the observed reflexes in the other languages; but before addressing that question we should look at the fourth secure example, PIE 'earth'.

The attested reflexes of PIE 'earth' are the following (leaving aside some clear analogical innovations):

- Hittite nom.-acc. *tēkan*, gen. *tagnās*, loc. *dagān*; Cuneiform Luvian *tiyammis* (but see further below);
- Hieroglyphic Luvian *ta-ka-mi*³ (dat.);
- Tocharian A *tkam*, *tkan*-; Tocharian B *kem*, *ken*-;
- Vedic Sanskrit *kṣás*, acc. *kṣám*, gen. *jṃás*, loc. *kṣámi*;
- Avestan *zā*, acc. *zəm*, gen. *zəmō*;
- Greek *χθών*, *χθον*-, adv. *χαμαί* 'to the ground (Hom.), on the ground';
- Latin *humus*;
- Old Irish *dú*, *don*- 'earth (poetic), place';
- Lithuanian *žẽmė*; Old Church Slavonic *zemlja*;
- Albanian *dhe*.

²I do not know what to make of the final consonant of Armenian *arj*, nor of the fact that there is no corresponding consonant in Albanian *ari*.

³If Av. *jīnāiti* belongs here (Kellens 1984:177, 178 n. 5 with references), it apparently shows an irregular loss of the sibilant before the palatalization of velars (or metathesis, the sibilant subsequently being lost before *j*? cf. Schindler 1977). Schindler (1977:27 n. 3) effectively rejects the etymology; for a quite different proposed Avestan cognate see Mayrhofer 1983:252. We should perhaps consider the possibility that Skt. *kṣināti* reflects lexical contamination of two PIr. verbs, **g^hz^hināuti* and **jināti*, the latter preserved in Avestan.

The amphikinetic PIE paradigm can be reconstructed as follows (Schindler 1967:201, 1977:31):

- nominative $*d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{o}m < \text{pre-PIE } **d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{o}m-s$ (by Szemerényi's Law);
- accusative $*d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{o}m < \text{pre-PIE } **d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{o}m-m$ (by Stang's Law);
- genitive $*d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{m}-\acute{e}s \sim *d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{m}-\acute{e}s$ (but see further below), and so also the other oblique cases;
- locative $*d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{e}m$ ($*d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{e}m-i$ with the hic-et-nunc particle).

The fact that all the Anatolian cognates exhibit a coronal and a dorsal in that order ($*\acute{g} < *\acute{g}^h$ subsequently lost before an original front vowel in Luvian) confirms the reconstruction of thorn clusters advanced above. The development of this paradigm in the daughter languages requires some discussion.

The Vedic gen. *jṁás* and the Greek adverb *χαμαί* (probably the old allative with the hic-et-nunc particle appended; Warren Cowgill, p.c. ca. 1980) exhibits loss of the coronal stop. This is the result of a regular sound change in PIE or one of its first-order daughters, by which a coronal stop was lost before a dorsal stop + $*m$ (or syllabic $*m$, or conceivably before both syllabic nasals), as in $*k̑ntóm$ 'hundred', plausibly a derivative of $*dék̑nt$ 'ten' (Schindler 1967:200, 1977:31–2). We know that this sound change occurred in a common ancestor of Tocharian and the "nuclear" subgroups: cf. Toch. A *kānt*, B *kante*, Lat. *centum*, OIr. *cét*, Goth. pl. *hunda*, Lith. *šimtas*, Skt. *śatám*, Av. *satəm*, etc., all 'hundred'. But if Anatolian is one of two first-order subgroups of the family, we do not know whether that sound change occurred in PIE, because the phonological shape of 'hundred' is not attested for any Anatolian language, the Anatolian paradigms of 'earth' exhibit no forms in which the coronal stop has been lost, and we cannot be sure that any of the Anatolian forms that should reflect a zero-grade root have not been remodeled (see below). Thus this sound change is a potential, but not a verifiable, common innovation of the non-Anatolian half of the family.

We can at least conclude that in the non-Anatolian languages the thorn cluster should have occurred only in the locative (a frequently occurring form, given this noun's meaning). The simple palatal $*\acute{g}^h$ that occurred in all the oblique cases can have been leveled through the paradigm in Avestan, Latin, Balto-Slavic, Albanian, and possibly Tocharian B (Schindler 1967:205), as well as in the Lat. derivative *homō* 'human being' and its Proto-Germanic quasi-cognate $*gumō$ 'man' (Goth., OE *guma*, ON *gumi*, OHG *gomo*). Thus all those forms provide no evidence for the sound-change outcome of thorn clusters.

The development of this word in the earliest attested IE languages is clear. Only Hittite preserves the original ablaut pattern; the fact that the inherited nom. and acc. were accidentally identical must be the reason why this originally feminine noun has become neuter in Hittite (Sara Kimball, p.c. ca. 1985; cf. also Schindler 1967:195). Proto-Luvian must also have had an ablauting paradigm, since Luv. *tiyamm-* reflects loc. $*d^h\acute{e}g^h\acute{e}m$ (with Čop's Law after $*\acute{e}$ in an initial syllable), while Hier. Luv. *takam-*

reflects the strong stem **dʰǵʰom-* (Melchert 1994:232, 254, 2003:151–2). It is not clear what the first vowel of Hitt. gen. *tagnās*, dat.-loc. *dagān*, etc., represents; it probably cannot be purely graphic (Schindler 1967:195), but it could be epenthetic or the result of analogical remodeling (cf. Schindler 1967:203, 1977:31, Melchert 2003:150). Greek, and eventually also Sanskrit, levelled the initial thorn cluster of the locative through the paradigm, and the sound-change outcomes are exactly what we expect.

What about Old Irish *dú*, *don-*, and its derivative *duine* 'human being' (< **donios*)? They exhibit the same outcome as *art* 'bear', namely a coronal stop; so the thorn cluster of the locative must have been leveled through the paradigm in Celtic too. Moreover, it appears from the Cisalpine Celtic compound **TeuoxTonion** /*de:wo-gdonion*/ 'of gods and men' (Lejeune 1988:26–37) that these consonant clusters passed through a stage in Celtic very much like that attested in Greek; evidently they were reduced to simple coronals word-initially and postconsonantly, and it is simply an accident that the two clear surviving examples had the clusters in those phonotactic positions.

What happened in Tocharian is much less clear; I postpone discussion to a later part of this paper.

In a conversation with several colleagues in 1991 Jochem Schindler revised and extended an old proposal by Wierand Merlingen (Merlingen 1957:51–4, 1962, cited in Schindler 1967:199) to account for the regular sound change outcomes of the non-Anatolian daughters. Merlingen had proposed that the known PIE phonological rule which inserted **s* between two coronal stops was generalized to insert **s* between a coronal and any following stop (see further below on possible conditions for this rule); the resulting **TsK* clusters then underwent metathesis to **KTs*. Subsequently IIr. and Latin lost the coronal; Greek (and, we can now add, Celtic) lost the **s*. Schindler pointed out that Merlingen's proposal accounts neatly for the fifth secure example of thorn-clusters, the family of Skt. *táksā*, Av. *tašā*, Gk. τέκτων 'carpenter' < **téktō*, apparently < PIE **tétkō*,⁴ as follows. The apparent root **tétk-* is likely to be a reduplicated zero-grade present stem **té-tk-*; the original paradigm must have been 3sg. **tétekti*, 3pl. **tétknti*, etc. The sound-change development of the zero-grade forms to **téktnti*, etc. disrupted the paradigm; in the line of development ancestral to IIr. a new full-grade **tékt-* was backformed to the zero grade of the stem, yielding the Narten paradigm of Vedic Skt. 3sg. *tāṣṭi*, 3pl. *táṣṭati*, Av. 3sg. *tāṣti*. It appears that Helmut Rix came to essentially the same conclusion about this stem independently at about the same time (Rix apud Harðarson 1993:29 n. 12).

Three further facts strongly support this hypothesis. In the first place, it is surprising that a derived noun should have been formed from a present stem rather than a root. It seems much likelier that the shared word for 'carpenter' was formed only *after* reanalysis of the old present stem had yielded a new root "**tékt-*" (cf. Harðarson 1993:loc.cit.; see further below on the implications of this conclusion). Secondly, an

⁴This preform has been proposed repeatedly (cf. Brandenstein 1936:29, Winter 1962:262). Winter's suggestion that Armenian *hinsu* is a reflex of the PIE form seems unlikely; see the critique of Mayrhofer (1983:247–8 with n. 35 and references).

apparently unreduplicated perfect stem *takṣ-* is attested twice in the Rigveda, first in II.19.8 (Narten 1964:125 n. 336):

evā te gr̥tsamadāḥ śūra mánma
avasyávo ná vayínāni takṣuh

‘Thus have the Gr̥tsamadas made ordinances as a memorial
for you, O hero, like those who desire help.’

and secondly in X.39.4:

yuvām cyāvānam sanāyam yáthā rátham
pínar yúvānam caráthāya takṣathuh

‘The two of you made old Cyavāna young again
like a chariot to run.’

The lack of reduplication is only apparent: these non-singular forms reflect PIE **te-tk-*, the zero grade of pf. **te-tók-*. The first passage cited is from an outstandingly archaic hymn; the second can reflect formulaic modification, with a trisyllabic dual at the end of a *jagati* line in place of the disyllabic 3pl. in a *triṣṭubh* line. (The 3pl. reappears in a passage of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā; see Narten 1964:123.) The final piece of support for Schindler’s and Rix’s hypothesis regarding this verb is the Greek present *τίκτειν* ‘be giving birth’: since Greek usually replaces the **e* of reduplicating syllables in presents with *i*, and also usually thematizes consonant-final athematic stems (typically with a zero-grade root), this Greek present is *exactly* what we expect as the outcome of PIE reduplicated **té-tek-* ~ **té-tk-*. Latin *texere* ‘weave’ might or might not be a stem-cognate; as Mayrhofer emphasizes, all potential thorn-cluster forms of this root except those mentioned above can reflect an extended root **teks-* (Mayrhofer 1983:248).

This elegant hypothesis accounts for all the relevant facts of the daughters except Anatolian and Tocharian; we must now consider how to account for the data of those subfamilies. At an earlier stage of the discussion Schindler suggested that the thorn-cluster developments might have affected only those TK-clusters that were internal to a syllable (Schindler 1977:33–4). That might make sense in terms of PIE phonological rules, given that some other PIE rules were sensitive to syllable boundaries (Schindler 1977:loc.cit.; Mayrhofer 1986:111–2). But if we want to invoke such a condition to explain why Hittite *hartaggas* /hartkas/ has not undergone any thorn-cluster developments, while its non-Anatolian cognates have, we must argue that PIE ‘bear’ had an ablauting paradigm **b₂értko-* ~ **b₂rtkó-* (Schindler 1977:loc.cit.); there is no other evidence for that, and it does not seem likely.

The simplest way to account for Hitt. *hartaggas* and Luv. *tiyammis* (< **d^hǵ^hém-*, see above) is to propose that the extension of the *s*-epenthesis rule to TK-clusters and the metathesis of those clusters occurred not in PIE but in one of its early daughters (as implied already by Merlingen [1957:52]). Though actual evidence for that sequence of sound changes is restricted to Celtic, Latin, Greek, and IIr., they must have occurred in a common ancestor of those subgroups, which can only have been a common ancestor of the other “nuclear” subgroups too; the lack of good examples in Germanic,

Balto-Slavic, Armenian, and Albanian can be ascribed to lexical loss.⁵ This would be plausible evidence for a non-Anatolian, non-Tocharian clade, or possibly for a non-Anatolian clade including Tocharian.

But the situation is greatly complicated by Melchert's analysis of Cuneiform Luvian *inzagan-za* as 'inhumation', backformed to collective *inzagān*, originally a hypostasis of a prepositional phrase 'into the earth' (Melchert 2003:145–50). It appears that the extension of the *s*-insertion rule to position before dorsals is actually attested in Anatolian after all. It would seem simplest to regard the rule as an archaism inherited from PIE with Schindler's restriction to position within syllables. But in that case the development of Cuneiform Luvian *tiyammi-* from **dʰǵʰēm* becomes problematic, since its TK-cluster should also have been intrasyllabic in most sandhi environments. We might instead propose that the *s*-insertion rule was extended to TK-clusters independently in Luvian after the velar of *tiyammi-* had been lost. This might seem improbable to speakers of European languages, but a parallel can be cited: a rule replacing /t+t/ with [tʰ] is attested in two Caddoan languages, Pawnee (Parks 1976:42–3, 80) and Wichita (Rood 1976:236–7), and in Wichita the affrication rule has been extended to apply before all consonants, including /k/ (loc. cit.). Whichever solution is correct, the extension of *s*-insertion to **TK*-clusters loses its usefulness in subgrouping.

Finally, we must assess the Tocharian evidence. The stem-final *-n-* of the Tocharian words for 'earth' must ultimately reflect word-final **-m* (Schindler 1967:196), but it could not have survived in the attested languages if it had remained word-final (Ringe 1996:74–5); Toch. A *tkan-*, B *ken-* must reflect Proto-Tocharian **...kēna*, probably the old accusative, with *-n-* leveled through the paradigm exactly as in Greek (acc. *χθόνα* etc.). There are two ways to account for the discrepancy of the initial consonants. If TB *kem* reflects the same generalization of **ǵʰ-* as Av. *zā*, Lat. *humus*, etc. (see above), TA *tkam* can reflect PToch. **takēna*, with an epenthetic vowel inserted into an initial **dʰǵʰ-* cluster (Schindler 1977:31). But because the two Tocharian languages are so closely related, it would be mildly surprising if they exhibited different ablaut forms of this stem. If we therefore posit a unitary preform for the attested Tocharian words, it cannot begin with **tak-*, since the TB word should then begin with "tk-" (cf. TB *tkācer* 'daughter' < PToch. **takacér* < PIE **dʰugʰ₂tér*). The only alternative is PToch. **tkēna*, with the same analogical developments as Greek *χθόνα*, but with no metathesis of the initial consonant cluster; TB will then have lost the initial **t* before the syncope of **a* gave rise to new *tk*-clusters. If this line of reasoning is correct, the metathesis of **T̥K* to **KT̥* is clearly an innovation of a non-Anatolian, non-Tocharian clade.

Unfortunately there is no evidence for or against the insertion of **s* into **TK*-clusters in Tocharian. It seems clear that Tocharian inherited **T̥K*-clusters in **sk̥*-presents made to roots in coronal stops, and that **s* was regularly lost in such clusters (Jasanoff 1975:III, Melchert 1977, Ringe 1996:72). It follows that a sequence of changes **TK* > **T̥K* > **TK* cannot be excluded for PToch. **tkēna*.

⁵It then follows that the non-Anatolian examples of surviving coronal-plus-dorsal clusters collected in Schindler 1977:33 must all be later creations. So far as I can see, that creates no difficulties.

An alternative outcome *kts* has also been proposed for thorn clusters in Tocharian (cf. Merlingen 1957:52 n. 7 with references), but both potential examples are questionable. TB *ktsaitse* ‘old’, TA *ktsets* ‘finished, perfect, excellent’ is unlikely to be a derivative of PIE **dʰǵʰey-* ‘perish’, considering the meaning of the TA cognate (Schindler 1967:197, Adams 1999:242–3, with references). TB *taktsāntsa* ‘capable’ is adduced by K. T. Schmidt (apud Mayrhofer 1992:614) as a possible cognate of Skt. *tākṣan-*, but I have not seen such a form cited in more recent work and cannot judge its reliability (so also Melchert 2003:155). Until further evidence is forthcoming, ‘earth’ is our only relevant Tocharian datum.

Of course the development of thorn clusters sketched here is not the only one that can be proposed; in particular, it is possible to propose several different sequences of sound changes to account for the different outcomes in the daughters (cf. e.g. Schindler 1967:199 with references, Rix 2001 s.v. **retk-* with notes). But the Merlingen-Schindler-Rix sound changes and morphological remodelling offer the simplest account of the non-Anatolian, non-Tocharian data, and the restriction of metathesis to specific clades of the IE family is the simplest way to account for the fact that Anatolian and Tocharian show no trace of it. Therefore, though this proposal does not validate a non-Anatolian, non-Tocharian clade by itself, it is reasonable supporting evidence for the subgrouping hypothesis referred to at the beginning of this paper.

Finally, we should be able to draw inferences from the fact that **téktso* ‘carpenter’ is unlikely to have been formed until the sound changes in question had occurred and learner reanalysis had yielded a new root “**téktso-*.” The inflection of the related verb clearly exhibits such a reanalysis in IIr., but not in Greek; otherwise we would not find a clearly reduplicated present *τίκτειν* in the latter language. It seems to follow that ‘carpenter’ either was created just before the ancestors of IIr. and Greek lost contact with each other, or that it was created even later and borrowed from pre-IIr. into pre-Greek before any further relevant sound changes had occurred. In the former case the word is potential evidence for a relatively small clade including Greek and IIr.—an “Indo-Greek” clade, though of course it might include other daughters that have simply lost the relevant lexemes (most plausibly Balto-Slavic and Armenian). In the latter case the word is evidence for dialect contact at an early post-PIE period.

Excursus: PIE ‘yesterday’

A set of cognates meaning ‘yesterday’ exhibits word-initial correspondences that diverge from the usual thorn-cluster pattern:

Vedic Sanskrit *hyás-*

Avestan *ziio*

Greek *χθές*

Latin *heri*, adj. *hesternus*

Old Irish *indé*

Gothic *gistradagis* ‘tomorrow’ (!); OE *gíestran*, OHG *gesteron* ‘yesterday’

Albanian *dje*

It can be seen that only Greek and Celtic show the usual thorn-cluster outcome; IIr. has reflexes of **ǵʰy-*, while the other languages have reflexes of **ǵʰ-*. The simplest solution that accords with the regularity of sound change is that the protoform did not begin with a TK-cluster; the most reasonable proposal is that it was **ǵʰ-dyés*, with a deictic particle which appears also as the initial consonant of Lat. *hic* 'this' and an adverbial form of 'day' which appears also in Skt. *sadyás* 'in one day' (Brandenstein 1936:29, Schindler 1977:34). Note that this is a further example of the simplification of a KT-cluster in Celtic postconsonantly (and/or word-initially, cf. Welsh *doe*), as well as potential evidence for Bartholomae's Law in Greek.

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Einige Fehlschreibungen und Fehllesungen in hethitischen Texten

Johann Tischler

In einem Aufsatz mit ebendiesem Titel hat Eichner (1975) eine Reihe von Fehldeutungen verschiedener Art berichtet. Am wichtigsten – zumindest vom Standpunkt der historischen Sprachwissenschaft – war dabei die Eliminierung des als Vorform von *uttar* ‘Wort, Rede’ angesetzten **uktar*, das mit Grundbedeutung ‘Sache’ zu got. *mahts* ‘Sache, Ding’, ahd. *wiht* ‘Ding, Wesen’ usw. gehören soll. Dieses **uktar* wurde in KUB XIII 35 II 37 gesehen, wo in Wirklichkeit aber akkadographisch *AŠ-KUT* ‘ich schwieg’ zu lesen ist.

Derartige Fehldeutungen waren besonders in den Anfangsjahren der Hethitologie – verständlicherweise – häufig und die meisten sind in den Folgejahren meist stillschweigend berichtigt worden. Einige von ihnen werden aber noch heute weitergeschleppt, ja gelegentlich werden manche sogar neu in die Welt gesetzt. Besonders „ergiebig“ ist dabei das neue Wörterbuch von Ünal 2007. Einiges daraus soll im folgenden zurecht gerückt werden.

1. Bei Ünal (2007:753) findet sich ein “*uhharitti* KUB 8.36 III 3”. Die entsprechende Textstelle lautet: [mān] *antubs[an] huwabb[urtin]* (2) *p’abhu’enas ēpzi nasma SU[HALU]* (3) *nu-uh-ha-ri-it-ti* ‘[wenn] (das Gefühl) des Feuers die Kehle eines Menschen ergreift oder Hus[ten] (ihn) schüttelt’. Zwar ist in dieser Passage einiges zu ergänzen, aber gerade der Anlaut des Verbums ist eindeutig *nu-* zu lesen.

2. Friedrich hat in seinem Wörterbuch (1954:237) ein Adverb *utnili* (*uwawar*) ‘Untergehen (von Sternen)’ aufgeführt, dies aber kurze Zeit später auf Grund eines Hinweises von Heinrich Otten korrigiert (Friedrich, 1961:26): An der betreffenden Stelle ist nicht *ut-ni-li* sondern vielmehr UD.ZAL.LE ‘Morgenstern’ zu lesen, *mabhan-ma* (17) GE₆-*anza lukzi* ^{MUL}UD.ZAL.LE-*kan úizzi* (18) *lukzi nawi n-as-kan URU-riaz* (19) *arba budak paiddu* ‘sobald die Nacht aber hell wird, der Morgenstern aufgeht, es (aber) noch nicht (richtig) hell wird, soll er schleunigst aus der Stadt weggehen’ KUB IX 15 II 17. Trotz dieser Richtigstellung hat das angebliche *utnili* Eingang bei Ünal (2007:770) gefunden.

3. Bei Ünal (2007:786) findet sich ein “^{GIŠ}*wara-* a tree, plant or wooden utensil”, das bisher unbekannt war; wenn man sich die betreffenden Textstellen indes genauer ansieht, wird klar, daß hier das wohlbekannte ^{GIŠ}*warasma-* ‘Feuerholz, Feuerholzscheit, Holzscheit’ vorliegt, so auch an der angegebenen Stelle KBo XXIX 100 + KUB XXXII

125 I 8; dort steht LÚ É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ma (8) 10 GIŠ^{wa-ar-aš-mi-it} DINGIR^{LUM} MUNUS^{alhui}tran (9) BĒL SÍSKUR^{ya} namma^{ya} kuies PANI DINGIR^{LIM} (10) [as]anzi nu kuinna SAG.DU=ZU 1=ŠU (11) [wa]labzi ‘der Tempelbedienstete aber haut mit den 10 Holzscheiten die Priesterin der Gottheit und den Opfermandanten und ferner diejenigen, welche vor der Gottheit sitzen, nämlich jedem 1-mal auf den Kopf’; die Form GIŠ^{wa-ar-aš-mi-it} enthält also nicht, wie Ünal meint, ein enklitisches Possessivpronomen, sondern es handelt sich um die Instrumentalisform zu *warasma-*. Analog sind auch die übrigen angegebenen Textstellen zu verstehen.

4. Bei Ünal (2007:786f.) findet sich eine Gebäckbezeichnung “NINDA^{warapaiya-}”, die KBo XXIV 24 II 11 belegt sein soll; dort ist indes sicherlich *walpaima-* zu lesen, da kurz vorher *wal(i)paimi-* steht, 3 GIŠBANŠUR^{HLA}-ma [...] (8) nu=ssan kued[ani ...] (9) 2 NINDA^{wa-li-pa-i-mi-i}[š ...] (10) 2 NINDA^{parsulli} [...] (11) ŠU.NIGIN 6 NINDA^{wa-al-pa-i-m}[a-aš ‘3 Tische aber [...] und darauf jeweils [...] 2 *walipaima/i*-Brote [...] 2 Brockenbrote [...] insgesamt 6 *walipaima/i*-Brote’ KBo XXIV 24 II 9.

5. Bei Ünal (2007:800) findet sich die Eintragung “*welwila-* (noun c.) part of a river (surface?)”. Der Bedeutungsansatz ‘Oberfläche’ ist aber ohne Anhalt und beruht offenbar auf einem Mißverständnis, da der Dat. Pl. *welwilas* im Ritual der Malli neben *kurkessar*: ‘Rand, Ufer, Einfassung’ (vielleicht auch ‘Oberfläche’, eines Gewässers) belegt ist, [n-as] katta ÍD-i paizzi n-as-kan GE₆-anti kat’ta seszi’ (21) [n-as-k]an ÍD-as kurkisni 1 NINDA.SIG^{wappuw}<aš> DINGIR.MAH-anni <parsiya> (22) [nu-k]an ÍD-i 2 NINDA.SIG^{MES} ÍD-as ú-e-el-ú-i-la-aš *parsiya* ‘[und sie] geht hinab zum Fluß und bleibt dort während der Nacht. Sie <bricht> über der Oberfläche des Flusses 1 Dünnbrot für die Muttergottheit des Flußufers und am Fluß bricht sie 2 Dünnbrote für die *welwila-*(Götter) des Flusses’ KUB XXIV 9+ IV 22 (MH/NS).

Auch der von Ünal angesetzte Akk. Sg. *welwilan* existiert nicht, schon gar nicht in der von ihm postulierten Bedeutung, s. *nu=za* BAPPİR DIM₄ dā EN SISKUR=ma=ma EGİR-pa pāi (15) zi’iq’q-a DUTU-us it nu ‘te’rin ‘4’-in ‘5’-in[dā] (16) ú-e-e’l-lu’-i=kan’ na’y’alā dariyanta[n] (17) turiya=ma’ arsiyantān ‘dann nimm das Bierbrot (und) das Malz, den Opfermandanten aber gib mir zurück! Und du, Sonnengott, geh los und fahre dreimal, 4-mal, 5-mal über die Au(en)! Lass den erschöpften los und spannen den ausgeruhten an!’ KBo XI 14 II 16 (MH/NS), Eichner (1992:68). Mit den Platzverhältnissen unvereinbar und semantisch unsinnig ist die Interpretation der Stelle durch Ünal (1996:20, 29, 61f.): [la-a-a] (17) ú-e-e’l-lu’-i-la’-na-‘y’a ‘und löse die Oberfläche (der Erde)’.

Der Vergleich von *welluwas* DIM ‘Wettergott der Au’ (*welluwas* Gen. von *wellu-* ‘Wiese, Au’) mit adjektivischem *welwila-* in Dat. Pl. *welwilas* DINGIR^{MES} (Art niedere Gottheiten) spricht dafür, daß dieses schlicht ‘zur Au (*wellu-*) gehörig’ bedeutet; funktionell vergleichbar *usallis* DLAMM[A] ‘Schutzgottheit der Aue (o. ä.)’ KBo XVII 89 III 7 (dies im Hethitischen Fremdwort aus akkad. *ušallu(m)* ‘Überflutungsgebiet, Uferland, Wiese, Aue’).

6. Bei Ünal (2007:823) findet sich ein “GIŠ^{zaya-} (noun) a weapon”, das KBo 10.37

I 7 belegt sein soll; dies existiert indes nicht, an dieser Stelle findet sich *ezzayas-pat*, d. i. Gen. Sg./Pl. von *ezza/i-* 'Häcksel', auch 'Rohr' *salwenan* (7) [... *dā*] *i nu* ^{GIS}PAN ^{GIS}Ú[.TAG.G]A^{HIA} *ez-za-ya-aš-pát* (8) [...] 'Lehm von [...] nimmt sie/er und legt ihn sie] hin. Und Bogen, Pfeile auch aus *ezza/i-* [...]'] KBo X 37 I 7 (OH/NS). Die Form *ezzayas* kann als Gen. Sg. von *ezzai-* oder *ezzi-* oder aber auch als Gen. Pl. eines Kollektivums *ezza* (vgl. *suppi-* → Koll. *suppa*, Gen. *suppayas*) interpretiert werden.

7. Bei Ünal (2007:823) findet sich ein "^{GIS}*ziptipil-* (noun) a tree or wooden utensil", das KUB I 17 VI 21, 22 belegt sein soll; dies existiert indes nicht, an dieser Stelle findet sich *izziptipil*, ein hattisches Lexem in hattischem Kontext, das in eine sprachlich althethitische Festbeschreibung eingebettet ist, *mabhan-ma-kan* ^{LÜ}NAR ^{ŠUMMI} LUGAL (18) *weriyazi* ^{LÜ}ALAM.ZU, *memai* (19) ^{LÜ}*palwatallas palwaizzi* 'sobald aber der Sänger den Namen des Königs nennt, spricht der Spaßmacher, der Psalmodist psalmodiert:' (folgt hattischer Text) ... *kurkuwenna* (21) *iz-zi-ip-ti-pí-i-il tabarnas* (22) *iz-zi-ip-ti-pí-i-il* KUB I 17 VI 21, 22 (OH/NS).

Zur Morphologie vgl. Kammenhuber 1969:494: *izziptipil* "mit schwach deiktischem Präfix *i*" zu *ziptipil*, *ziptipail*, *ziptiwail*, das auch in *li-zziptiwail* mit Possessivanzeiger *li-* enthalten ist; Girbal 1986:145-7: *ziptifail* mit Bezug auf *labarna* 'König'; Soysal 2004:517, 947f.: nominales *izzi-p-ti-pil* und *ziptipil*, d. i. *zi-p-ti-pail* für hatt. *zi-^{*}pa-^{*}te^{*}wa_{ail}*.

8. Bei Ünal (2007:824) findet sich ein "^{GIS}*zittailu-* (noun) a tree or wooden utensil", das KUB XXVIII 110 II 18, 20 belegt sein soll; dies existiert indes nicht, an dieser Stelle findet sich *izzittailu*, ein hattisches Lexem in hattischem Wechselgesang, *pa-ya-lu-wa-a-ya ha-a-ma-an-zi-ra-hu iz-zi-it-ta-i-li-ú* KUB XXVIII 110 II 18, 20 (NH). – Zur Morphologie vgl. Kammenhuber (1961:207) (Nominalkompositum mit *izzi* 'günstig' wie in ^D*Izz(i)-istamu* 'günstiger Tag' entsprechend ^DUD.SIG₅); Soysal (2004:518) (nominales *izzi-tail-liu* für *izzi-^{*}sail-liu*).

9. Bei Ünal (2007:824) findet sich ein "^{GIS}*zinvaha-* (noun) a tree or wooden implement", das KUB I 17 VI 20 belegt sein soll; dies existiert indes nicht, an dieser Stelle findet sich *izzinvaha*, ein hattisches Lexem in hattischem Kontext, das in eine sprachlich althethitische Festbeschreibung eingebettet ist, *mabhan-ma-kan* ^{LÜ}NAR ^{ŠUMMI} LUGAL (18) *weriyazi* ^{LÜ}ALAM.ZU, *memai* (19) ^{LÜ}*palwatallas palwaizzi* 'sobald aber der Sänger den Namen des Königs nennt, spricht der Spaßmacher, der Psalmodist psalmodiert:' (folgt hattischer Text) (20) *wa_a-ha-a iz-zi-wa_a-ha-a kurkuwe-en-na* (21) *iz-zi-ip-ti-pí-i-il tabarnas* (22) *iz-zi-ip-ti-pí-i-il* KUB I 17 VI 20 (OH/NS), Girbal (1986:145). Zur Morphologie vgl. Kammenhuber (1961:207) und Soysal (2004:518) (Analyse *izzi-wa_ah-a*).

10. Bei Ünal (2007:825) findet sich ein "^{GIS}*zizippuliya-* (noun)", das KUB XXVIII 91 Rs. iv 3 belegt sein soll; dies existiert indes nicht, an dieser Stelle findet sich in einer jungethitischen Festbeschreibung die hattische Vokabel *izzizippuliya*, *ú-ka-wa_a-ra-i-u* ^{LÜ}GUDU₁₂ *tezzi* [...] (2) *ma-a-wa_a-wa_a-ah* ^{LÜ}ALAM.ZU, *tez[zi]* (3) *iz-zi-zi-ip-*

pu-li-ya ta UŠK[ENNU] ‘(er sagt) “*ukawarayu!*” Der “Gesalbte” sagt: “[...] *mawab!*” Der Spaßmacher sagt: “[...] *izzizippuliya!*” Und sie werfen sich nieder’ KUB XXVIII 91 Rs. VI 3 (Popko 1994:246). Zur Morphologie vgl. Kammenhuber 1961:207 und Soysal 2004:518 (Analyse *izzi-zi-pulīa* oder *izzi-zi-pulli-a*).

11. Bei Ünal (2007:827) findet sich ein “*zunašarbi-*”, das KBo XXVI 166 + KUB XLVI 29 II 7 belegt sein soll; dieses Wort existiert jedoch nicht, an dieser Stelle steht vielmehr ARAD^{MEŠ} ^D*Ha-an-zu-un-zi pé-e[š-kán-zi]* ‘die Diener des Gottes *Hanzunzi* bringen [regelmäßig]. Mit viel gutem Willen könnte man hier zwar in der Tat *zu-un-na¹-šár-bi* statt *zu-un-zi pé* lesen, allerdings hat das Zeichen HZL 335 nur in akkad. Texten den Lautwert *šár*; gemäß Autographie und Foto besteht auch kein Anlaß, den eindeutigen Zeichenkomplex *zi* in *na¹-šár* aufzulösen.

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Old Phrygian *iman*

Brent Vine

1. The limestone stele from Vezirhan—datable to about the end of the 5th c. BC, and preserving the longest extant text in the Phrygian corpus—has received three detailed treatments: Neumann's preliminary edition (1997) was followed by a comprehensive presentation by Brixhe (2004:42–67, assigning it text number B-05) in his second supplement to Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, and the monument has recently been the subject of a penetrating study by Gorbachov (2008).¹

2. Among the more interesting features of this text are three (or perhaps four) attestations of the oblique stem *imen-* of the previously attested Old Phrygian noun *iman* (nom. sg.), cf. the adjectival derivative already attested in (fem.) *imeneia* (G-183b). Moreover, one of these new forms (dat. sg. *immeney*, line 11) shows an orthographic variation vis-à-vis the other tokens, the import of which has yet to be taken into account in terms of the word's etymological background, which remains obscure. The Vezirhan attestations are as follows:

- (i) line 1 (*ad init.*): *imenan*
- (ii) line 1 (*ad fin.*): [...]*menan*[.]a (Neumann),² [...]*menan* (Gorbachov),³
...*meaumiḍ* or ...*medumiḍ* (Brixhe)⁴
- (iii) line 8: *imenan*
- (iv) line 11: *immeney*

Nothing can be based on the form in (ii), given the uncertainty about its reading. In addition to the adjectival form *imeneia* already cited, seven previous occurrences of the noun in Old Phrygian⁵ were restricted to nom. sg. *iman* (either alone, or in scriptio continua with preceding or following word) in texts as early as the 7th c. BC (e.g. P-03), according to Brixhe and Lejeune 1984. A few instances are fragmentary or

¹ See these works for full descriptions of the stone and its two texts. It is a quasi-bilingual: the seven-line Greek text at the end (with about 25 words) appears to summarize the longer Phrygian text (nearly 90 words in 13 lines), and is thus less illuminating than it might otherwise be.

² Interpreted as acc. sg. of a middle participle in *-meno-* (Neumann 1997:20).

³ Favoring interpretation as acc. sg. [*i*]*menan* (Gorbachov 2008:96).

⁴ Brixhe 2004:46 (without interpretation).

⁵ Listings by Orel (1997:433) and Gorbachov (2008:96 n. 10).

otherwise uncertain.⁶ Partly on the basis of the Neo-Phrygian anthroponym (nom.) *ἱμαν*, (gen.) *ἱμενος*, (dat.) *ἱμενι*,⁷ it seems probable (see Brixhe 2004:51) that some of the Old Phrygian instances of *iman* recover the same onomastic form, probably derived from the appellative *iman*.

3. As for the meaning of *iman* (apart from its onomastic use): the extended study by Brixhe (1974) mainly served to eliminate unacceptable early theories, and the consensus has been that the word referred to a stele or monument, or possibly the inscription engraved on such an object.⁸ This has now been challenged by Gorbachov, but in my view his arguments, based on the Vezirhan text, are not decisive. He begins (2008:96f.) from that text's version of the Phrygian malediction formula (*γος νιγ art sin-t' imenan kaka* . . . 'whoever [does] bad things around/near³ this *iman*', line 8), observing that this should correspond to lines 3–4 of the Greek text: ὅστις | τὸ ἱερόν κακουρ(γ)ετήσαι; in that case, he suggests, *iman* must be an equivalent of τὸ ἱερόν, and should therefore mean 'sanctuary, holy ground' or the like. But as we have noted (n. 1), the Greek text merely gives a précis of the Phrygian; and moreover, this argument could be turned on its head. The Vezirhan text begins with a reference to "this *iman*" (*sin-t' imenan*, acc. sg.), followed by the personal name *kaliya* as subject, which clearly corresponds to the beginning of the Greek text, an ordinary "ἀνέθηκεν" expression (*Καλλίας* . . . ἀνέθηκεν)—and these expressions normally refer to the erection of monuments. Gorbachov's other argument is likewise inconclusive: he observes (2008:98) that if Neumann's restoration of [*t*]ekmō[*r*] (in line 1) is correct (cf. OPhryg. *tekmor* [P-04a]), it is this word that is more likely to mean 'sign, boundary (mark)' (referring to an orthostat of some kind), rather than *iman*. But the reading is anything but certain (Brixhe reads *dekm*[---] here). Especially in view of the opening "ἀνέθηκεν" expression, there is good reason to maintain the traditional interpretation of *iman* as something like 'monument' or 'stele'.

4. The etymology of OPhryg. *iman/imen-* (cf. NPhryg. *ἱμαν/ἱμεν-*, §2) remains unclear; but the predesinential alternation (given PIE *ē > Phryg. /a/) recalls PIE animate hysterokinetic formations like Gk. ποιμήν/ποιμέν- 'shepherd'—the only point about this word's historical morphology on which there is general agreement.⁹ *Grosso modo*, this conception of the ablaut must be correct; and despite the elimination of this pattern in the later history of the language (Gorbachov 2008:99 n. 17), hysterokinetic inflection seems directly attested at least in NPhryg. (nom. sg.) *ορουαν*, (gen. sg.) *ορουενος*

⁶Orel and Gorbachov cite "*iman*" in G-274; but Brixhe and Lejeune (1984:211) read *imam* or *iman*, with a query about the directionality (they in fact prefer *manmi*). The fragmentary *ime*[(G-179) is unusable, and *imelan* (G-10, Brixhe 2002:31) may or may not belong here.

⁷See Zgusta 1964:195f. for details; alternative spellings are treated below (§5).

⁸Neumann 1997:20 ("bezeichnet den Träger der Inschrift, also etwa 'Stein' oder 'Anlage, Ehrenmal'; denkbar wohl auch 'Inschrift'"), similarly Brixhe 2004:51. Orel's gloss is treated in §4 below.

⁹Neumann 1997:20 ("Hier liegt Ablaut vor"), Brixhe 2004:51, Gorbachov 2008:99; see already Brixhe 1974:248, with reference to Haas 1969:83.

(of uncertain meaning, but perhaps ‘protector’ or the like; see Lubotsky 1997:127f., with earlier references).¹⁰

Only one serious etymological proposal concerning OPPhryg. *iman* has been offered, namely an attempt by Bajun and Orel¹¹ to connect OPPhryg. *iman* with Hitt. *himma-* ‘replica, ritual substitute’ (traditionally derived from a thematic **h₂im-o-*, cf. Lat. *imāgō* ‘likeness’, *imitor* ‘copy’, and full grade **h₂eim-* in Lat. *aemulus* ‘rival’, and perhaps Ven. a.i.mo.i.).¹² This approach—whence Orel’s tendentious gloss of *iman* as ‘cultic substitute, imitation, image, model’ (1997:432)—has little to recommend it. To be sure, the Vezirhan stele shows a series of images in relief, including personages (full description in Brixhe 2004:43). But these are conventional scenes, and there is no indication that they amount to ‘cultic substitutes’; nor is there any prior association of the word *iman* with monuments containing figurative art: cf., for example, P-04 (with *iman* on face c), an unadorned block of stone, probably from an earlier period (see Brixhe and Lejeune 1984 *ad loc.*, with a 6th-c. dating).

From a morphological standpoint, and ignoring the problematic geminate in Hitt. *himma-*, this theory would imply—given what is now clear about OPPhryg. *iman/imen-*—that the hysterokinetic *n*-stem **h₂im-én* stands in a derivational relationship to thematic **h₂im-ó-* (cf. Hitt. *himma-*?) or, conceivably, collective **h₂im-él₂* (cf. Lat. *imāgō*).¹³ But a hysterokinetic *n*-stem of this kind would fit neither the usual semantic profile of this category (see Balles 2002:2f.) nor its best-attested derivational background, which typically involves root nouns (and perhaps more specifically the loc. sg. of root nouns; see Nikolaev 2006:400 n. 13), a formation thus far lacking for the root in question, not just in Phrygian, but everywhere else.¹⁴ Apparent support for the presumed derivation **h₂im-ó-* → **h₂im-én* would appear to be offered by NPhryg. *ορουαν/ορουεν-* (cited at the beginning of this section), which Lubotsky (1997:128)¹⁵ interprets as related to Hom. *ὄροϛ* ‘watcher, guardian’, reflecting a **μoruo-* beside NPhryg. *ορουαν* < **μoruēn*. Yet even if Lubotsky is correct in suggesting that **μ-* disappears before **o* in New Phrygian (a necessary feature of his analysis), these forms can (and perhaps should) be interpreted differently. To begin with, despite the traditional derivation of *ὄροϛ* from a preform **μoruo-* (still retailed in Beekes 2010:1129f., inappropriately citing Myc. *wo-wo*),¹⁶ the Homeric form is better analyzed via **sor-μo-*

¹⁰We return to this word below. Of little value in this regard is a series of controversial forms (attested in Greek texts) often alleged to be of Phrygian origin: *ἀπμῆν* ‘servant’, *ἄζῆν* ‘beard’, *βαλ(λ)ῆν* ‘king’, and others (see Haas 1966:163).

¹¹Bajun and Orel 1989:32, Bajun 1992:134f., Orel 1997:432.

¹²On the Anatolian and Italic material, see Martzloff 2005:125. The source of the geminate in Hitt. *himma-* is unclear (see e.g. Kloekhorst 2008:344).

¹³See Pinault 2002:96f. on collective **μir-él₂* and Lat. *vināgō* ‘warrior maid’ (followed by Martzloff, *loc. cit.*, for **h₂im-él₂ : imāgō*).

¹⁴Martzloff (2005) argues that SPi. *īmih* (AP 2) continues an *i*-stem **h₂im-i-*; but this would not support the Bajun/Orel account of *iman*, even if one grants Martzloff’s analysis of the South Picene form. (I will offer an alternative account elsewhere.)

¹⁵See also Drew-Bear et al. 2008:115 (with n. 16), following Lubotsky.

¹⁶There is no reason to think that Myc. *wo-wo* means anything other than ‘border, boundary’; the form thus belongs with Att. *ὄροϛ* (Ion. *ὄροϛ*) ‘id.’, unrelated to Hom. *ὄροϛ* ‘guardian’. (Beekes properly cites Myc. *wo-wo* s.v. *ὄροϛ* [Beekes 2010:1109].)

(cf. Myc. *o-ro-me-no* ‘watching over’, Hom. ὄρομαι, YAv. *hara-*), with Aeolic or East Ionic psilosis and Aeol./“epic” barytonesis; see García Ramón 2004:146 n. 5. Now in Greek itself, there is a derivational process that produces “secondary *én*-stems”, in part built to *o*-stems: e.g. κῶλον ‘limb’ [Aesch. +] → κωλήν ‘thigh, leg’ [Eurip. +], πυρός ‘grain (of wheat)’ [Hom. +] → πυρήν ‘stone (in fruit)’ [Hdt. +]. The nature of this material, including also *én*-stems built to *ā*-stems and even a few apparent deverbative forms,¹⁷ makes clear that this is an inner-Greek matter, with no basis in anything old. It may therefore be preferable to view NPhryg. *ορουαν* in this light. If Hom. οὔρος derives from a **sor-mo-*, and since **s-* is preserved in New Phrygian, then *ορουαν* (granting Lubotsky’s attractive interpretation ‘protector’) must be considered a Greek borrowing, from an (Aeol./E.Ion.) *én*-stem pendant **orūēn* that could have developed within Greek beside (pre-Hom.) **orūos* (> Hom. οὔρος ‘guardian’).¹⁸ If this is so, then NPhryg. *ορουαν* beside Hom. οὔρος provides no support whatsoever for the derivation **h₂im-ó-* → **h₂im-én* implied by the Bajun/Orel etymology of OPhryg. *iman*—unless *iman* itself is taken to be a borrowing from Greek, which nothing at all supports.

The only other proposal for *iman* is that of Yakubovich (apud Gorbachov 2008: 99), who raises the possibility of a connection with Urartean *imēna-* ‘foundation’. The phonetic similarity is indeed intriguing; but as Gorbachov rightly points out, the synchronic morphological alternation (nom. sg.) *iman* ~ (obl.) *imēn-*, now so clearly documented (thanks to the Vezirhan material), would in that case have to be secondary, the result of the “assimilation of the loanword to the ablaut pattern of inherited hysterokinetic animate *men*-stems.” Such a scenario would be highly unlikely, and so an Indo-European etymology for OPhryg. *iman* is surely to be preferred over a vague appeal to an unverifiable borrowing source or Wanderwort.

5. Of particular interest is the Vezirhan dat. sg. spelling *immeney* (§2 (iv)), which invites reconsideration of the background of OPhryg. *iman*. The essential comparanda, all hitherto from Neo-Phrygian, have already been assembled by Neumann 1997:24, with reference to Calder 1956:xxiv, xxix: for NPhryg. *Iman* (§2), cf. versions with *Im-* and *Imu-* (*Imanēh*, *Imoun*, *Imous*, *Imma*, etc.; Zgusta 1964:196f., 203), as well as variants of the sort *κνουμιας*, *κνουμιανει* for the frequent NPhryg. *κνουμαν(-)* ‘grave’, as well as *κνουμναν* and (with gemination) *κνουμμιανει*. For the latter word, Calder considered *κνουμ-* to reflect the original sequence, whence *κνουμμ-* by assimilation and finally degeminated *κνουμ-*, the normal form. For *κνουμναν*, this is surely incorrect: etymological and morphological considerations¹⁹ favor Brixhe’s interpretation of the spellings *κνουμ-*/*κνουμν-*/*κνουμμ-* as hypercorrect (1999:296, 311). In his recent discussion of the Vezirhan text, Brixhe extends this analysis to *immeney* (2004:62). Yet as Brixhe makes clear, hypercorrect spellings of this kind must be related to the loss of contrastive gemination in the language (Brixhe cites NPhryg. material like *αδδακετ* ~

¹⁷ See Chantraine 1933:167 for details.

¹⁸ Insofar as the Greco-Phrygian forms in *-ην* (n. 10) have any validity, they might also have played a role in the background of a “Greco-Phrygian” **orūēn* (cf., in this semantic field, βαλ(λ)ήν ‘king’).

¹⁹ See e.g. West 2003:79 n. 9 (**knu-mi* [: Gk. κνώ ‘scratch’], with zero grade *men*-stem of the type Gk. χύμα ‘outpouring’, πόμα ‘drink’, etc.).

αδακετ). Indeed, the Old Phrygian texts are already devoid of gemination (apart from <ii>),²⁰ and no gemination is found in the Vezirhan text (although /mn/ is evidently legal: *umniset* [line 7], cf. *omnisit* W-11, *umnotan* B-07). As Brixhe himself implies (“*mm pour m”, 2004:62), there is thus good reason to consider whether the <-m> of *iman* might itself result from degemination (i.e., *iman* < **imman*), with the original geminate the result of assimilation (**imman* < **inman*). In that event, Vezirhan *imneney* might reflect an etymological spelling,²¹ as one of the “correct” phonological sources of later hypercorrect spellings of the type <κνουνμ->.

These considerations underlie the following proposal: I suggest that OPhryg. *iman* can be derived from a Wurzelkompositum (nom.) **en-mén*, (obl.) **en-mén-*, i.e. a typical two-way remodeling (as normally in Greek) of an “ideal” three-way ablaut (nom.) **en-mén*, (acc.) **en-mén-m*, (obl.) **en-mn-*, in PIE terms. The inflection would be of the hysterokinetic type that is normal for Wurzelkomposita to CEN-roots, most famously Ved. (nom.) *ṛitra-há*, (acc.) *ṛitra-hánam*, (gen.) *ṛitra-ghnás*, etc.²² The type as a whole is inherited from PIE (Scarlata 1999:6), including the subtype with preverb as first member (Scarlata 1999:735f., 739f., 768ff.; for CEN-roots, e.g. RV *ā-nám-*, 1999:280f.).²³

6. Before addressing the semantics and the root etymology, two additional points of phonology call for brief comment.

6.1. In addition to nasal assimilation and degemination, the above hypothesis assumes pre-nasal raising of /e/ to /i/, perhaps in the order **enmén* > **innmén* > **immén* > *iman* (with the regular development PIE **ē* > Phryg. /a/).²⁴ Pre-nasal raising (as regularly in Armenian, and as in some Greek dialects,²⁵ to name two of the languages most closely related to Phrygian) is extremely common typologically, and is attested as a tendency in Old Phrygian itself: thus, although the preverb *en-*, appearing as such before vowel in the probable augmented form *eneparkes*,²⁶ is apparently stable in this environment, the compound *akenanogavos* (M-01a, W-01a [*bis*])²⁷ is also attested as *akinanogavan* (M-04). One could further speculate that such a raising process could have been favored in a “heavy nasal” context like /enm-/,²⁸ or about the possibility

²⁰ Thus, for example: the two *s*'s of *assu*[(G-213) may not belong to the same word (see Brixhe and Lejeune 1984 *ad loc.*); *bba* (M-02) probably stands for *b(a)ba*; *natinmeyonna* (W-05a) is probably to be divided between <nn>, cf. *-eyon* (W-01c), as also *penniti* (W-11; Brixhe 2004:22 *ad loc.*).

²¹ In part retained as a traditional orthography in NPhryg. onomastic <lm-?>

²² On the inflection, see Scarlata 1999:695.

²³ Another Wurzelkompositum with **en-* probably appears in OIr. *eirr* (gen. sg. *erred*) ‘warrior’ (< **en-ret-s* or **en-rt-s*, to **ret-* ‘run’; Wodtko 2008:577 n. 3, with references).

²⁴ The relative chronology of **ē* > /a/, vis-à-vis the other processes, cannot be determined; thus earlier application (even at the stage **enmén* > **inman*) is entirely possible, and of no consequence here.

²⁵ Arcado-Cypriote (*iv* = *év*, Arc. ἀπεχομινος, etc.) and (interestingly for Phrygian) Pamphylian (*iς* < **ivς* = *évς*, *είς*, cf. NPhryg. *is*, whether native or borrowed).

²⁶ G-01c, G-125, M-01d, cf. NPhryg. *ενεπαρκες*.

²⁷ With first member presumably the same word as *akenan* (P-04a), *akenas* (W-07).

²⁸ As opposed to */enst-/ (> /est-/), with /e/ maintained: *estatoianun* (G-144), cf. NPhryg. *εσταες* (and, without *n*-loss, or with /n/ restored) *εσταρνα*.

(unverifiable, in the present state of our knowledge about Phrygian) that raising might have been favored in unaccented or pretonic position.

6.2. Assuming PIE oxytone accent, one might wonder whether a truly old Wurzelkompositum built with **en-* ‘in, on’ and **mén-* should have rather come out **ḡ-mén* (> OPhryg. **aman*?), with reduction to zero grade in the initial (unaccented) syllable. But bona fide zero grade forms of **en-* as first compound member are extremely rare, if they exist at all;²⁹ and in any event, full grade **en-* (the normal form of the preposition/preverb) could have been restored at any point. For those who prefer to operate with laryngeal-initial **h₁en-* (a problem that cannot be explored here): zero grade **h₁ḡ-mén* could well have yielded pre-Phrygian **en-mén*, under the plausible assumption that Phrygian (like Greek, given comparable patterns of laryngeal vocalization in both languages) underwent Rix’s Law. (I return briefly to **(h₁)ḡ-mén* in §7.3 (iv) below.)

7. As for the root analysis of the proposed basis **en-mén/*en-mén-*: to some degree, one can argue for any of the three PIE **men-* roots registered by Rix (2001).³⁰ For two of these, one must be satisfied with a root etymology—often the maximum we can achieve, after all, with our limited understanding of Phrygian. The third option, however, may offer a more satisfying approach.

7.1. **men-* ‘project, protrude’ (Lat. *ēminēre* ‘stand out’, etc.; Rix 2001:s.v. 3. **men-*): An etymological meaning ‘that which projects on(to)’ might originally have referred to a tumulus or elevation (cf. Lat. *mōns* ‘mountain’ from this root), eventually designating a stele or other upright monument. Ideally, additional support would come from the existence of a root noun (e.g. **mén-/*mén-*) to this root, and from independent evidence favoring **en-* + **men-* specifically; but on these points there is not much to offer. There is very likely a root noun **mén-* (or **mén-/*mén-*) underlying Hitt. *mēni-/mēna-* ‘face, cheek’ and the first members of *mēnabhanda* ‘opposite, facing’ and CLuv. *mānnaḫu(wa)nn(i)-* (a facial feature);³¹ but **men-* ‘project’ (thus Melchert 1984:88 n. 17, tentatively followed by Nikolaev forthcoming) is only one possibility, as we will see below (§§7.2, 7.3 (v)). As for **en-* + **men-* ‘project’: nothing favors the antiquity of this collocation, which is not strongly supported by a probable einzelsprachlich construct like Lat. *imminēre* ‘hang over, threaten’.

7.2. **men-* ‘mente agitare’³² (Lat. *monēre* ‘advise’, etc.; Rix 2001:s.v. 1. **men-*): The attraction of this solution (roughly **en-mén-* ‘thinking on, calling (in)to mind’ → ‘remembrance, memorial’, etc.) would be the parallel with other terms for ‘tomb,

²⁹ See Beckes 2010:30 on Gk. *ἄκαρος* (EM) ‘brain, head’ ~ *ἐγκάρως*, *ἵγκωρος*.

³⁰ For expository convenience, I refer to these as three separate roots, even though two of them are often thought to have been primordially the same at an early stage of the protolanguage; for details, see the lemmata in Rix 2001 referenced below.

³¹ See Tischler 1977–:L–M 197, Klockhorst 2008:377, and (for the Luvian form) Melchert 1994:237 (with reference).

³² Meillet 1897.

monument' based on this root (or enlarged versions of it), such as Lat. *monumentum* or Gk. *μνῆμα*. It is not easy, however, to defend the existence of a root noun, for which there is no certain evidence. For the Anatolian forms meaning 'face' and the like (§7.1), Rieken (1999:56f.) considers identification with **men-* 'think' rather than **men-* 'project' (but see further §7.3 (v) below). One might also suggest that the Vedic f. *ā*-stem *manā́-* 'zeal, envy' (RV 4×, including instr. sg. *manā́* [10.6.3c]) was back-formed to an instr. sg. **mánā*, to a root noun **mán-*; cf. RV *tán-* 'extent' (Schindler 1972:22), with instr. sg. *tánā* used adverbially ('continuously'), and a parallel f. *ā*-stem *tánā-* 'Spross, Kind' (though this is usually, and no doubt correctly, taken to derive from the thematic adj. *tána-*, used substantivally to mean 'Nachkommenschaft, Kinder'). Nor is there support for a collocation **en-* + **men-* 'think'. At first glance, evidence of that kind appears to come from Hom. *ἐμμεμαώς* 'pressing eagerly on, ardent' (11× *Il.*, 1× *Od.*). But it is immediately disquieting that aside from this perfect active participle, only a single finite form—post-Homeric at that—is attested.³³ Indeed, Leumann has shown convincingly (1950:52f.) that *ἐμμεμαώς* is a "homerisches Wort", with no existence outside the Kunstsprache: the form was created artificially from the well-attested simplex participle *μεμαώς* (: perf. *μέμωνα*), beginning from passages like X 143 *ὥς ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐμμεμαώς* (with non-etymological "resonant lengthening", reinterpreted as *ὥς ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἐμμεμαώς*). Hom. *ἐμμεμαώς* is thus of no value for our purposes, and the post-Homeric finite form (clearly a Sophoclean nonce-formation) is no less artificial. Finally, Arm. *imanam* 'understand' has been analyzed in terms of **en-* + **men-* 'think' (Brugmann, Meillet, and others); but this is unlikely to be correct.³⁴

7.3. **men-* 'stand fast, remain' (Lat. *manēre* 'remain', etc.; Rix 2001:s.v. 2. **men-*): This approach (roughly **en-mén-* 'staying on (continually)', whence 'what remains or abides', e.g. as a memorial) seems attractive semantically, and may also be more appealing than the above two in formal terms, given the following considerations.

- (i) To begin with, **en-* + **men-* 'remain' is well-documented in Greek: Hom. *ἐμμενές* 'continually' (discussed in (ii) below), post-Hom. *ἐμμένω* 'abide, remain fixed, be true to' [Aesch. +]; cf. also *ἐμμύμνω* 'abide' [Emped. +] and *ἔμμονος* 'abiding, steadfast' [Plato +]. The collocation is further supported by widely-attested onomastic forms, attested as early as the 6th century: note the *Ἐμμενίδαι*, a clan of Akragas celebrated by Pindar,³⁵ with the personal name *Ἐμμενίδας*/*Ἐμμενίδης* also attested inscriptionally from an early period (6th c. +) and well beyond Sicily (Athens, Corinth, Delos, Cos, Rhodes, Phocis, Euboea).³⁶ Note further *Ἐμμένης* (5th c. +: Athens, Delos, Macedon)³⁷ and *Ἐμμονος*, *Ἐμμονίς* (extremely common in Phocis).³⁸ The precise semantics of

³³ *ἐμμέμονε*, Soph. *Tr.* 982 (lyr.)—where, not surprisingly, the precise sense is disputed: see Jebb 1892 [2004]:144, Easterling 1982:198.

³⁴ For discussion and references, see Klingenschmitt 1982:125f.. Differently, via **men-* 'think', Holst 2009:255f. (but with *i-ma-nam* as secondarily derived from aor. *i-ma-cay*; *i-* < the augment **(h₁)e-*).

³⁵ O. 3.38, P. 6.5, fr. 270 (= Schol. N. 7.103).

³⁶ See Fraser and Matthews 1987:1.151, 2.142, 3a.141f., 3b.132f. (s.v.).

³⁷ Fraser and Matthews 1987:1.151, 2.142, 4.118.

³⁸ Fraser and Matthews 1987:3b.132f.

these names can be interpreted in various ways (e.g. ‘Steadfast[ness]’, ‘[Law-] abiding’, etc.); the correlation with NPhryg. onomastic *ἱμαν/ἱμεν-* (and perhaps OPhryg. *iman*, cf. §2 above, *ad fin.*) is in any case striking.

- (ii) Hom. *ἐμμενές*—a neglected form³⁹—deserves further attention. The form is treated in lexis, naturally enough, as the neuter acc. sg. of an *s*-stem adj. *ἐμμενής*, standardly glossed ‘abiding in’.⁴⁰ In Homer, *ἐμμενές* (used adverbially) is the only form that is found, and it is starkly formulaic, occurring five times in the line-end formula ... *ἐμμενές αἰεὶ* # (Liddell and Scott 1996: ‘unceasing ever’).⁴¹ A remarkable fact, however, is that after Homer, an adjective *ἐμμενής*—the purported basis of neut. *ἐμμενές*—is itself never attested, apart from onomastic *Ἐμμένης* ((i) above). Thus Hesiod likewise uses adverbial *ἐμμενές* ‘continually’ (*Th.* 610),⁴² as well as *ἐμμενέως* (*Th.* 712),⁴³ a version of *ἐμμενές* fitted out with an overt adverbial ending, also attested in a late metrical inscription from Asia Minor (*Istraton.* 543.8 = Şahin 1982:32)⁴⁴ and nearly a dozen times in Oppian.⁴⁵ Aratus merely mimics the Homeric usage, twice using adverbial *ἐμμενές* on its own (83.339) and once the formula ... *ἐμμενές αἰεὶ* # (891); and the hexameter fragments of the Skeptic philosopher Timon of Phlius (here citing Anaxarchus) may contain a substantivized τὸ *ἐμμενές* ‘steadfastness’ (fr. 58D = Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983:832), if the reading is correct.⁴⁶ Lexicographical sources (Hsch., Suda, *EM*) gloss only *ἐμμενέως* and *ἐμμενές* in adverbial meaning. Early Christian poetry continues to ape the Homeric formula,⁴⁷ and a form of *ἐμμενής* other than *ἐμμενές* does not appear until the *Chiliostichos theologia* of Choerosphactes (9th/10th c. AD).⁴⁸ Thus, de-

³⁹ It goes unrecorded in Frisk 1960–72, Chantraine 1999, Beekes 2010, and Schwyzler 1939; it is absent from Chantraine 1958, and Risch ignores it, beyond including it in his table of *s*-stem forms (1974:86).

⁴⁰ So Liddell and Scott 1996; similarly Autenrieth 1895 [1958], Bechtel 1914, Cunliffe 1924 [1963].

⁴¹ K 361, 364, N 517, ι 386, φ 69. Some modern interpreters envisage a connection with *μένος/-μενής* ‘strength, (fighting) spirit’: cf. Lattimore’s ‘eagerly always’ for K 361 (of hounds in pursuit), and Blanc’s gloss ‘avec force’ for *ἐμμενές* (Blanc 2008:183). Indeed, such a folk-etymological contamination could have occurred at an early stage as well, and might also be involved in the Greek onomastic usage. Nevertheless, some of the Homeric instances can only mean ‘continually’ (e.g. φ 69: Penelope on the suitors’ ‘incessant’ [Lattimore] eating and drinking); that this was the essential meaning of the word is assumed by Janko (1992:111), *ad* N 516–17.

⁴² *Ex conii.* (codd. *ἐμμεναι*), but the emendation is “almost certain” (West 1966:335, *ad loc.*).

⁴³ See West 1966:335 *ad loc.* on Hes. *Sc.* 429 (*ἐμμενέως* codd., with certain correction to *ἐν μένεος* or *ἐμ μένεος*).

⁴⁴ In the pentameter line of an elegiac couplet: # *ἔλλαχεν ἐμμενέως* ||.

⁴⁵ The generation of a variant in *-εως* for adverbial use in hexameter poetry is an established feature of the behavior of *s*-stems with this syllabic profile: see Blanc 2008:190f. on adverbs in *-εως* of the type *ἀσφαλέως*, *ἀφραδέως*, etc. as “palliatifs” for the metrically impossible cretics of corresponding nom. sg. forms (*ἀσφαλής*, *ἀφραδής*, etc.)—although *ἐμμενέως*, as a metrically convenient variant of *ἐμμενές*, need not imply the actual existence of a nom. sg. *ἐμμενής*.

⁴⁶ The passage is cited twice by Plutarch, who varies between *ἐμμενές* (*de Vit. Pud.* 529A) and *ἐμμανές* (*de Virt. Mor.* 446B). For textual and interpretive details, see, respectively, Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983:388 *ad loc.* and Di Marco 1989:244f. (On Gk. *ἐμμανής*, see now Perdicoyianni-Paléologou 2009:332f.)

⁴⁷ E.g. *Visio Dorothei* (P. Bodmer 29; 3rd/4th c. AD) 95, 149, 320; Stobaeus (5th c. AD), *Anthologium* I.25.9.71, IV.25.28.5; all ... *ἐμμενές αἰεὶ* #.

⁴⁸ Gen. sg. *ἐμμενούς* (25.29).

spite the traditional conception, the adjective “ἐμμενής” is a fiction (nor does there exist a simplex *s*-stem *μένος ‘steadfastness’, ‘continuity’, or the like, to *men- ‘remain, stand fast’): all that really exists, beginning from the Homeric line-end formula, is a frozen adverb ἐμμενές, whence the lightly adjusted variants ἐμμενέως in dactylic poetry, and, if it is real, Timon’s substantivization τὸ ἐμμενές. Nor is an actual “ἐμμενής” required for the onomastic material, which can have various sources, including interference from μένος/-μενής (n. 41).

Thus Hom. ἐμμενές calls for another explanation; and the obvious comparanda are other frozen adverbial forms in *-es, i.e. Ion. σήτες (Att. τήτες, Myc. za-me-te) ‘this year’, Dor. αἰές ‘always’. As I argue elsewhere (2009), the first is to be understood as containing, in its second member, an archaic gen. sg. (“genitive of time”) of the root noun *wet- ‘year’; and the second may also be a frozen gen. sg. (Vine 2009:220 n. 46). I suggest, then, that Hom. ἐμμενές is likewise an adverbially taken frozen gen. sg., to a root noun *en-mén- ‘remaining onward’ = ‘continuity, perpetuity’ (i.e., gen. sg. ‘of perpetuity’ ~ ‘perpetually, continually, continuously’), used in an asyndetic formula with αἰεί: ἐμμενές αἰεί ‘continually (and) forever’. If this is so, Hom. ἐμμενές, as a reflex of an old root noun, would provide a direct morphological comparandum for OPhryg. *iman*, under the interpretation proposed here.

- (iii) There is a reasonable possibility that *ē*-grade “intensives” of the type Lat. *cēlāre* ‘hide’ are to be thought of as fundamentally denominative to root nouns.⁴⁹ For *men- ‘remain’, there is good evidence for such a formation in Gk. dial. 3 pl. perf. ἐπιμεμνησκαντι (Schwyzer 1923:91.11; Argos, mid-3rd c. BC), pointing to a present μνηάω < *mēn-ch₂ie/o-. As discussed by Klingenschmitt (1982:91f., cf. Schwyzer 1939:719, Beekes 2010:931), the same form is likely to underlie Arm. *mmam* ‘remain’ < pre-Arm. *mēnā-, which Klingenschmitt explicitly interprets as denominative, though without identifying the source. A root noun (*en-)mēn-, however, could supply the basis for this lengthened-grade intensive in Greek and Armenian (the two languages, other than Albanian, most closely related to Phrygian).
- (iv) Yet another denominative token might appear in OIr. *ainmne*, W. *amynedd* ‘patience’, although this Celtic material, while usually placed with *men- ‘remain’,⁵⁰ has not been so analyzed, to my knowledge. Given the dental inflection in at least part of Celtic (cf. OIr. gen. sg. *ainmnet*, pointing to a stem *an-men-ant-),⁵¹ we could be dealing with an old participle to a denominative in *men-ā(iē/o)-, this time based on the weak stem *mén- of the root noun in question. Although *an- here is normally identified as the “intensive” prefix and compared to Gaul. *ande-* (see recently Zimmer 2000:228), Vendryes et al. (1959– :A 70, s.v.) may be correct in supposing that several elements contributed to the background of this formant. For Celt. *an-men-: *an- could

⁴⁹On such a source (root noun *kēl-/ *kēl-) for *cēlāre* itself, see de Vaan 2008:106 s.v., with references.

⁵⁰Pokorny 1959:729, Vendryes et al. 1959– :A 37 s.v. *ainmne*, Matasović 2009:38 s.v. *an-men-V-.

⁵¹In addition to Matasović, see also Pedersen 1909:104 on the divergent formation in British Celtic (*an-men-īā- or possibly *an-men-īant-).

in theory even preserve the zero grade of **en-* or **h₁en-*, cf. §6.2 above on **(h₁)n₂-mén-*.

- (v) As we have seen (§§7.1, 7.2), the root noun that underlies Hitt. *mēni-* ‘face’ etc. may belong to **men-* ‘project’ or **men-* ‘think’. But Rieken’s discussion of the problem (1999:56ff.) brings out the possibility of primordial overlap among the PIE **men-* roots (cf. n. 30 above); and indeed, she astutely observes (1999:58 n. 266) that an acrostatic root noun **mén-/mén-* would recall the lengthened grade in Gk. (Arg.) *μηνάω** ((iii) above)—which brings us into the sphere of **men-* ‘remain’.

8. It remains to point out an unanticipated benefit conferred by the above analysis of OPhryg. *iman*. With this parsing (vs. unanalyzable *men*-stem **(H)i-mén-*), one can immediately compare *iman* with NPhryg. *μανκα*,⁵² a frequent form widely assumed to mean ‘monument’ or ‘part of a monument’, now apparently attested (as *manka*) in late Old Phrygian as well (W-11 [late 4th/early 3rd c.]; Brixhe 2004:13f.), and possibly still earlier in an unsyncopated form *manuka* (B-07 [early 5th c.?]; Brixhe 2004:81f.).⁵³ Previous approaches have tended to assume a basis in **men-* ‘think, remember’,⁵⁴ and this cannot be ruled out for a word with this meaning (cf. §7.2). Nevertheless, the *a*-vocalism is not easy to understand; *ad hoc* assumptions, such as those operating with a “reduced vowel” (so Haas 1966:204), have no merit without further justification.⁵⁵ In contrast, a root noun **mén* ‘that which remains’, which (as argued above) may underlie OPhryg. *iman* and which may also have independent support, can account directly for a derived feminine **mēn-kā* (> OPhryg. *manka*, NPhryg. *μανκα*) or (with different chronology) **mén* > pre-OPhryg. **mān* or **man*, whence **mānkā/manka*.⁵⁶ If, further, OPhryg. *manuka* is indeed the unsyncopated predecessor of *manka*, and/or if Plutarch’s *μανικά* is taken seriously, one must posit an intermediate stage of derivation,⁵⁷ the details of which—like so much about Phrygian—must at present remain speculative.⁵⁸

⁵²Fem. *ā*-stem: acc. sg. *μανκαν*, dat. sg. *μανκαι*, etc.

⁵³Plutarch’s testimony about a Phrygian adjective (neut. pl.) “*μανικά*” (with reference to ἔργα = “λαμπρὰ καὶ θαυμαστά”, *De Is. et Os.* 360B) is usually associated with NPhryg. *μανκα* (c.g. Haas 1966:67), but the nature of the connection, if it is valid, remains unclear.

⁵⁴E.g. Orel 1997:443 and (asserting that the root “must be” this **men-*) West 2003:83 n. 19.

⁵⁵Haas appealed to an OPhryg. *manakio*, interpreted morphologically as derived from a **manākā-* (cf. *μανκα*), ultimately to a form **m_hn-ē-*; but, even apart from other difficulties with these assumptions, a form *manakio* may never have existed. The fragmentary text in question (M-03) reads [*abasimanakio*], for which Brixhe and Lejeune 1984 (see *ad loc.*) reasonably prefer to isolate an instance of OPhryg. *iman* followed by a word (or word-beginning) *akio*[-].

⁵⁶Hysterokinetic nom. sg. as the basis for a derived form: e.g. Gk. *θυηλ-ή* ‘burnt-offering’ (Vine 2008:15), *τεκμήριον* ‘token’.

⁵⁷Root noun as the basis for a secondary *u*-stem: so also for **men-* ‘hand’ (cf. **m_hn-tō-* in Gmc. [Oic. *mund* etc.], generalized prevocalic zero grade **m_hn(n)-(V)-* > Ital. *man-* in Lat. *mantēlum* ‘hand-towel’, *mandāre* ‘hand over’, etc.) → Ital. **man-u-* (Lat. *manus* etc.).

⁵⁸I express warm thanks to colleagues and friends who offered expert assistance with various portions of this work: David Blank, Dieter Gunkel, and Anna Pagé (UCLA); José Luis García Ramón (Cologne); Michael Weiss (Cornell); and Alexander Nikolaev (Harvard). Above all, I thank Craig Melchert for many

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years of friendship and inspiration, first as fellow student, as we toiled in that rarefied scholarly precinct "Room B", and now as esteemed colleague.

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Toward a Hittite Stylistics: Remarks on Some Phonetic and Grammatical Figures

Calvert Watkins

Many Hittite scholars have noticed and commented on figures of sound that appear in certain textual passages, figures of phonic repetition of sound sequences that are at least arguably intentional. One such appears in an Old Hittite hymn or prayer to the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld preserved in a Middle Hittite tablet, *CTH* 371: KBo 7.28 + KBo 8.92, which has elicited comments from its original editor Friedrich (1957) through Kronasser (1966:380–1) to Güterbock and Hoffner (1989– :Š 306a), Singer (2002:23, 27, crediting Güterbock and Hoffner) and myself (2007:309, reprinted in 2008:1073). The passage can still be reexamined with profit.

- § 7 24 *du-wa-ad-du ták-na-aš* ^dUTU-*wa-aš* ARAD.MEŠ-ŠU *ša-aš-nu-uš-ga-at-te-ni-ya-a[n ku-i-e-eš]*¹
- 25 *[×-]*² *aš-nu-uš-ki-it-ta-ni-ya-an ku-i-e-eš ki-ma šu-me-en-za-an e-eš-[tu nu šu-me-e-eš]*³
- 26 *e-ez-za-aš-te-en e-ku-ut-te-en pa-ra-a-ma QA-TAM-MA me-ma-i*
‘Mercy, O servants of the Sun-goddess of the Netherworld—you [who] regularly put her to bed, you who regularly invigorate (??) her. Let these⁴ be yours and do you eat and drink.⁵ And he repeats in the same way.’⁶

The problem and at the same time the phonetic figure lies in *šašmušgatteniy-a[n kuiēš]* *t’asmuškittaniy-an kuiēš*, its reading and interpretation. Kronasser (1966:380–1) read the second verb as *š’asmušk°*, thus with a simple repetition of the first (mutatis mutandis), which makes little sense in context. He discusses the forms in connection with the question, vexed at the time, of the two endings *-weni*, *-teni* and *-wani*, *-tani*. I suggested rather, in 2007:309 n. 8 = 2008:1073 n. 8, that the two verb forms *šašmuškittaniy-an [kuiēš]* and *tašmuškittaniy-an kuiēš* must have been perfect rhymes, and the first should be emended to be so read, reflecting the Old Hittite accented imperfective suffix *-ške-* with the posttonic endings *-wani*, *-tani*. But I failed to notice

¹ Restored by Güterbock and Hoffner (1989– :Š 306a), for available space.

² Final vertical of ŠA/TA visible.

³ Restored parallel to *nu zi[k] azzikkī akkušī* ibid. 17–18.

⁴ *Scilicet* the offering bread and the wine libations of line 16.

⁵ Perfective imperative, beside imperfective *azzikkī akkušī* ‘do you keep eating and drinking’ (Singer 2002:§§5, 6, 8, 9).

⁶ *Scilicet* ‘Mention the king favorably ...’ of §§5, 8, 9.

that both rhyming verbs formed relative clauses, and that the repetition figure was both phonetic and grammatical. We can compare the nominal relative clause pair *qui patres qui conscripti* in Archaic Latin (Paul. Fest. p. 304 L, Liv. 2.1.10).

There remains the question of meaning. Friedrich (1957) in his *editio princeps* suggested “die ihr [sic] zu Bett bringt, (und) aufweckt (?),” “you who put her to bed and wake her up,” understanding the second as a previously unknown verb. Singer (2002) clearly responded to the same “logic” of the pair, rightly terming them metaphors for sunset and sunrise respectively. But he translated the second as ‘invigorate’, thus referring it to the existing Hittite verb *tašnušk-*, imperfective of *taš(ša)nu-*, the factitive from *daššu-* ‘strong’, like *tepu-* ‘belittle’ from *tepu-* ‘small’. The metaphor for sunrise makes little sense if the basic meaning of *tašnušk-* is ‘strengthen’; you don’t ‘strengthen’ or ‘invigorate’ someone to wake them up. Friedrich in 1957 had already recognized the inappropriateness of *tašnušk-* as ‘strengthen’.

Güterbock and Hoffner (1989– :Š 306a, s.v. *šašnu-*) refer to a forthcoming note in *N.A.B.U.*—which as of 2009 has not appeared there—“suggesting that this is a rhyming construction in which the second word is made up and has no independent meaning.” Languages do do things like that—think of *psychology*, *shmychology*—including Anatolian languages, like the surely connected Old Hittite *ain wāin*, CLuv. *āhṛan wahṛan*, Pal. *ārra- warra-*, Hitt. *aštaš waštaš*, see Otten and Souček 1969:93 and Melchert 1993:4, s.v. *āhṛa-*. But in these the rhyming form follows directly rather than being as here a constituent of a relative clause. To judge from the Latin and Germanic cognates of Hittite *wāi-* the second word in *w-* is a real lexeme. Furthermore if *tašnuškittaniy-an kuiēš* were just a “made up rhyming phrase with no independent meaning,” how could it be a metaphor for sunrise?

I suggest we return to Friedrich’s original suggestion of a previously unknown verb meaning ‘wake s.o. up’ or ‘get s.o. up’. Now the usual Hittite verb with this meaning is *šarā tittanu-* ‘zum Aufstehen veranlassen’ (Tischler 1977–). Hittite *tittanu-* is at least in part a derivation of the Indo-European verb ‘to stand’ minus its initial *s*,⁷ with causative suffix and reduplication, cf. most recently J. L. García Ramón, lecture UCLA 27.10.2009. Hittite (*tit*)*ta-nu-šk-* differs only by a single consonant from our *taš-nu-šk-* (~ *šaš-nu-šk-*) in the prayer to the Sungoddess of the Netherworld. (C)*CeH*-roots in Anatolian are commonly enlarged by *-š-* (*pāš-*, *paḫš-*, *ganeš-*). Either way, by surface phonetic assimilation or a linguistically real *taš-nu-šk-* we have the generation of a poetically real rhyming pair *šašnuškittaniy-an kuiēš tašnuškittaniy-an kuiēš* “you who regularly put her to sleep (at sunset and) regularly awaken her (at sunrise).”

Consideration of examples such as those we have just seen make it clear that repetition figures like rhyming pairs were an optional adornment of Hittite style. I call attention finally to the stylistic aspects of one short Hittite mythological text, only rarely anthologized, which deploys a greater number of such features within seventeen lines and three short paragraphs than might be expected in ordinary Hittite narrative prose. That is to say that the text clearly shows signs of artistic elaboration.

⁷Likewise Hittite *tiya-* ‘step, enter, stand’ (**th₂-yo-*), Luvian *tāi-* ‘steps, stands’, and see Morpurgo Davies 1987.

The text is CTH 441.1, a ritual containing the narration, entirely in quoted speech, of the embedded myth which gave the title to Archi's thoughtful 1993 paper "Kamrusepa and the Sheep of the Sun-God": *KUB* 12.26 ii 1–17 (Laroche 1965:108–9). *KUB* 12.26 ii 1–17 has been transcribed by Goetze (1938:88–9), with (partial) translation; then transliterated with minor corrections by Laroche (1965); then discussed by Haas (1971:423–4); and transliterated and translated anew by Archi (1993). Selected passages are treated in Güterbock and Hoffner (1989–) under the appropriate lemmata.

The text is preserved practically perfectly, and now presents virtually no difficulties of interpretation. As Archi (1993:406 n. 9) notes, the Luvian word **ammašša/i-* 'to wipe (dry)' has been explained by the Jubilar of this *Festschrift*, cf. Melchert 1988:11 and Melchert 1993 s.v. The animal *aliyaš* in EGIR-*pa aliya(na?)š laganaš eššanzi* "they make him again of an *a.*'s disposition" (Archi) must be the nom. *aliyaš*, gen. (also once nom.) *aliyanaš* 'deer' of the Parables in the Song of Release, though the restoration of the *n*-stem genitive is uncertain.

Since my concern is stylistic I have arranged the colometry of the text to correspond precisely to the syntactic and phrasal units of the Hittite, the better to display their formal organization and strict parallelism. The actual number of lines remains the same, 1–17, over three paragraphs: lines 1–11/12–13/14–17. All 17 clause or line-final verbs, or verb phrases, here given in boldface, are linked by a complex interplay of doubled figures of phonetic, morphological and aspectual similarity or contrast.

The sentences are short and simple, the verbs with one exception uncompounded, and the word order rigorously (S)OV. Left-fronting movement is found only in *šar OSHa* = ... *uit* 14, the only compound verb, and in IGI-*anda* 16. As such the text recalls the "telegraph" style of Old Irish saga or Vedic *sūtra* prose. The text follows.

- 1 *^dUTU-uš-wa ^dKamrušepaš=a UDU.ḪI.A kiškanzi*
'The Sungod and Kamrušepa are combing sheep'
- 2 *nu-war-at=za-kan hanna(n)tati*
'They began to argue with each other'
- 3 *nu-war-at=za-kan šāantati*
'and they became angry with each other'
- 4 *nu-wa=za ^dKamrušipaš ŠA AN.BAR ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA dāiš*
'And Kamrušipa set up an iron chair'
- 5 *nu-wa-ššan A.GAR₅ ^{GIŠ}GA.ZUM SÍG dāiš*
'and she placed thereon a carding comb of lead'
- 6 *nu-wa-kan šuppin ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR kiššir*
'And they combed a pure female kid'
- 7 *nu-war-an piššir*
'and they scrubbed it'
- 8 *nu-war-an-kan arrir*
'and they washed it'

- 9 *nu=war=an* ⁴*ammaššanda*
‘and they wiped it dry’
- 10 *nu=war=an* A-NA DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU *aniyawanzi harkir*
‘and they held it ready, to treat the mortal ritually’
- 11 *nu* DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉.LU 12 ^UUZU^ÚÚR.ĪI.A *anneškanzi*
‘and now they are treating the mortal, the 12 parts of his body, by magic rites.’
-
- 12 *nu=war=an* EGIR-*pa aliya*(na?)^š *laganaš eššanzi*
‘They are making him again one of a deer’s disposition’
- 13 *nu=war=an* EGIR-*pa AMA-ni TUR-an eššanzi*
‘they are making him again a child to (its) mother.’
-
- 14 *šarā=wa=kan nepišaš* ^dUTU-uš *uit*
‘The Sungod of Heaven came up/rose’
- 15 *nu=wa=šši* EGIR-*an nuntarnut*
‘and he hurried after him (the mortal),’
- 16 IGI-*anda* ^dKamrušipaš *nuntarnut*
‘Kamrušipa hurried after,’
- 17 *nu=war=an* EGIR-*pa AMA-ni TUR-an iēr*⁸
‘and they made him again a child to (its) mother.’

Commentary

Line 1: *kiškanzi* [keskanzi], as noted by Goetze. Imperfective present, forming a ring with line 11 *anneškanzi* to demarcate the first paragraph. Sometimes translated as a “historical present”, but this notion needs further investigation in Hittite, as the Jubilar has often said (p. c.).

Lines 2 and 3: tense and aspect shift to perfective preterite for the remainder of the paragraph. *hanna*(*n*)*tati* and *šāantati* show homocoteleuton (rhyme), with both sentences probably of 10 syllables each. Subject pronoun =*at* and reflexive particle =*za* combine with the middle voice to mark reciprocal action.

Lines 4 and 5: *dāiš* and =*ššan* ... *dāiš* show identity. The iron throne or chair is Kamrušepa’s symbol of authority, and the lead comb her instrument of ritual purification.

Lines 6 and 7: *kiššir* [kessir] and *piššir* [pessir] show perfect rhyme. *nu=war=an piššir* at 5 syllables is the shortest line of the text.

⁸Line 18 (continuation of the paragraph) *nu* ^{NA}*paššiluš dahhi* and the continuation of columns ii and iii belong to another ritual, perhaps that into which our myth was embedded. It is perhaps the same text as col. i: i 4 -a]z ÍD-i *pa-a-i-mi*, cf. ii 19 *nu* I-NA ^{GIŠ}KIRI₆ *pa-a-i-mi*.

Lines 8 and 9: *arrir* and **amm(a)ššanda* show alliteration. Both lines have 6 syllables.

Lines 10 and 11: *anīyawanzi* (*ḥarkir*) and *anneškanzi* show an etymological figure, and in *ḥarkir* ~ *anneškanzi* the tense and aspect shift back to imperfective present.

Lines 12 and 13: *eššanzi* and *eššanzi* show identity, and continue the imperfective present; the ritual treatment is still underway.

Line 14: paragraph break, and shift back to perfective preterite for denouement of myth. Only compound verb with preverb in the whole text, and the tmesis *šarā* ... *uit* functions as substitute for connective particle *nu*. In a sense iconic to the sunrise as “another day” bringing resolution to the conflict and closure to the myth and to the ritual.

Lines 15 and 16: *nuntarnut* and *nuntarnut* show identity, and balance the protagonists (iconically) whose anger occasioned the original disharmony and imbalance. IGI-*anda* shows left-fronting, again a substitute for both connective particle *nu* and quotative *wa*, serving to more closely tie 15 and 16, and emphasize the joint role of the Sungod and Kamrušepa in the denouement.

Line 17: echoes line 13, but with tense shift back to perfective preterite, which marks the successful completion of the myth and its attendant ritual.

Now our text belongs to a small group within the oldest, Old Anatolian layer of Hittite, Luvian and Palaic religion and mythology, texts of ritual and myth relating principally to the goddess Kamrušepa, and through her to the autochthonous Proto-Hattic goddess Kataḫzivuri. The role of Kamrušepa is common patrimony of Hittite, Luvian, and Palaic (via Kataḫzivuri) alike: Haas 1994:438ff., Hutter 2003:230ff., Laroche 1965:106, Starke 1985:200ff. Most importantly, Kamrušepa is “the one who knows to treat the angry god magically in order to calm his anger” in the Telepinu myth (Hutter, loc. cit.). The Vanishing God myths and associated rituals are the very bedrock of Old Anatolian religion and culture, and Kamrušepa’s role in our little 17-line myth is a Vanishing God myth in microcosm: unprovoked and unexplained Anger (simply Fate) must be dispelled by ritual Magic.⁹

The scholar who has gone furthest in explaining the “meaning” of these Hittite myths is Alfonso Archi (op. laud. 1993). He emphasizes Kamrušepa’s *foundational* role: “Kamrusepa has been recognized as the goddess of healing and magic. And this is so because it is she who creates the rituals, which then became available to man” (p. 407). “But it is Kamrusepa who establishes the magic action with which to make the ritual effective” (p. 404–5).

My concern with this text is stylistic, as stated, and an examination and analysis of what rhetorical devices are in play. The further background is intended to show how

⁹In Telepinu and the other Vanishing God myths the magical means of dispelling the unexplained Anger (simply Fate) is Fire, likewise in the domain of Kamrušepa’s competence [*ŠI-PAT IZI-naš* ‘spell of the fire’, Hutter, loc. cit.]. See Watkins 2000 [2001], reprinted in Watkins 2008, on these themes in Anatolian and Greek mythology.

and why the text is important in Hittite religion, culture and society: in short, the *foundational* role of the goddess Kamrušepa.

The only other scholar to take note of the stylistics of our little myth is Vjačeslav V. Ivanov, in a brief note to his translation of it in his Russian anthology of Ivanov 1977:64, 267. The note reads, "The text, which has come down to us in Neo-Hittite copies, shows metrical and stylistic peculiarities of the old poetry of agricultural charms (in particular, the presence of exact and deep verbal rhythms). With an earlier tradition of Hatti is also connected the memory of an iron throne together with objects of lead." The translation is presented as verse.

The purpose of such poetic and stylistic figures as we have noted is to call attention to the text, to the message. So it is here. These myths are things that matter, in Hittite culture, and it is altogether legitimate and proper for Hittite philology to examine the role of such stylistic devices and rhetorical flourishes in easing the preservation and transmission of important cultural moments. There are more out there.

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Two Sabellic Praenomina

Michael Weiss

ANA ^mKarraik LU AZU ^{URU}Lusankelēš

One of the most striking common features of the Italic *Sprachbund* is the system of personal names. In Latin, Faliscan, Etruscan, all the Sabellic languages, and Messapic we find an essentially identical set-up where each person is identified first as an individual by his praenomen and then in relationship to his *gens* by his gentilic or nomen. To these names may be added optionally an indication of the father's name either with a genitive or a patronymic adjective. The following examples may be cited:¹

Latin:	M. Claudius M. f. (CIL I ² .623)
Faliscan:	Ca. Vecineo(s) Volti (G.G. 121.V)
Oscan:	Upfals Salaviis Minies (Cp 3)
Umbrian:	<i>T. V. Voisinier</i> (Um 10)
Messapic:	Θotor Sohinnēs (IM 15.16)
Etruscan:	Aule Tarxnas Larθal clan (Cr I.10)

For the Indo-European languages involved, we are certain that this system is an innovation, replacing the older PIE system of individual name and patronymic that is still preserved in Greek, Sanskrit, and elsewhere. The essential change that led to the Italic system was the fossilization of the patronymic adjective as an invariable gentilic. Thus *Gaius Marcius* was originally *Gaius*, the son of *Marcus*, the suffix *-ius* being identical to the Aeolic patronymic *-ιος* (< PIE **-iō-*) seen in Homer's *Τελαμώνιος Αἴας*.

But a number of changes also affected the praenomina themselves. First, as is well known, the number of praenomina has been severely restricted in Latin—there are only eighteen in common use. This is, however, a relatively recent phenomenon since many additional praenomina, which have fallen out of use in the Classical period, are still found in archaic times, and a wealth of additional praenomina can be inferred from gentilics (originally patronymics), and many old praenomina are preserved as cognomina.²

¹These examples, with the exception of the Latin one, are the same as those used by Rix (1972), an article to which this introductory section owes much.

²All this is common knowledge. See for example OCD, RE, Rix 1972.

But a more essential innovation is found in the structure of the personal names. A significant class of PIE individual names were compounds, and usually of the possessive or verbal governing type.³ A few familiar examples can be cited:

Greek:	Ἀριστοφάνης ‘whose appearance is best’ Ἱπποκράτης ‘whose strength is like a horse’s’
Old Persian:	<i>Dārayava(h)uš</i> ‘who upholds the Good’
Vedic:	<i>Viśvāmitra-</i> ‘whose friend is everyone’
OHG:	<i>Hadubrant</i> ‘flaming in battle’
OCS:	<i>Mistidrugŭ</i> ‘avenging friends’
Gaul.:	<i>Orgetorix</i> ‘king of killers’ ⁴

But although there are no obvious examples of this type among the Latin or Sabellic praenomina, the elimination of compound names must be of post-Proto-Italic date—assuming Venetic is the first branch off of Proto-Italic—since Venetic still retains some compound forms like *Enogenes* (Pellegrini-Prosdocimi Pa. 3; Lejeune 123) ‘in-born’, *Voltigenei* (Pellegrini-Prosdocimi Es. 1; Lejeune 56) ‘whose birth is desired’.⁵

However, when we turn to Italic proper, the situation appears to be very different. According to Heikki Solin, to quote one authoritative view: “Indo-European compound names, of the type seen in Greek Ἀριστοκράτης were abandoned very early in the proto-Italic period, giving way to simple names, the origin of which often remains obscure.”⁶

Now if the statement of Solin is true we would be faced with a remarkable break in continuity of tradition between Indo-European and Italic, by which not only were individual lexical items given up, but a whole culturally central system was eliminated without trace. Schmitt has suggested that the elimination of the PIE naming system was tied to the loss of the PIE poetic tradition, which in many other Indo-European languages supplied the stock of vocabulary and collocations for personal names. But the losses suffered by the PIE poetic tradition, though grave, were not so total in Italic as commonly believed. In addition to the famous survival of the collocation *ueiro pequo* (~ YAv. *pasubīia vīraēibiia*) in Umbrian, I might point to the probable survival of a PIE poetic collocation in Latin *iūgis* (**b₂iuh₁-* + **ǵ^mih₃-* ~ YAv. *yaunaējī-*), and the South Picene texts, despite the possible influence of Greek ways, do in essence continue a native and archaic poetic tradition.⁷ In this light, I think it is worthwhile to reexamine the question.

What kind of evidence would be necessary to show that the elimination of the PIE compound name system was not total and therefore that Italic shows not a surprising, violent break but a transformation of the PIE situation? Obviously, the best way to demonstrate this would be to find a compound name made up of probable PIE

³It is likely that simplex descriptive names were also a PIE possibility. See Schmitt 1995:625–6.

⁴See Evans 1967:239–40.

⁵The cognomen (originally a praenomen) *Agrippa* was also felt to be a compound by the Romans themselves, probably correctly. On the analysis of this name see below.

⁶Solin 1996:1024.

⁷See Weiss 1994, Watkins 1995:chs. 10, 18, 19, 35.

elements typical of the PIE onomastic lexicon. But of course if names like this were present in abundance in Italic, the whole question of the transformation of the Italic naming system would never have arisen. Nevertheless, I believe Sabellian preserves one praenomen which is undeniably a compound, and which may plausibly be taken as a continuator—in spirit at least—of the PIE way of doing things. This is the name *úpfals*, on which more below.

But there is also another way to try to demonstrate PIE-Italic continuity. First, we must ask ourselves: How did the new type of Italic praenomen come about? On the one hand, it is clear that many Italic praenomina are simply entirely new creations with no connection to the older naming system. Some of these are borrowed from Etruscan (*Aulus*, *Spurius*).⁸ Some are simply adjectives recording probably the birth month (*Mārcus*(?), *Quīntus*, *Sextus*).⁹ Some are theophoric in the broad sense (*Mārcus* < **Mārt-i-kos* and *Tiberius* < **Tiberis*).¹⁰ Some are simply descriptive (perhaps *Gnaeus* ~ *naevus* 'birthmark', *Vopīscus* = *vopīscus* 'surviving twin').¹¹

Once these cases are removed, there remains a class of praenomina ending in *-ius*, some of which are clearly related to elements of the non-onomastic vocabulary. *Lūcius* is obviously related to *lūx* 'light', *Mānius* to *māne* 'in the morning' or *mānus* 'good', *Servius* to *servus* 'slave', and so on.¹² The history and interpretation of these forms is much less clear. Nor is it a priori obvious that there must be a unitary explanation for all forms in *-ius*. Some may be explained as denominal adjectives built with the genitival suffix **-i̯ō-*. This explanation works well for, e.g., *Tiberius* < **Tiberis* and for *Pūblius*, earlier *Poplios* < **poplo-* 'army'.¹³ In addition, some praenomina may originally have been patronymics that have passed over into praenominal use.¹⁴

But when we turn to the more abundant Oscan praenomina in *-is* < **-i̯ōs*, it is clear that they cannot all be derived from substantives or other praenomina via the suffix **-i̯ō-*. As Rix, building on Devoto, has noted, Oscan has a series of praenomina that bear a strong resemblance to the Italic ordinals: *Dekis* ~ **dek(V)mo-*; *Núvis* ~ **noy(V)mo-*; *Úvis* (< **ohis* < **oh̥tāyo-* or analogical to *Núvis*?); *Seis* (Slunečko 1992:11) ~ **sestVmo-* (cf. Etr. *sestuminas* Cm 2.77); *Sepis* ~ **septVmo-* (cf. OU *sehtums*).¹⁵ However, since, as is now clear, these forms cannot be the ordinals themselves, if the theory has any validity, they must represent the ordinals in abbreviated form. This suggests that the suffix **-i̯ō-* was used in Italic in an abbreviating, hypocoristic function. And in fact the abbreviating function of the suffix **-i̯ō-* in the onomastic system of PIE is well established: Gk. *Μενέσθιος* (Hom. +) < *Μενεσθένης*; OIran. **Dātiya-*,

⁸Salomies 1987:25, 51.

⁹Salomies 1987:38, following Petersen 1962.

¹⁰Salomies 1987:36.

¹¹Salomies 1987:30, 60, but Rix (1995:730) derives *Gnaeus* from **gnāuios*.

¹²Salomies 1987:34, 36.

¹³Although what precisely 'of the army' was supposed to convey is not clear.

¹⁴Cf. the Attic Greek use of originally patronymic forms in *-ίδης* as individual names, e.g. *Θουκυδίδης*. Good cases for this sort of analysis would be the relatively rare examples of praenomina in *-ius* clearly derived from other praenomina in *-us*, e.g. *Aimio-* from *Aimo-*. See Peruzzi 1969:265.

¹⁵Devoto 1929.

OP *Martiya-*,¹⁶ Ved. *Déviya-* ← *Devadatta-*.¹⁷ It is therefore possible that some Italic names ending in *-ius* may be hypocoristic shortenings of inherited compound names of the well-established Indo-European type. We may therefore suppose, and others have supposed, that the common Italic innovation leading to the Italic praenomina system was the generalization of hypocoristics at the expense of the original compound forms.¹⁸ If this hypothesis is correct, then it might be possible to discover some connection between Italic praenomina in *-ius* and possible PIE compounds.

What would this evidence look like? Hypocoristics in Greek, just to mention the most at-hand comparandum, often preserve a truncated bit of the second member of the compound. So for example, the name Κλέομης is attested as the hypocoristic for Κλεομένης, the tyrant of 4th-century Methymna (Isoc. *ep.* 7.8).¹⁹ To judge from the Italic evidence, the hypocoristic formation principle seems to have been: substitute *-iō-* for all material after the first medial consonant. Thus if we could find a plausible case with such a second member fragment, we would have good evidence for the continuity and shortening hypothesis. In what follows, I will suggest that the Sabellic praenomen *Vibius* is in fact an example of just the sort of evidence we are looking for.

Let us first consider the cases of apparently compound praenomina in Latin. There are at least two Latin praenomina that at first glance look like compounds. These are *Opiter*, supposedly meaning ‘having a dead father and living grandfather’, and *Agrippa* ‘born feet first’.²⁰

Opiter, for which a genitive *Opetris* is inferable from the abbreviation *Opetr.* on the *Fasti Consulares* of 402 BCE, is hard to separate from *pater*, and therefore should be a compound of some sort. Solmsen’s suggestion **auo-pater* ‘whose father is a grandfather’, though fitting semantically and acceptable as a bahuvrihi, requires us to accept a non-urban development of **au* to *ō* and to disregard the short scansion of the first syllable at Silius Italicus 10.33.²¹ If we do take Silius Italicus seriously, it is hard to think of any possible analysis for *o-*. The PIE particle **h₂o-* ‘on’ is not otherwise attested in Italic, and how exactly ‘on the father’ or ‘whose father is on’ could develop into the sense attributed to *Opiter* by the grammarians is unclear. Finally, **h₂o-* is not attested in clearly denominative compounds. Another mere possibility would be an *a tergo* hypocoristic of the type identified by Schmitt in OP *Gadatas* < *Bagadāta*.²² In this case, the *o* could represent the thematic vowel of the preceding member. But it seems unlikely that a hypocoristic process of this sort would create a V-initial syllable rather than a CV syllable as in *Gadatas*.

In the case of *Agrippa*, *agri* has since Schulze been compared with Ved. *ágrē* ‘at the tip, beginning’ (loc. of *ágram* ‘tip’) and Av. *aγrō* ‘first’, and the second half has been analyzed as a hypocoristic shortening of **ped-* ‘foot’ with consonant doubling of the

¹⁶ Schmitt 1997.

¹⁷ Wackernagel and Debrunner 1954:358.

¹⁸ Rix 1979:116: “sic musste letztlich von den auch für das Vororsk. vorauszusetzenden Namenkomposita stammen.”

¹⁹ Solmsen and Fraenkel 1922:120.

²⁰ Salomies 1987:41–2 and 19–20, respectively.

²¹ *Sternuntur leto atque Opiter, quos Setia colle.*

²² Schmitt 1996.

Κλέομμυς ← Κλεομένης type.²³ Schulze later doubted his suggestion, since he thought that the information about the meaning of the name could have been a pure invention.²⁴ Yet it is not easy to see on what the Romans might have based this invention, since *aggr-* in the meaning ‘first’ does not otherwise survive (in fact the Romans identified *aggr-* with *aegre*) and so I am inclined to accept Schulze’s original interpretation.²⁵

Yet although these two names are in all probability originally compounds and show that, in principle at least, compound names were not excluded from the stock of Roman praenomina, neither of them continues the Indo-European tradition, but instead are both very much in the Roman style. Indo-European compound names, at least of the aristocratic sort we are most familiar with, are not usually prosaic comments on difficult deliveries, birth order, or the status of the father. Rather, the typical IE compound name is *ein kleines Gedicht*. The vocabulary of compound name elements shows close links to the traditional language of poetry. It is among the other non-compound Roman praenomina that *Agrippa* and *Opiter* find their semantic home, cf. *Postumus*, *Caeso*, etc. The Romans included neither wolves, nor horses, nor any of the typical Indo-European elements among their names.

Úpfals

There is one praenomen occurring in Sabellic whose status as a compound has been clear since at least Corssen, but whose further analysis still remains uncertain.²⁶ This is the name **Úpfals**. This praenomen is attested several times in the Samnite inscriptions of Campania:

- Capua: **úpfalls. patir. miínicis** (Cp 2; 3:3)
 upfals: salaviis: minieş (Cp 3; 3:4)
 upfaleis saidiicis (Cp 9; 4s)
 Cumae: **ḷluva(z): rahiis: upfalleis** (Cm 14. C 5; 4:4)²⁷
 Pompeii: **dekis. seppiis. úpf(alleís)** (Po 8)

Outside of Campania it is found only at Histonium, in the area of the Frentani: **viúbis. úhtavis. úff(alleís)** (Fr 1).

In addition to the praenomen, a derived gentilic or perhaps patronymic **uḫaliies** appears to be attested on an Etruscan/Pre-Samnite inscription from Fratte dating to the 6th–5th century BCE (Vetter 138 a): **stlakies uḫaliies mi**.²⁸ This form is matched most immediately by the gentilic *Ofalius* (CIL I².2440) attested on a Latin inscription of unknown provenience from the 2nd century BCE.

²³Schulze 1893:172.

²⁴Schulze 1904:230.

²⁵Plin. *Nat.* 7.45: *in pedes procidere nascentem contra naturam est, quo argumento eos appellavere Agrippas ut aegre partos* [v.l. *aegri partus*].

²⁶Corssen 1872.

²⁷Also restored with probability in Cm 14.8.

²⁸See Bellelli 2002:374 for the reading with *ḫ*.

In addition, the well-attested Latin gentile *Of(f)el(l)ius* with unstressed weakening may be related. Perhaps most familiarly, Horace *Satire* 2.2 preserves the cognomen *Ofellus* derived from the praenomen.²⁹ Finally, forms of the name are attested in the Greek and Etruscan *Nebenüberlieferungen* in the forms 'Οφαλ(λος), incorrectly restored to 'Οφάλ(λος) (SEG 22:455), 'Οφαλλου (SEG 51:1243, Lipara, 4th–2nd BCE = I.Lipara 260) and **Ufale** (Cl 1.887).

Up to the final consonant, the establishment of the base form is unproblematic. The initial vowel is *o*, as is clear from the spelling **ú** in the inscriptions written in the post-reform Oscan alphabet (Cp 2, Po 8). The examples spelled with **u** are all in pre-reform alphabets. Next, we must have originally had the consonant cluster *pf* which has been preserved in Campanian Samnite but been assimilated to *ff* among the Frentani and in those dialects which were the source of Lat. *Ofulius* and Grk. 'Οφαλ(λος). It is noteworthy that this assimilation or simplification has already taken place in the Pre-Samnite inferable from the Fratte inscription. This may perhaps be taken as another indication of the close relationship between Pre-Samnite and South Picene and Umbrian.

The one major uncertainty involves the *l*. In only one instance do we find the *l* spelled doubly: Cm 15 C 5 **upfalleis**. Against this there are three examples with single *l*. Yet none of the three instances of single *l* spellings is probative, since none of these texts has other clear instances of the spelling out of double consonants. However, there are some additional arguments that favor setting up a stem with geminate *l*. First, we may note the lack of syncope of the medial syllable. If the stem is set up with only one *l*, then the lack of syncope has to be explained as either analogical from the nominative singular or as the result of a secondary compound stress on the *a* of the second syllable. If the stem is set up with geminate *l*, then the lack of syncope is straightforward. A second argument may be drawn from the form of the probably related Latin gentile *Of(f)el(l)ius*, which *prima facie* might be taken as evidence for a geminate. However, this in itself is also not conclusive since the double *l* in the gentile may be the result of yod-doubling and need not imply that the praenomen also had a geminate *l*. The Greek alphabet form 'Οφαλλου from Lipara is more probative. Finally, there is the fact that the nominative singular is **Upfals**. The non-assimilation of the secondary *-ls* in Auslaut contrasts with the regular assimilation of this cluster seen for example in **Mutíl** (nPg 2 +) < **mutilos*, *famel* (Pg 11), **Lúkidel** (Hi 7), and **aidíl** < Lat. *aidilis*. It is tempting to explain this surface difference between **Upfals** and **Mutíl** with Buck and others by supposing that whereas single **ls* assimilated to *ll*, **lls* remained unassimilated. The only other comparable form is the praenomen **upils** (Cm 33), which is probably to be compared with the Latin cognomen *Opillus*, also apparently with a stem-final geminate *l*. Nevertheless, it is hard to exclude the possibility of an analogical restoration of the *s* in either of these cases.³⁰ All in all, however, the case for geminate *l* is decidedly stronger than the case for single *l*, which can explain

²⁹Hor. S. 2.1–4: *Quae virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo/ (nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus/ rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minerva)/ discite.*

³⁰In fact, the nominative **úpil** (Sa 53) is undoubtedly a token of the same name.

much less and which is after all directly contradicted by a unique witness. Therefore, the stem must be set up as **opfallo-*.

Once we have determined the true form of the stem, it is clear that, if the name is to have any analysis in Sabellian at all—and there is nothing to suggest that the name is anything but Sabellian—it must be a compound. Given PIE and Italic root structure constraints, it is virtually certain that there must be a morpheme boundary between the *p* and the *f* of **opfallo-*, and given the absence of any suffix of the shape **fallo-* or combinations of suffixes which might result in **fallo-*, it is highly probable that **fallo-* must be not a suffix but a potential free form, and therefore that **opfallo-* is by definition a compound name, the first element of which must be **op-* and the second element of which must be **fallo-*.

Now the possibilities for the analysis of **op-* are in essence two. Either **op-* is the well-attested Sabellian adverb/preposition *op* (Osc. *úp*) ‘near’ or ‘at’, or it is the root noun cognate with Lat. *ops* ‘wealth, resources’.³¹ It is not generally recognized that forms of the root **op-* in the meaning ‘resources’ exist in Sabellian, but in fact a probable derivative of this root is seen in the Oscan *ti*-stem *ufti-*: *ufteis* gen. sg. (Cp 37.7), *uhftis* nom. pl. (Cm 14 CII) ‘help’.³²

When we turn to the analysis of the second half of the name, the possibilities are unfortunately many more and the uncertainty is consequently much greater. The sources of this uncertainty are three: the multiple sources of Sabellian *f* (< **dʰ*, **bʰ*, **ǵʰ*), the multiple sources of Sabellian *l* (**-lm-*, original **-l̥-*, **-ll-*, **-ls-*,³³ and **-nl-*) and the absence of specific semantic evidence which is endemic to the interpretation of personal names. Nevertheless, it is possible to narrow the possibilities to some extent and to make some decisions about ranking the relative plausibility of alternative analyses.

First, the possibility that the *l* results from **-nl-* should be ranked as relatively unlikely. The well-established PIE roots which begin with something that could give *f* and end in *n* are **ǵʰn-* (1) ‘strike’ and **ǵʰn-* (2) ‘swell’, and although either could be theoretically plausible in a personal name, the *a* vocalism would have to reflect a zero-grade outcome originally typical of initial syllables and therefore be analogical in this compound form. Nor does the hypothesis of a suffix *-lo-* added to a zero-grade verbal root that is required for this hypothesis correspond to any known Sabellian or Italic derivational type. Finally, there is no support for a stem **fan-* in either the onomastic or the general lexicon of Sabellian.

In contrast to the absence of support for the **-nl-* hypothesis, the *-lC-* hypothesis

³¹ Also occurring in the first part of the compounds *opitulus* ‘bringing help’ (Paul. Fest. p. 201 L), a cult epithet of Jupiter, and *opiparus* ‘sumptuous’ (Plaut. +).

³² See Weiss 2010:95–6.

³³ It seems not to be generally known that *ls* assimilated to *ll* in Oscan as in Latin. But there are no surfaces, *ls* sequences in Oscan that are not patently analogical, and the crucial evidence is provided by the name *Hellevis* (Cp 36). It is true that the double *ll* is only attested one time in this name, but the quondam existence of some phoneme after the *l* is not in doubt, for otherwise the sequence of original **l̥* would have assimilated to *ll* as in Latin. That this gentile is identical to the Lat. *Helvius*, and that both in turn are derived from the adjective *helvus* ‘dun’ and its Oscan cognate, can hardly be doubted. The adjective *helvus* must be compared directly with Lith. *gelsmas* ‘yellow’ < PIE **ǵʰelsmo-*.

does find some support in the Sabellic onomastic lexicon. Most immediately, the stem **fal-* recalls the name **faletne** in the vocative recently identified by Rix on the Palaeo-Umbrian text of Poggio Sommavilla (Um 2). He further suggests that the inferred root **fal-* might be compared either with the root **d^heb₂l(b_x)-*/**d^hal(b_x)-* ‘thrive’ or the root **b^hleh₃-* ‘bloom’.³⁴ And in fact these are the only plausible PIE root possibilities. The semantics of the name would then be similar to the Latin cognomina *Flōrēns*, *Flōrentīnus*.

Taking a root ending in *l* as our working hypothesis, we may turn to the question of identifying the consonant responsible for the doubling. Unfortunately, this too cannot be decided with certainty. However, one observation tends to favor *s*: both the roots **d^hal(b_x)-* and **b^hleh₃-* have well-attested *s*-stems (*flōs* ‘flower’, Osc. **Fluusaí** ‘Florae’ [Po 20, Sa 1 a 24]; Gk. *θάλος* ‘shoot; scion’).

If we accept the reconstruction **opfalso-*, then we must further note that the sequence **-ls-* was probably original and not due to the Common-Sabellic medial-syllable syncope. For a form **opfalVso-* would have come out as †*opfVss* in the nominative and †*opfIs-* or whatever the outcome of that would have been in the oblique cases. The conclusion we reach then is that the most probable preform for **opfallo-* is **op-falso-*, the second element of which is derived either from the root **d^hal(b_x)-* or the root **b^hleh₃-*.

Since in principle Italic etymologies should be found in Italy, let us consider the second possibility first. Lat. *flōs* is a masculine *s*-stem, and therefore one would initially prefer to analyze the form as an amphikinetic animate *s*-stem of the *crur* type. The form *flōs* may unproblematically be derived from **b^hleh₃-ōs*. The proterokinetic neuter from which *flōs* was derived by internal derivation would have been nom. **b^hleh₃os* > **flōs*, gen. **b^hl₃-es-os* > **falesos*. The chance collapse of the nominative of the neuter and the masculine in **flōs* could have motivated the generalization of the oblique stem *fal-*, leading to a paradigm **falos*, **fales-os*.

In PIE, when an athematic noun became the second member of a possessive compound, it could be treated in one of two fashions: either the athematic noun adopted a new ablaut pattern, proterokinetic becoming hysterokinetic, etc., or the athematic noun adopted thematic inflection, and the addition of the thematic vowel apparently required a zero-grade in the immediately pre-thematic suffix. Both patterns are illustrated by the derivatives of the *s*-stem from the root **b₃ed-* ‘smell’. In Greek the internal-derivational process is illustrated by the various forms in *-ώδης* (*ἀνθεμώδης* ‘flowery’ etc.) but in Latin the thematic process is shown by the suffix *-ōsus* which, as Wackernagel was the first to see, is from **-ōdso-*.³⁵ Another Latin example is *bīmus* ‘two years old’ < **dwi-himo-* ‘with two winters’.

Therefore a neuter **falos* ‘bloom, flourishing’ would regularly have become **X-falso-* in the second member of a compound. **op-falso-* would then mean ‘having a flourishing which is wealth’, i.e. ‘flourishing with wealth’. For the semantics, cf. the not uncommon Latin collocation *flōrēre opibus*, e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 4.46 *cum Sicilia florēbat opibus et copiis*; Cic. *Div.* 2.22.8 *cum florent opibus fortunisque*; Liv. 1.2.3 *inde*

³⁴Rix 1996.

³⁵Apud Niedermann 1899.

Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiunt. If the first member, however, was the preverb/preposition *op* ‘near, at’, the name could be analyzed as an *ἐνθεος*-type compound ‘having a flourishing which is near at hand’.

If the stem in question in fact belonged to the root **dʰal(h_s)-*, the basic meaning of which de Lamberterie has argued is ‘thrive’, then the details would be somewhat different: an *s*-stem comparable to Greek, *θάλος* < **dʰal(h_s)os* would yield an Italic **falos*, and from there the hypothesized development would be the same.³⁶ It is noteworthy that the stem of *θάλος* does play a role in the Greek onomastic lexicon, e.g. *Ἐπιθάλης* Messenia, SEG XLI 341.5, 2nd BCE; *Καλλιθάλης* Athens, IG I³.1190, 4th BCE; Miletus, M38b7, 3rd BCE, and has a close semantic connection in the corpus of early Greek epic with various kinds of wealth and well-being. The stem *θαλ-* plays a crucial part in Hesiod’s description of the land of the just: *Op.* 227 τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλιν, λαοὶ δ’ ἀνθεῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ, *Op.* 236 θάλλουσιν δ’ ἀγαθοῖσι διαμπερές.

An interesting semantic parallel to ‘flourishing with abundance’ exists in the Indo-Iranian compound **pr̥Handʰi-* (Ved. *pīrandbi-* f., OAv. *parəndi-*), both ‘abundance’ and the name of a goddess of abundance. Karl Hoffmann has suggested very plausibly that this form is to be analyzed as **pr̥H-andʰi-* ‘Blüte der Fülle’ < **pl̥h₁-h₂endʰi-* (cf. Gk. *ἄνθος* ‘flower’ etc.).³⁷

At the end of this part of our investigation, we may firmly state that at least one Sabellian praenomen was a compound. It is much less certain whether the compound continues the uninterrupted Indo-European tradition, but the most probable analyses are consistent with such an interpretation.

Vibius

The praenomen *Vibius* is given for the grandfather of *P. Sestius Q. f. Capitolinus Vaticanus*, the consul of 453 BCE, whose floruit must have been around 500 BCE. A gentilic derivative of the praenomen *Vibius* is attested in the Etruscan form *vipiennas* (Ve 3.11) on the famous dedication of *Avile Vipiennas*, the brother of *Caele Vibenna* of early Roman legend. This text is dated by Rix to the 6th century. But despite these early attestations, the name is neither Latin nor Etruscan, but Sabellian, as Mommsen pointed out already in 1845.³⁸ The praenomen is rare in Roman contexts, and the **-iō-* suffix is well paralleled in Sabellian, but not in native Etruscan morphology. The other early historically attested bearers of the praenomen *Vibius* are all Sabellian, e.g. Livy 27.15.3 mentions a *Vibius* of Bruttium (2nd half of the 3rd century BCE), and *Vibius Virrius*,³⁹ the rebel leader of Capua, dates from the time of the Second Punic war. The name is very commonly attested in Oscan and Paelignian inscriptions.⁴⁰ From Sabellian it passed to Latin, and to Etruscan in the form *Vipi*. The Etruscans then

³⁶ Lamberterie 1990:954.

³⁷ Apud Narten 1986:209.

³⁸ Mommsen 1845.

³⁹ On *Virrius* see Buecheler 1888:132–3.

⁴⁰ All the examples can easily be found in Slunečko 1992.

transmitted it to Faliscan. If the name is to have an historical explanation, it must have one in terms of Sabellic sound laws.

The first *i* of the name is long. This is abundantly confirmed not only by meter (Martial 11.106.1; C.E. 231, 1143), but also by spellings with *i longa* at CIL V.752 and in Oscan with plene spelling **viibis**, and by the false archaism *Veibius* (C. *Veibius Vaarus* on a coin of 42 BCE; RRC 494/10–12).

Our analysis must then start with a Proto-Sabellic **uibios*. Since we are dealing with Sabellic historical phonology, quite a few ambiguities that we would have to face in the case of a Latin form are ruled out. Initial *u-* has only one source, i.e. PIE **u*. Likewise **i* can only be from PIE **ī*, i.e. **ih_x*. Sabellic *b* has two possible PIE sources, **b* or **g^w*. Thus **uibios* may be traced back to either **uib_xbios* or **uib_xg^wbios*. PIE **b* was very rare, and this by itself favors the second reconstruction. There is in fact a supposed PIE root **ueib-* ‘turn, shake’ (Lat. *vibrāre*, Go. *weipan* ‘crown’, OE *wīpian* ‘wipe’; not recognized by LIV), but this root was **uiP-* in the zero-grade (Ved. *vīpra-* ‘trembling, inspired’), which would not provide the required length. The second reconstruction **uib_xg^wbios* is therefore the more likely. But here we run into the problem that a root of the shape **ueih_xg^w* or **ueih_xg^w* is not known and, although not entirely impossible, would be an example of a fairly rare type (cf. **d^hei_xg^w* ‘fix’).⁴¹

Since a root shape **uib_xg^w* would be unusual, it is worth considering whether there is in fact a morpheme boundary between **uib_x-* and **g^wbios*. Once this cut is made, an analysis of the first segment immediately presents itself. The only plausible candidate for **uib_x-* is PIE **uih_xs* ‘(life-)force’ (Lat. *vīs*, Greek (f)ίς, Ved. *váyas-*). This form is well attested in Italic, although admittedly not in Sabellic. Its place in the PIE onomastic lexicon is secured by Greek names with the instrumental (f)ίφι- like Mycenaean *wi-pi-no-o* = Ἰφίνοος and with the simple stem Ἰ-κέρτης (Acolic Cumae) and possibly OS *Wī-rīc* and *Gēr-wī*.

This means that the **g^wbios* part may belong to a different stem, i.e. that **uibios* is the remnant of a compound name beginning with **uī-* ‘(life-)force’. There are two plausible candidates for the second member of the compound: (1) the root **g^wih₃-* ‘live’ (Gk. βίος, Lat. *vīvus* etc.), in which case the meaning of **uibios* would be ‘whose life has life-force’; or (2) the root **g^wij-* ‘force’ (Gk. βίη), therefore ‘whose force has life-force’. Both stems are attested in Oscan. In fact, they are even used in the alliterative phrase **biass biitam** found on an Oscan curse tablet (Cm 13), which is the Oscan equivalent of Lat. *vires vitam* (would be Osc. **vī- *bi-*).⁴² Occurrence or non-occurrence in Sabellic cannot be decisive. Both stems are well attested. It is interesting to note the alternation of Gk. φίς and βίη in the Homeric periphrases for Herakles: βίη Ἡρακλῆϊ (L. 690) ~ φίς Ἡρακλῆος (Hes. Th. 951), and even their cooccurrence in φίς ... βίης Ἡρακλῆϊ (Hes. Th. 332).⁴³ Furthermore, such compounds of semantically nearly identical elements can be paralleled not only by Ἰκέρτης = Ἰφικράτης but also

⁴¹PIE roots generally obey sonority sequencing with falling sonority in the coda. Roots of the shape CEIHT would have either a flat or minimally falling sonority sequence.

⁴²Cf. Enn. Ann. 37 (Sk) *vires vitaque*.

⁴³The analysis suggested here fits well within the complex of PIE personal names combining FORCE and MAN delineated by García Ramón 2006.

by the PIE collocation $*h_2iu-$ $*g^{wih_3-}$ ‘having a life which is lively’, reflected by Lat. *iūgis*, Gk. *ιγής* etc.

If either of these analyses is correct, then it no longer is necessary to interpret $-iio-$ as a hypocoristic suffix in $*uibiio-$. $*g^{wih_3o-}$ ‘life’ is well attested in the second part of compounds, and in the second part of a compound the first-declension *βία* becomes thematic as in *ἀντίβιος* (Hom. +) ‘opposing force to force’, *ὑπέρβιος* (Hom. +) ‘overweening, of overwhelming strength’. Thus Proto-Sabellian $*uibiios$ may be interpreted as a complete unshortened compound name made from inherited Indo-European elements. It would then owe its survival in pristine form to its chance resemblance to other names which did in fact contain the hypocoristic suffix $*-iio-$. One other possibility that deserves consideration is that the second member of the putative compound is the root noun $*g^{wih_3-s}$ found in Av. *yauuaē-jī-* and possibly in Gk. *Κλέο-βίς*.⁴⁴ The combination $*uib_x g^{wih_3-s}$ would regularly become $*uibis$, and this easily could have fallen together with the class of praenomina ending in $-is$ resulting from the syncope of $*-iios$.

These two Sabellian praenomina, *Úpfals* and *Vibius*, are valuable relics of an older way of doing things.

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⁴⁴Cf. the name of Κλέοβίς’s brother, Βήτων. Yet another possible analysis for the second half of *Vibius*, as José Luis García Ramón has suggested to me, is a connection with Gk. *βός* ‘bow’, Ved. *jyā* ‘bow-string’. Thus the paraphrase for *Vibius* would be ‘whose bow is strong’, another very plausible PIE-type name.

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Hittite *aniye/a-* ‘to do’

Ilya Yakubovich

The Hittite language has two verbs with the basic meaning ‘to do, make’: *iye/a-*^{mi} (OS+) and *aniye/a-*^{mi} (OS+).¹ Puhvel (1984:66) distinguishes between seven groups of meanings of *aniye/a-*, three of which can be regarded as basic and four others as secondary, depending on specific expressed or assumed objects. The basic meanings are: (1) ‘work’ (intransitive), (2) ‘carry out, perform, execute’ (taking a theme as the direct object), and (3) ‘make, turn out, produce, procure’ (taking a goal as the direct object). The derived meanings are (4) ‘officiate, practice (a magic act)’, (5) ‘treat, manipulate (magically)’, (6) ‘record, inscribe’, and (7) ‘plant, sow, cultivate’.² For comparison, one can adduce the range of meanings that Puhvel (1984:335) suggests for *iye/a-*: ‘do, make, treat, beget, perform (a duty, ritual), celebrate (a deity, feast)’; (intrans.) ‘do, act, signal (with eyes or spear)’.

It is easy to see that the meanings of the two verbs are closely intertwined. The main syntactic difference between *iye/a-* and *aniye/a-* is that the latter never takes the double accusative of source and goal ‘to make X into Y’. On the semantic level, only *aniye/a-* occurs in the specialized meanings (6) and (7), while *iye/a-* exclusively occurs in a number of other specialized constructions, for example in the idiom ‘to shed (tears/blood)’. In addition, although both verbs can take religious ceremonies as well as their beneficiaries as direct objects, *iye/a-* is more frequently used in the context of divine worship (to perform a festival, to celebrate a deity), while *aniye/a-* belongs rather to the sphere of practical magic (to perform a ritual, to treat a patient). There is, however, no straightforward way of deriving the sum of these distinctions from one basic semantic difference between the verbs under discussion.

Given the formal and functional similarity between *iye/a-* and *an-iye/a-*, the etymological connection between the two verbs emerges as the *prima facie* hypothesis. Nevertheless, this is not the line of thought actively pursued in modern Hittitological literature. While everyone agrees that *iye/a-* must contain the root of the first verb, the two most recent etymological dictionaries of Hittite converge in taking *-iye/a-* as the stem-forming suffix in the second case. Kloekhorst (2008:180–1) upholds the connection between *an-iye/a-* and Lat. *onus* ‘load, burden’, Ved. *ánas-* ‘cart’, while Puhvel (1984:71) expresses cautious preference for its comparison with Lith. *anàs* and OCS *omŭ* ‘he/she/it’. The first etymology implies that the earlier meaning of *an-iye/a-* was

¹Usual disclaimers apply. I am grateful to M. Malzahn (Vienna) for her useful advice on the substance of this paper and to Th. Wier (Chicago-Leipzig), who helped me to improve its style.

²All the meanings listed above belong to Puhvel, but the parenthetical notes are mine.

*‘to move a load’, while the second one interprets it as the original multi-purpose light verb *‘to (do) it’, perhaps used in a resumptive function, in the manner of ModE auxiliary *do*. The first etymology seems to me more coherent than the second one, but neither of them could be described as obvious or probative, even if the simplex *īye/a-* were not attested. The only attempt to analyze *īye/a-* and *aniye/a-* as cognates that has come to my attention is the claim of Rosenkranz (1967:501) that “*aniia-* ... auf einer andern Ablautstufe von *īia-* aufgebaut ist.” Since the root of *īye/a-* ‘to do, make’ has never been reconstructed with an etymological nasal, this assertion has no obvious scholarly merit.³

The likely reason why *an-īye/a-* has not been analyzed thus far as a prefixed verb based on *īye/a-* is the unproductive character of the prefix *an-* in Hittite. To be sure, its existence is postulated in Hitt. *an-tuwaḫḫaš*, *an-tuḫš-* ‘human’, which has been analyzed as an exocentric compound ‘having breath inside’ and compared with Gk. *ἐν-θυμος* ‘spirited’ (Kloekhorst 2008:189 with ref.). Yet the Greek prefix *ἐν-* ‘in-’ lacks established cognates in the system of Hittite preverbs, while its normal semantic equivalents are the extended preverbs *anda* and *andan*, whose formal counterparts are OLat. *endo* ‘into’ and Gk. *ἐνδον* ‘inside’ (Kloekhorst 2008:185). In addition, if *an-īye/a-* goes back to an etymological combination of the verb ‘do, make’ with the prefix ‘in-’, one would expect this verb to preserve the metaphor of pushing X inside Y at least in some of its meanings, as is the case of Lat. *infcere* ‘stain, mix, infect etc.’, ModHG *einmachen* ‘to preserve, can; bottle, pickle’, or Ru. *vdelat* ‘to set into’.

Recent advances in Anatolian philology allow us, however, to approach the semantic reconstruction of Hitt. **an-* from a new perspective. At the Seventh International Conference of Hittitology in Çorum, Turkey, Goedegebuure (forthcoming) argued for the existence of the Luvian preverb *anni* ‘together, con-’. Since several years are likely to elapse before the proceedings of this conference are published, I find it useful to reiterate here some of her arguments, adding to them additional considerations of my own.

It had been previously thought that the Luvian preverb attested as INFRA-*ta* ‘down’ in hieroglyphic transmission represented the cognate and homophone of Hittite *katta* ‘down’ (Laroche 1960:36). Since the hieroglyphic sign *58 = CUM is graphically derived from sign *57, having a logographic value INFRA, a number of scholars made a further assumption that the Luvian postposition and preverb CUM-*ni/a* ‘together with, con-’ could represent the cognate of Hittite *kattan* ‘with’ (Melchert 2003:203, Plöchl 2003:81). This argument, however, is no longer persuasive. First of all, on the basis of cogent evidence presented by Goedegebuure for the preverb *zanta* ‘down’ in Luvian cuneiform texts, she logically concludes that INFRA-*ta* can also be read as /*zanta*/, and plausibly assumes that Hitt. *katta* and Luv. *zanta* go

³The etymology of Hitt. *īye/a-mi* ‘to do, make’ represents a problem of its own. I follow Adams (1987:176) in connecting this root with TA. *ya-/ypa-* ‘to do, make’, Ved. *yāti-* ‘black magic’, and Av. *yātu-* ‘black magic, sorcerer’. The more widely followed but semantically unsatisfactory comparison with Lat. *iēci* ‘I threw’ and Gk. *ἦκα* ‘I sent, I threw’ is justly rejected in Kloekhorst 2008:382. The primary Luvian cognate of this root is, in my opinion, *ā-* < **yā-* ‘to do, make’, whereas *āya-* < **yāyā-* is a secondary reduplicated formation (Yakubovich 2010:56–7). Differently Melchert 1984:160.

back to a common proto-form **kmt-o*. This precludes the existence of ***katta* and, by extension, ***kattan* in Luvian. Second of all, the honorand of this volume recently confirmed through stratified textual analysis that *kattan* ‘beside, next to, with’ represents an innovation of Middle Hittite, whereas Hitt. *katta* was also used in the meaning ‘with’ in the older language (Melchert 2007:526, 530–1). Hitt. *kattan* originally functioned as a postposition ‘under’, being roughly equivalent to Luv. *annan* (Neu 1983:96). Thus there is no reason to assume that Hitt. *kattan* ‘with’ would have a Luvian lexical cognate with the same meaning.

This leaves us with an open question about the phonetic reading of CUM-*ni/a*. The graphic derivation of *58 from *57 with the help of the LITUUS sign remains a clue for solving this problem, but *57 functions as the first component of both *57-*ta* = INFRA-*ta* = /zanta/ ‘down’ and *57-*an* = SUB-*an* = /annan/ ‘under’. Accordingly, *58-*ni/a* = CUM-*ni/a* can be cognate with either of the two lexemes, and one must choose between reading it as /zantan(i)/ or /anni ~ anna/. As argued above, Hitt. *kattan* ‘with’ does not support the reconstruction of /zantan(i)/ ‘together, con-’, but the reading /anni ~ anna/ finds a degree of support in the existence of the Lydian preverb *ēn-*, which could have comitative semantics.⁴ This is the main reason why Goedegebuure (forthcoming) opted for the second solution. The preverbs and postpositions discussed in her paper are summarized in the table below.

Sign	Value	Context	Transliteration	Translation	Hittite equivalent
 (*57)	SUB	SUB- <i>na</i>	<i>annan</i>	‘under’	<i>kattan</i>
	INFRA	INFRA- <i>ta</i>	<i>zanta</i>	‘down’	<i>katta</i>
 (*58)	CUM	CUM- <i>ni</i>	<i>anni</i>	‘with, con-’	<i>katta</i>
		CUM- <i>na</i>	<i>anna</i>		later <i>kattan</i>

In what follows I intend to argue that the interpretation CUM-*ni* = /anni/, can be supported through combinatory analysis. The crucial confirmation comes from Bronze Age Luvian *annī-*, the cognate of Hitt. *aniya-*, and its functional counterparts CUM-*ni a/iziya-* attested in Iron Age Luvian. It is commonly accepted that Cuneiform Luvian *anni-* and Palaic *ani(ya)-* both have a basic meaning ‘do’ (Melchert 1993:17, Carruba 1970:50), but an additional similarity between the two verbs is the presence of a beneficiary as a syntactic valence in their argument structure. On the morphosyntactic level, this valence is normally filled in through *dativus commodi/incommodi*, as in Luvian examples (1–2) and Palaic example (3).

- (1) KUB 9.6 iii 12–14, CTH 759.2 (LNS), Starke 1985:115

ku-iš-tar ma-al-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ša-an-za-an EN-*ya a-ad-du-wa-la a-an-ni-ti a-an*
DINGIR.MEŠ-*in-zi a-aḫ-ḫa na-a-ta-at-ta ta-ta-ar-ḫa-an-du*

‘Whoever causes evil things to the patron of the ritual, let the gods break him like reeds.’

⁴The Lydian preverb *ēn-* is traditionally compared with IE **en(i)* ‘in’, at least since Carruba 1959:32. Several years ago, I tried to argue for the genetic relationship between Lyd. *ēn-* and Luv. *annan*, Lyc. *ēnē* ‘under’ (Yakubovich 2005–6:79–80). As implied below in n. 11, the suggested etymology reconciles these comparisons, which I previously perceived as mutually contradictory.

- (2) KUB 35.88 ii 11, CTH 765.1.A (NS), Starke 1985:226

[*ku-iš-wa-tar za-a-ti*]-i DUMU-ni *a-ad-du-wa-a-al a-a-an-ni-i-t[i]*

‘Whoever causes evil to this child . . .’

- (3) KUB 35.165 rev. 9–10, CTH 751.1.A (MS), Carruba 1970:19⁵

[*ga'-a-ni-du-ut-ta ku-iš a-ni-it-t[i]*] *ma-aš-ta a-ni-i-ya-ši a-ni-ya-ma-an-ta ta-ba-ar-na-ni* ^{MUNUS} *ta'-wa-na-ni*

‘As much as you provide (for one) who provides it for you, provide it for the king and the queen.’

Since Luvian and Palaic are probably more closely related to each other than either one is to Hittite, this similarity in the argument structure of the two verbs can be considered genetic, even though it would be premature to say at this point whether it represents an archaism or innovation *vis-à-vis* the situation in Hittite. Now the Luvian verb *annī-* is not attested in hieroglyphic texts, but in one passage (4) we encounter there the verb CUM-*ni a-*, which has a very similar meaning and precisely the same argument structure. The same verb *a-*, in a loose association with the adverb *api* ‘again’, is attested with the basic meaning ‘re-make’ (5), while a derivative stem *aya-* apparently functions as an imperfective ‘to produce regularly’ (6) in the same SULTANHAN inscription. There is no doubt that in all three cases the verb in question should be identified with Luv. *āya-* ‘to do, make’ known from cuneiform texts (Hawkins 2000:469). If we follow Goedegebuure’s working hypothesis and interpret CUM-*ni a-* as /anni ā-/ , we wind up with a phrasal verb the contraction of which would yield */anniyā-/ > /annī-/ ‘to cause’, the form attested in the cuneiform.⁶

- (4) SULTANHAN, §13, Hawkins 2000:II 466

|*HWI-pa-wa/i* |*sa₅ + ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i + ra/i-ia-*’ |*wa/i-su-SARMA-ma-sa*
SERVUS-*lā/i-i* |TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* |*za-a-zi* |*wa/i + ra/i-ia-zi-*’ |CUM-*ni*
|*á-tà-*’

‘And indeed Tarhunt provided this assistance for Sarwatiwada, servant of Wasusarma.’

- (5) SULTANHAN, §45, Hawkins 2000:II 467

|*a-wa/i-tà* |*á-pi-i* |*sa₅ + ra/i-wa/i-ti-wa/i + ra/i-sá* |*á-tà*
|*wa/i-su-SARMA-ma-sa-a-ri + i* |*wa/i + ra/i-ia-ri + i*
|*sa-na-wa/i-sa-tara/i-ri + i-ha*

‘But Sarwatiwadas has remade it, by Wasusarmas’s help and goodness.’

⁵For the interpretation of this sentence, cf. Melchert 1984a:35.

⁶The reconstruction of the stem-final vowel as long follows not only from its plene spelling in (2) but also from the lenition of the following consonant reflected in the lack of its graphic germination in (1–2). For the consistent character of lenition in 3sg. /annīdi/, see the list of attestations of this form in Melchert 1993:17. The imperative *a-ni-ya* in KUB 35.133 may genuinely reflect the lack of contraction /iyā/ > /i/ in Hattusa Luvian, but it is equally likely that the spelling of this form arose as a result of scribal interference with Hitt. *aniye/a-*.

- (6) SULTANHAN, §§23–5, Hawkins 2000:II 466

|a-wa/i |wa/i-ia-ni-i-sa |PUGNUS-ri+i-ti-i |tara/i-sa-zi-pa-wa/i |ia+ra/i-ti-i
 |a-wa/i |MILLE ti-wa/i-ta-li-na |á-ia-ti-i

‘The vine will grow, extend (its) branches, and (it) will produce 1000⁷ *tiwadali*-measures (of wine).’

One may object that the absence of additional occurrences of CUM-*ni a-*, beyond the single example cited in (4), undermines the reliability of its semantic comparison with *annī-* ‘to cause’. Fortunately, the attestations of the synonymous phrasal verb CUM-*ni/a iziya-* suffice to fill in this gap. I have argued elsewhere that Empire Luvian and Iron Age Luvian *iziya-* ‘to do, make’ represents the precise synonym of *āya-* associated with it through folk etymology, which was gradually propagating itself at its expense (Yakubovich 2010:56–62). It turns out that CUM-*ni/a iziya-* can be used both with *dativus commodi* in the meaning ‘to provide’ (7–8) and with *dativus incommodi* in the meaning ‘to cause’ (9). The first usage is identical to that of CUM-*ni a-* in (4) and Palaic *ani(ya)-* in (3), while the second one is the same as that of Bronze Age Luvian *annī-* (1–2). This double comparison need not be overemphasized, since the two usages are, of course, quite similar, differing only in the positive vs. negative connotations of the direct object. More significant is the fact that CUM-*ni/a iziya-* always takes the dative complement in Luvian, whereas the simplex *iziya-* occurs with it only sporadically, usually as a result of possessor raising. The contrast between the transitive *i-zi-i-* and the ditransitive CUM-*ni i-zi-i-* in (8) illustrates the difference in argument structure of the two predicates.

- (7) KARATEPE 1, §15 (Hu.), Hawkins 2000:I 50

|á-mi-há-wa/i |DOMINUS-ní-i |(NEPOS)ha-su-’ |OMNIS-MI-ma
 ||(BONUS)sa-na-wa/i-ia |CUM-na i-zi-i-há

‘And I provided all good things for my lord’s family.’

- (8) ANCOZ 7, §§7–8, Hawkins 2000:I 356

ni-pa ku-ma-sa-tara/i-na REL-na za-ti-ia-za URBS+MI-na-za CUM-ni
 i-zi-i-ha wa/i-na |NEG₂ REL-sà |i-zi-i-ti

‘Or who(ever) does not perform this sacrament that I provided for these cities.’

- (9) KULULU 5, §§4, 8, Hawkins 2000:II 485–6

za-ti-za-pa DOMUS-na-za REL-sá a+ra/i-na CUM-ni i-zi-i-ri+i ...
 wa/i-tu-ta za-zí DEUS-ni-zi wa/i-la “PES”-tu

‘Who(ever) causes damage(?) to these buildings ... let these gods come fatally against him.’

Thus there is a complementary distribution between Iron Age Luvian, which uses the preverb CUM-*ni/a* in combination with *a-* or its substitute *iziya-* for the ditransitive predicate ‘to cause, to provide’, and Bronze Age Luvian / Palaic, which respectively use contracted forms *annī-* and *ani(ya)-* in the same function.⁷ The more archaic

⁷ Compare also the likely related Lydian stem *ani-/avi-* ‘to make’ (Gusmani 1964:124). The fusion of the

character of Iron Age Luvian **anni a-* in comparison with Bronze Age Luvian *anni-* need not amaze us because of the difference in dialectal backgrounds of the two corpora. The bulk of Bronze Age Luvian texts recorded in cuneiform reflect the dialect of Kizzuwatna, while the language of Iron Age Luvian inscriptions continues the *koine* of the Hittite Empire, which was presumably formed on the basis of the dialect of Hattusa and the surrounding area (Yakubovich 2010:68–73). One can hypothesize that the separate status of the preverb *anni* represents an archaism of Hattusa Luvian and its dialectal descendants.⁸ In the dialect of Kizzuwatna, this prefix might have been eliminated from the verbal system, except for the case of *annī-* where it was reanalyzed as part of the root.⁹

But if Kizzuwatna Luvian *annī-* represents a result of recent fusion, the same must be true of Hittite *aniye/a-*. One has no choice but to postulate the Hittite morpheme **an-* ‘con-’, no longer functioning as a synchronic prefix but identifiable through historical analysis. Such an interpretation is, of course, quite compatible with the semantic relationship between Hitt. *iye/a-* and *an-iye/a-*, since comitative prefixes have a particular propensity toward functional bleaching. Thus, Lat. *con-ficere* has the same basic range of meanings as the simplex *facere* ‘to do, make’, while Ru. *s-delat* simply represents a perfective counterpart to Ru. *delat* ‘to do, make’. The reconstruction of the Hittite prefix as *an-* and not *ani-* follows from its segmentation in *an-tuwahḫaš* ‘human’, which can be analyzed as ‘(having) a soul with (him)’. The correspondence between Hitt. *an-* and Luv. **anni* is presumably of the same kind as that between Hitt. *šer* and Luv. *šarri* ‘above’. The Hittite forms can be analyzed in both cases as

root and the **en-* prefix in this Lydian stem must be quite old, given that it normally appears in Lydian as *ēn-*, with the analogical generalization of the pre-consonantal variant of the suffix. The contrast between the “old” and the “new” **en-* could be particularly clearly seen in the secondary formation *f-ēn-ani-l* (15.2). The assumption that only Iron Age Luvian displays the separate spelling of the root and the prefix, while Hittite, Bronze Age Luvian, and Lydian conspire in their fusion, represents a complication of my hypothesis.

⁸There is a theoretical possibility that the preposition *anni* ‘near to’ is preserved in KUB 35.102 + 103 iii 5–6 *pa-wa-an-tar a-an-ni ti-i-ta-ni du-ii-wa-an-du* if we assume that this clause means: ‘Let them put him (the child) near the breast’. Its conventional interpretation, however, is: ‘Let them put him (the child) to (his) mother’s breast’ (as implied in Melchert 1993:12). This interpretation implies that *a-an-ni ti-i-ta-ni*, lit. “to (his) mother, to the breast” represents an instance of case attraction in a possessive construction. While case attraction is quite common in Hittite, one would rather expect a construction with the possessive adjective **annasan titani* in Luvian. Nevertheless, given that the mention of the child’s mother, who appears just several lines before in the same text, makes excellent sense in the given passage, its traditional interpretation is probably to be preferred.

⁹In one instance, CUM-*ni/a* appears to have a counterpart in a Luvian borrowing into Hittite. The second component of compound *annawali-*, *annanli-* ‘of the same rank’ is obviously related to that of the synonymous hapax *ayawala-* ‘of one (and the same) rank’, discussed in Goedegebuure 2002:67–8. The element *wala/i-* ‘*rank’ can be analyzed as a deverbative noun derived from Luv. *walli(ya)-* ‘raise, lift; exalt’ (Melchert 1993:232). The first component of *anna-wali-* has not been explained in a satisfactory fashion. Puhvel (1984:63) sought to identify it with the distal deictic stem *anna-* ‘yonder, former’, speculating that it is used here with the meaning ‘self, same’, but there is no evidence that *anna-* had such a meaning. I suggest interpreting *anna-wali-* as ‘co-ranked’, identifying *anna-* with CUM-*na*, a variant of CUM-*ni*. Whatever was the original semantic difference between *anna* and *anni*, the meanings of the two morphemes clearly overlapped, since CUM-*na i-zi-i-há* alternates with CUM-*ni i-zi-i-há* in two parallel versions of KARATEPE §15. The syllabically spelled *anna-wali-* remains the best argument for the reality of phonetic difference between these two forms.

historical endless locatives, while their Luvian counterparts feature the historical locative ending *-i*. The gemination of sonorants in Luvian must reflect the effects of Čop’s Law (Melchert 1994:259–60), which implies that Luv. **anni* goes back to earlier **eni*. Accordingly, Hittite *an-* must reflect an earlier **en*. As a possible explanation for the change *e > a* in Hittite one can suggest that it was regularly conditioned by word-final *-n* (Melchert 1994:134–6).¹⁰

The reconstructed Anatolian preverb and adposition **en(i)-* ‘with, con-’ represents a perfect formal match to the Greek prefix and preposition *ἐν(i)-* ‘in(-)’. Whether or not we can consider these two morphemes as related to one another depends, of course, on our ability to account for their semantic difference. In general, the distance between the meanings ‘in’ and ‘with’ is not insurmountable. One can reconstruct the basic adessive meaning, similar to that of ModHG *bei*, for the Indo-Hittite adposition **en(i)*.¹¹ The derived directional adposition **en-dō* could originally combine the illative and allative functions ((‘in)to’), but the first function must have been generalized already in the proto-language. This, in turn, led to the semantic shift of **en(i)* in the direction of an unspecified locative preposition (‘in’) in Indo-European. By contrast, Anat. **en(i)* came to mean ‘with’ through the same type of semantic shift that can be seen in MP *abā < upāka-* ‘with’ vs. OP *u-p-a* ‘bei’. Only the compound adposition **en-dō* remained unaffected by this semantic change.¹²

The scenario suggested above cannot be strictly proven and is merely mentioned here as a possible way of accounting for Indo-European and Anatolian **en(i)-* as genetically related morphemes. There is, however, one construction in which Gk. *ἐν-* has precisely the same function as Anatolian reflexes of **en(i)-*, namely an applicative verbal prefix. Strangely enough, this function of *ἐν-* appears not to have been properly described in modern linguistic literature, but the scrutiny of Liddell and Scott 1996 indicates that *ἐν-* can signal the addition of dative complements to the argument structure of high frequency verbs. Thus Gk. *ποιέω* ‘to do, make’ contrasts with the ditransitive *ἐμποιέω* [τί τινι], which is most frequently used with the meaning ‘to cause (something to someone)’. Gk. *τυγχάνω* with the basic meaning ‘to happen, occur’ is sometimes used in the secondary meaning ‘to meet, fall in (with someone)’, but this last meaning becomes primary in the case of *ἐντυγχάνω* [τινι]. The ditransitive *ἐνέπω* [τί τινι] ‘to tell’ inherited its semantics from the root attested through the transitive aorist stem *εἶπον* ‘to say’ but added a new valence to its basic argument structure.

The comparison with Luvian indicates that the use of *ἐν-* for head-marking dative complements is quite old. The syntactic relationship between *ποιέω* and *ἐμ-ποιέω* is

¹⁰The precise phonetic environment for the vowel lowering in Hitt. **en > an-* remains uncertain. As an alternative, one can suggest that this change originated before coronal [n] in examples such as *an-tunabhiš* or even invoke the analogical influences of *anda* ‘in’ (on which see Melchert 1994:134–5).

¹¹A hint at this reconstruction is the use of the sentence-initial adverb *ἐν* in the meaning ‘besides, moreover, *dabei*’ in Greek dialects (Liddell and Scott 1996:552b *sub* C). One should compare it with the similar use of sentence-initial *anda* or its reflexes in Hittite, Luvian, and Lydian (*dum < *anda-ma*, Yakubovich 2005–6:80–2).

¹²The Anatolian postposition **enon > Luv. annan* ‘under’ was secondarily formed on the model of other postpositions ending in **-on*, such as the ancestors of Hitt./Luv. *appan* ‘behind’ or Hitt. *peran*, Luv. *parvan* ‘before’. For the semantic shift in this postposition, one should compare Ved. *ūpa* ‘bei’ vs. Gk. *ὑπό* ‘under’.

not different from that between the transitive *a-* ‘to do, make’ and the ditransitive /*anni a-*/ ‘to cause, provide’, discussed earlier in this paper. To be sure, it is formally possible to explain the construction as a functional extension of its counterpart where the prefix *ēn-* functions as head-marker of a locative argument, sometimes introduced by the preposition *ēn* or *ēis* < *ēn* ‘in’ (e.g. *ēn tithēmi* [τινα *ēis* τινα] ‘to put in’). It would be equally possible, however, to explain the Luvian applicative prefix through the fusion and functional extension of a comitative preverb. But at least in the case of the verb ‘to cause, provide’, the choice between the two hypotheses does not impose itself, since the applicative prefixal derivation may be postulated already for Indo-Hittite.

The same comparison also allows one to suggest that the valence-adding function of **anni* in combination with *a-* in Luvian represents an archaism *vis-à-vis* the quasi-synonymous relation between *īye/a-* and *aniye/a-* in Hittite. In fact, distinct traces of the old applicative construction involving Hitt. *aniye/a-* can still be seen in a number of contexts. This verb is unambiguously attested with two objects and the meaning ‘to provide, supply’ (vel. sim.) in (10). The ditransitive use of *aniye/a-* in (11) may be explained as a result of the indirect object raising prompted by the symmetry with the preceding dependent clause. These examples prove little by themselves, since *īye/a-* can also be occasionally combined with a dative complement expressing a beneficiary, as, for example, in KUB 7.54 iii 15–16 *zik-wa* ^d*Iyarriš kedani* KUR-*e* KARAŠ.ḪI.A-*ya idalu iyat* ‘You, Iyarri, have caused evil to this land and army’. The additional semantic valence, however, appears to be grammaticalized with *aniye/a-* used in the specialized meanings ‘to plant (sth. into a field)’ and ‘to record (sth. on a tablet)’, illustrated in (12) and (13). The extra syntactic arguments are not overtly present in each and every case with these predicates, but the reference to the field and the tablet respectively is clearly necessary for their conceptualization. On the other hand, the exclusive use of *īye/a-* in the construction ‘to make X into Y’ reflects the difficulty of combining source, goal, and beneficiary as obligatory valences of the same verb. Thus, there is a set of constructions involving Hitt. *īye/a-* vs. *aniye/a-* that are conducive to reconstructing a syntactic/semantic opposition similar to that between Luv. *a/iziya-* and CUM-*na/i a/iziya-*.

- (10) KUB 13.2 iii 38–40, CTH 261.B (MH/NS), cf. von Schuler 1957:48

arnuwalaš-a-ta-kkan kuiš KUR-*az arba uizzi pidi-ma-šši-šan kuiš ašzi nu-šši* NUMUN.ḪI.A *aniya-pat*

‘And a transportee that comes from outside the land but is settled in a place (here), likewise supply seeds to him.’

- (11) KUB 12.58 ii 5, 9, 409.I.A (MH/NS), cf. Goetze 1938:12

kuiš-an dankuneškir haḫlan[ēš]kir ... *n-an kāša paprannaš* SISKUR *aniškimi*

‘Whoever made him black and yellow ... I am performing for him the ritual of uncleanness.’

- (12) KUB 13.2 iii 62–3, CTH 261.B (MH/NS), cf. von Schuler 1957:49

NUMUN-*wa-mu-pai nu-war-at* A.ŠÀ-*ni-mi anda aniyami*

‘Give me seeds, I will plant them into my field.’

- (13) KUB 10.63 vi 15–16, CTH 715 (NS), cf. Wegner 1995:169

kédani-ma-ššan TUPPU-ya UD 2.KAM UD 3.KAM UD 4.KAM aniyanteš

‘On this tablet the second, third, and fourth days are recorded.’

Indo-European preverbs frequently display archaic meanings that are lost in the corresponding adpositions. For example, ModE *with-stand* implies the meaning ‘against’ for the preverb, which was normal for the Old English preposition *wið*, but not for its modern descendant. In our case, the syntactic comparison between Hitt. *an-iya-*, Luv. /*anni a-*/ and Gk. *ἐμ-ποιέω* is not only conducive to finding the right segmentation of the Hittite verb, but also plays the decisive role in demonstrating the genetic relationship between *ἐν*(ι) ‘in’ and Luv. **anni* ‘with’.

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Observations on the Prehistory of Hittite *ie/a*-Verbs

Kazuhiko Yoshida

The problem

The importance of considering the relative chronology of texts in establishing the historical grammar of Hittite cannot be overstated. Many problems which were earlier thought to show haphazard fluctuation in orthographic, morphological and syntactic usage are now partly attributable to the differing ages of the texts.¹ One representative example is the fluctuation between *-(i)ia-* and *-e-* (or *-i-*) seen in *ie/a*-verbs, which was previously taken to reflect a contraction of *-(i)ia-* to *-e-* (*-i-*) by Friedrich (1960:27), but has now been shown to be due to a replacement of OH *-ie-* by later Hittite *-ia-*. Oettinger (1979a:27) states, “Die jung-hethitische Entwicklung ist dadurch charakterisiert, daß die dunkle Variante des Themavokals (Prs.Sg.3. [*peššiazzi*] statt [*peššiezzi*] usw.) im ganzen Paradigma außerhalb der Prät.Pl.3. durchgeführt wird.”² Even a cursory survey confirms the correctness of this view. Old Hittite original manuscripts document *ie/a*-verbs such as 1 sg. *a-ni-e-mi* ‘I make’, *a-ni-e[-nu-un]*, *ha-ri-e-mi* ‘I bury’, *ha-ri-e-nu-un*, etc., which are all characterized by *-ie-*. The contrast between Old Hittite *-ie-* and later Hittite *-ia-* is especially conspicuous in the Hittite Law text, where *a-ni-e-ez-zi* KUB 29.30 ii 21, 22 is attested in an OH original manuscript, but *a-ni-ia-zi* KBo 6.26 i 13, 15 in the corresponding passages of its Neo-Hittite copy. Likewise, *ú-e-mi-zi* KBo 6.2 iv 12, attested in an OH original manuscript, is copied as *ú-e-mi-ia-zi* KBo 6.3 iv 6 in its corresponding later version. Since examples reflecting this historical change are frequently observed, there is no doubt that Old Hittite *-ie-* was replaced by *-ia-* at a later stage.

However, there are at least three Old Hittite verbs in *-(i)ia-* (with five occurrences). They are *pé-eš-ši-ia-mi* KBo 17.3 iv 18 (OS) ‘I throw’, *pé-eš-ši-ia-u-e-ni* KUB 35.164 obv. 6 (OS) ‘we throw’, *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* KBo 22.2 obv. 14 (OS) ‘we found’ and *hu-la-a-li-ia-mi* KBo 17.1 iii 22, 17.6 iii 14 (both OS) ‘I entwine’. The first two examples, *pé-eš-ši-ia-mi* and *pé-eš-ši-ia-u-e-ni* are recorded in Old Hittite original manuscripts of ‘The

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 28th East Coast Indo-European Conference, University of Iceland, June 2009. There have been a series of important linguistic works which based their analysis on a chronologically sifted text collection. They all owe much to the honorand of this volume whose Harvard University dissertation entitled *Ablative and Instrumental in Hittite* (1977) combines a useful discussion of diagnostic linguistic and orthographic features with an extensive classification of cuneiform manuscripts into Old Hittite, Middle Hittite and Neo-Hittite.

² Similar observations were earlier made by Carruba (1966:79ff.) and Watkins (1969:71) as well.

Ritual for the King and Queen' (CTH 416) and 'The Archaic Ritual' (CTH 827), respectively. Old Hittite original manuscripts also attest the same verb in *-iē-* such as pres. 1 sg. *pé-eš-ši-e-mi* KBo 17.1 iv 22 (OS), pres. 3 sg. *pé-eš-ši-ez-zi* KBo 6.2 ii 35, iv 6 (OS), *pé-eš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* KBo 17.43 i 16 (OS) and pret. 3 pl. *pé-eš-ši-er* KBo 6.2 ii 57 (OS).³ The third example *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* is attested in the Zalpa text (CTH 3) and contrasts with pres. 3 sg. *ú-e-mi-ez-zi* in *-iē-* KBo 4.2 iii 35, 36, 38, 58, 59, iv 11, iv 49, 9.73 rev. 13, 19.1 iii 49, KBo 19.2 + KUB 29.16 iii 7, KUB 36.16 iii (all OS) and *ú-e-mi-zi* KBo 6.2 iv 12 (OS). Likewise, the last example, *hu-la-a-li-ia-mi*, recorded twice in KBo 17.1 iii 22 and 17.6 iii 14 ('The Ritual for the King and Queen'), has *-ia-* in contrast to *hu-la-a-li-e-mi* KBo 17.3 iv 23, which is attested in an Old Hittite original manuscript of the same text and shows *-iē-*. It should be noted that the above Old Hittite verbs in *-ia-* are limited to the 1 sg. and 1 pl.

The distribution of the vowels **e/o* in the suffix **-iē/o-* throughout the history of Hittite is summarized by Kloekhorst (2008:131), where the replacement of OH *-iē-* by later Hittite *-ia-* is confirmed. The following table includes only the PIE and OS forms from his overview of attested spellings.

		PIE	OS			PIE	OS
pres.	sg.	1	<i>*-iō-</i>	pret.	sg.	1	<i>*-iō-</i>
		2	<i>*-iē-</i>			2	<i>*-iē-</i>
		3	<i>*-iē-</i>			3	<i>*-iē-</i>
	pl.	1	<i>*-iō-</i>		pl.	1	<i>*-iō-</i>
		2	<i>*-iē-</i>			2	<i>*-iē-</i>
		3	<i>*-iō-</i>			3	<i>-i-er</i>
			<i>-ia-mi, -i-e-mi</i>				<i>-i-e-nu-un</i>
			<i>-i-e-ši</i>				—
			<i>-i-e-ez-zi</i>				<i>-i-e-et</i>
			<i>-ia-u-e-ni</i>				<i>-ia-u-en</i>
			—				—
			<i>-ia-an-zi</i>				

Kloekhorst rightly acknowledges the allomorph *-ia-* in some Old Hittite verbs and seems to attribute it to the PIE ablauting paradigm with **-iē-* and **-iō-*. He apparently follows the traditional reconstruction of *o*-timbre for the suffix in the 1 sg., 1 pl. and 3 pl. and the *e*-timbre in the 2 sg., 3 sg. and 2 pl.⁴ From this point of view, the above Old Hittite verbs in *-ia-* are an inheritance, not an innovation.

But a number of problems inherent in Kloekhorst's view quickly emerge. First of all, Kloekhorst considers the pres. 1 sg. *-i-e-mi* and the pret. 1 sg. *-i-e-nu-un* to be secondary. If this analysis is correct, the replacement **-iō-* by **-iē-* must be due to paradigmatic leveling, which would, however, be incomplete here because 1 sg. *-ia-mi* and 1 pl. *-ia-u-e-ni, -ia-u-en* would turn out to be resistant to this morphological change. This situation is very different from the case with the suffix **-ske/o-*. The following table includes the PIE and OS forms from his overview of attested spellings of the suffix *-ske/a-* (Kloekhorst 2008:135–6).

³Cf. Güterbock and Hoffner 1980–: P 316–7 and Kloekhorst 2008:670–1.

⁴His position is also perceived from the phrase “the ablaut vowels **e/o* in the suffix **-iē/o-*”; cf. Kloekhorst 2008:131.

		PIE	OS			PIE	OS
pres.	sg.	1	*-s ^h kó-	pret.	sg.	1	*-s ^h kó-
		2	*-s ^h ké-			2	*-s ^h ké-
		3	*-s ^h ké-			3	*-s ^h ké-
	pl.	1	*-s ^h kó-		pl.	1	*-s ^h kó-
		2	*-s ^h ké-			2	*-s ^h ké-
		3	*-s ^h kó-			3	*-s ^h ké-
			°s ^h -ke-e-mi				—
			°s ^h -ke-e-ši				—
			°s ^h -ke-ez-zi				°s ^h -ke-et
			°s ^h -ke-e-ua-ni				—
			°s ^h -ket ₉ -te-ni				—
			°s ^h -kán-zi				°s ^h -ke-e-cr

Though the suffix *-s^hke-* is consistent throughout the paradigm in Old Hittite original manuscripts except in the 3 pl.,⁵ ablauting **-s^hké-* and **-s^hkó-* are posited in PIE in exactly the same manner as in the case of **-ie/o-* verbs. It is not easy to understand why the vowel *e* is generalized in Hittite *ske/a*-verbs in contrast to *ie/a*-verbs, where paradigmatic leveling is not complete.

There are further problems in Kloekhorst's reconstruction. First, in spite of the reconstruction **-i^hó-* in the pres. 3 pl., *-ia-an-zi* can go back to **-ie-nti*. As Melchert (1994:134–5) shows, Proto-Anat. **eN* becomes Hitt. *aN* before a dental; cf. Hitt. *anda*, OLat. *endo* 'in(to)'. Second, although **-i^hó-* is reconstructed in the pret. 1 sg., there is no Old Hittite evidence for it. Third, Kloekhorst does not systematically treat mediopassives, where the alternation between *-ie-* and *-ia-* is not observed in a meaningful manner and *-ia-* is favored at all historical stages in Hittite.⁶ Finally, his discussion is limited to accented **-i^hé/ó-* because he believes that verbs in **-ie/o-* usually show zero-grade in the root (Kloekhorst 2008:180). But this position is probably not correct and an analysis of verbs with post-tonic **-i^he/o-* will be rewarding, as we will see below. In sum, the distribution of *-ie-* and *-ia-* in Hittite is not what would be expected from the point of view of the traditional Proto-Indo-European reconstruction. Rather than proceed directly to the problematic Old Hittite verbs in *-ia-* discussed above, we will first place our discussion in a wider Indo-European context so that we may have a more precise understanding of the prehistory of Hittite *ie/a*-verbs.

The prehistory of Hittite *ie/a*-verbs

As observed in the preceding section, the suffix *-ie-* is favored in the active of Old Hittite *ie/a*-verbs in contrast to the mediopassive, where *-ia-* is overwhelmingly employed. It will be useful to consider this situation from a slightly wider perspective. The suffix **-ie/o-* took part in two present stem formations: present stems with a zero grade root and accented suffix **-i^hé/ó-*, and those with an accented *e*-grade root and unaccented **-ie/o-*. The former type is particularly favored in mediopassives. It is clear that both types were used already in the parent language (cf. Rix 2001:19).

These two types of present stems in **-ie/o-* must have had thematic endings because they show neither accentual mobility within the paradigm nor qualitative ablaut.

⁵The vowel timbre *a* in the 3 pl. will be discussed later.

⁶Cf. the data in Neu 1968 and Yoshida 1990.

The two original paradigms are assumed to be the ones shown below:

sg.	1	*- <i>ǵé-h₂(e)</i>	*- <i>ǵé-h₂(e)</i>	* <i>bhér-h₂(e)</i>
	2	*- <i>ǵé-th₂e</i>	*- <i>ǵé-th₂e</i>	* <i>bhér-th₂e</i>
	3	*- <i>ǵé</i> (← *- <i>ǵé̄</i> < *- <i>ǵé̄-e</i>)	*- <i>ǵé</i> (← *- <i>ǵé̄</i> < *- <i>ǵé̄-e</i>)	* <i>bhér-e</i>
pl.	1	*- <i>ǵé-me</i>	*- <i>ǵé-me</i>	* <i>bhér-me</i>
	2	*- <i>ǵé-te</i>	*- <i>ǵé-te</i>	* <i>bhér-te</i>
	3	*- <i>ǵé-nti</i>	*- <i>ǵé-nti</i>	* <i>bhér-nti</i>

The vowel **e* is posited as a basic vowel and the paradigm of the simple pre-thematized present is also provided for reference. As for the 3 sg. **ǵé̄*, whether accented (**ǵé̄*) or unaccented (**ǵé̄*), long *ē* would be expected as the result of vowel contraction of two short *e*'s. But this long *ē* could easily become shortened under the influence of the short **e* of the root class 3 sg. **bhér-e*.

As for the corresponding mediopassive *ǵe/o*-presents, the original state of the paradigms that characterized the two types of *ǵe/o*-presents, as well as that of the simple pre-thematized present, may be assumed to have taken the following forms:

sg.	1	*- <i>ǵé-h₂e(r)</i>	*- <i>ǵé-h₂e(r)</i>	* <i>bhér-h₂e(r)</i>
	2	*- <i>ǵé-th₂e(r)</i>	*- <i>ǵé-th₂e(r)</i>	* <i>bhér-th₂e(r)</i>
	3	*- <i>ǵór</i> (← *- <i>ǵór̄</i> < *- <i>ǵé̄-or</i>)	*- <i>ǵór</i> (← *- <i>ǵór̄</i> < *- <i>ǵé̄-or</i>)	* <i>bhér-or</i>
pl.	1	*- <i>ǵé-medh₂</i>	*- <i>ǵé-medh₂</i>	* <i>bhér-medh₂</i>
	2	*- <i>ǵé-dh(u)ue</i>	*- <i>ǵé-dh(u)ue</i>	* <i>bhér-dh(u)ue</i>
	3	*- <i>ǵé-ntor</i>	*- <i>ǵé-ntor</i>	* <i>bhér-ntor</i>

The only place that shows an apophonic contrast between the thematic active and mediopassive endings is the 3 sg., where the mediopassive ending is reconstructed as **-o(r)*, which probably existed as such at a very early stage. Vowel contraction would be expected between the suffix **-ǵé-* and the ending **-or* in the 3 sg. in a manner similar to what was seen in the case of the active thematic 3 sg. This time a long **ō* would probably result from the sequence of **e* and **o*.⁷ However, this long **ō* could again have been shortened under the influence of the short *-o* in the root class 3 sg. **bhér-o*.

It is noteworthy that the above paradigms of the thematic active and mediopassive in **-ǵe/o-* look similar except in the 3 sg., where the active has **-ǵé* and the mediopassive has **-ǵór*. An inference to be drawn now is that the vowel *o* of the 3 sg. mediopassive *-ǵór* spread to the rest of the paradigm so as to distinguish the two paradigms formally. Thus, a morphological polarization was achieved by characterizing the active and mediopassive paradigms by **-ǵé-* and **-ǵo-*, respectively. The paradigms resulting from this change are those shown below, which still reflect the state before the Anatolian branch split off from the rest of the IE language family.

⁷ Cf. Attic Greek γένους 'of a kind' in contrast to Homeric γένεος.

active	sg.	1	* <i>ṡē-b₂(e)</i>	* <i>ṡē-b₂(e)</i>
		2	* <i>ṡē-th₂e</i>	* <i>ṡē-th₂e</i>
		3	* <i>ṡē</i>	* <i>ṡē</i>
	pl.	1	* <i>ṡē-me</i>	* <i>ṡē-me</i>
		2	* <i>ṡē-te</i>	* <i>ṡē-te</i>
		3	* <i>ṡē-nti</i>	* <i>ṡē-nti</i>
mediopassive	sg.	1	* <i>ṡō-b₂e(r)</i>	* <i>ṡō-b₂e(r)</i>
		2	* <i>ṡō-th₂e(r)</i>	* <i>ṡō-th₂e(r)</i>
		3	* <i>ṡōr</i>	* <i>ṡōr</i>
	pl.	1	* <i>ṡō-medbh₂</i>	* <i>ṡō-medbh₂</i>
		2	* <i>ṡō-dh(u)ue</i>	* <i>ṡō-dh(u)ue</i>
		3	* <i>ṡō-ntor</i>	* <i>ṡō-ntor</i>

As far as the distribution of the suffixes **-iē-* and **-iō-* within the paradigm is concerned, this state is faithfully retained in Old Hittite.⁸ On the other hand, the active endings later underwent further changes. Hittite verbs in **-iē/o-* came to take the corresponding athematic endings **-m(i)*, **-s(i)*, **-t(i)*, etc., which completely replaced the original thematic endings.⁹ Moreover, the suffixes **-iē-* and **-iō-* came to be used in the preterite as well due to a merger of the PIE imperfect and the aorist.¹⁰

A solution to the problem

If the analysis in the previous section is correct, the *a*-timbre of the suffix *-iā-* in the Old Hittite verbs *pé-es-ši-ia-mi*, *pé-es-ši-ia-u-e-ni*, *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* and *hu-la-a-li-ia-mi*

⁸So far I have discussed the pre-history of *ie/o*-presents anterior to the Old Hittite period. Because the later development of *ie/o*-presents in the extra-Anatolian languages after Anatolian split off from the IE family is not a topic of immediate relevance to the present paper, only the gist of my current view is presented below. In the extra-Anatolian languages the active paradigm with **-iē-* came to have alternating **-iē-* and **-iō-* by an accent-conditioned rule that changed post-tonic **e* to **o* in a closed syllable; cf. Jasanoff 1998:302 n. 6, 2003:57 n. 60. The alternating vowels **-e-* and **-o-* was later generalized to the simple thematic active of the type **bher-e/o-*. This would explain why virtually no simple thematic verbs are attested in the Anatolian languages; cf. Lehrman 1985. The simple thematic mediopassive, on the other hand, acquired **-o-* from **-iō-*, which was persistent in the paradigm. This state of affairs is probably retained in Tocharian class III (IV) presents and Gothic morphological passives, which are resistant to remodeling from the thematic active with its alternating **-e-* and **-o-*. My full-fledged view on the origin of thematic vowels in IE verbs is presented in Yoshida 2009.

⁹This remodeling in an across-the-board fashion is probably related to the well-established 3 sg. mediopassives in *-iatta-*. Jasanoff (2003:51) suggests that the replacement of 3 sg. **-iō(r)* by **-iō-to(r)* was complete by the end of the PIE period. It would be reasonable to assume that once *ie/o*-verbs had the innovative **-to* in the 3 sg. mediopassive, they also came to take **-ti* in the corresponding 3 sg. active, with subsequent introduction of 1 sg. **-mi* and 2 sg. **-si*.

¹⁰As is well known, only a very limited number of simple thematic aorists can be safely reconstructed for the parent language, **(é)-iuid-e* 'saw' (Gk. *ἐίδε* = Ved. *ávidat* = Arm. *egit*) and **(é)-h₁ludh-e* 'went' (Gk. *ἤλυθον* = OIr. *luid* = Toch. A *lāc*, B *lac*); cf. Cardona 1960. This is best explained by assuming that the thematic vowel originated from the *ie/o*-presents.

shown in section 1 cannot be original because the active paradigm posited for the pre-Hittite stage is the one shown below:

active	sg.	1	* <i>íē-m(i)</i>	* <i>íē-m(i)</i>
		2	* <i>íē-s(i)</i>	* <i>íē-s(i)</i>
		3	* <i>íē-t(i)</i>	* <i>íē-t(i)</i>
pl.		1	* <i>íē-nen(i)</i>	* <i>íē-nen(i)</i>
		2	* <i>íē-ten(i)</i>	* <i>íē-ten(i)</i>
		3	* <i>íē-nt(i)</i>	* <i>íē-nt(i)</i>

What then accounts for the replacement of **íē-* by *-ia-* in these verbs?

The verbs in question are characterized by the following shared features. First, they are all actives, which had the suffix **íē-*, accented or unaccented, not **íō-*. Second, the *a*-timbre is observed in open syllables: *-iamī*, *-iaueni* and *-iauen*. There is no 2 sg. *-ias* or 3 sg. *-iat*. Third, the *a*-timbre is in a post-tonic position. As for *pé-ēš-ši-ia-mi* and *pé-ēš-ši-ia-u-e-ni*, the preverb *pe-* was undoubtedly accented.¹¹ The spelling of *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* (< **au-h₁ém-íē-*) speaks for an accented root because it is written with *e*-vocalism. This interpretation is further supported by single *-z-* in the 3 sg. *ú-e-mi-zi* KBo 6.2 iv 12 attested in an Old Hittite original manuscript (< **au-h₁ém-íē-ti*). The single *-z-* therein is due to affrication of *d*, which was produced by the second lenition rule that operated between unaccented vowels in Proto-Anatolian.¹² The last example *hu-la-a-li-ia-mi* is a denominative verb derived from *hulāli-* ‘distaff’. The scriptio plena *-a-* suggests accentual retraction from **íē-mi* under the influence of the corresponding noun. Just as 3 sg. *ú-e-mi-zi* discussed above, 3 sg. [*h*] *u-la-a-li-e-z[i]* KBo 25.100 rev. 3 (OS) with single *-z-* confirms that the accent was not on the suffix.

These three features characteristic of the relevant verbs inevitably lead us to conclude that the *a*-timbre of the suffix *-ia-* is most naturally explained by a phonological rule that changes Proto-Anat. **e* to *a* in Hittite in post-tonic open syllables. This rule was originally suggested by the late Warren Cowgill apud Melchert 1994:137. Another reflex of this rule is found elsewhere in the verbal paradigm, namely pres. 1 pl. *-uani* and 2 pl. *-tani*, both of which are much more widely recorded.¹³ The paucity of examples with *-ia-* (< **íē-*) can be ascribed to the morphological influences from the prevailing type with accented **íē-* (cf. *ha-ap-pa-ri-e-nu-un* OS) and from the corresponding preterite 1 sg. **íēm*, where **e* remained because it was in a closed syllable. However, I find myself still uneasy about the very limited distribution of the suffix

¹¹Kimball (1987:187ff.) derives Hitt. *péššie/a-* from **pé+h₁s-íē-* and connects it with Hitt. *ššie/a-* ‘shoot, press’ and Skt. *śsyati* ‘throws’. For a different interpretation of the geminate *-šš-*, see Melchert 1994:154.

¹²Cf. Eichner 1973 and Morpurgo Davies 1982/83. The importance of *ú-e-mi-zi* together with other Old Hittite verbs with single *-z-* such as *i-e-zi* ‘does’ KBo 6.2 i 60, *pt-hu-te-zi* ‘brings’ KBo 10.10 i 4, *zi-in-ni-z[i]* KBo 10.10 i 5, etc. for gaining a precise historical understanding of the 3 sg. pres. ending *-(z)zi* is discussed in Yoshida 1998 in detail.

¹³An exhaustive data collection on *-uani* and *-tani* is found in Yoshida 1997:187–8. There are two examples of *-uani* as late as in Neo-Hittite historical texts: *pa-a-i-u-ua-ni* KBo 5.3 iv 12 ‘we go’ and *pa-a-i-ua-a-u[i]* KBo 5.3 iv 13. The allomorph *-uani* probably survived into the historical period of Hittite due to the support of the same vocalism in the 3 pl. pres. *-anzi*.

-ia- in the paradigm. It is not easy to understand why *-ia-* is confined to the 1 sg. and 1 pl. with no examples of *-iazzi* in the 3 sg., where a majority of forms are attested. Accordingly, the scope to which the rule applied should probably be more restricted. It is therefore arguable that Proto-Anatolian **e* became *a* in Hittite in post-tonic open syllables *before sonorants*. A limited number of attestations of the suffix *-ia-* in the 1 sg. and 1 pl. is now naturally explained by morphological influence from the second and third persons, where **ie-* remained unaffected by the new rule. This modified version works not only with 1 pl. *-uani* and 2 pl. *-tani*, but also with the oblique stem of *u*-stem adjectives such as *āššaias* (< **b₁és-ey-os*) 'good' and the oblique stem of *i*-stem adjectives such as *šallaias* (< **sélH-ei-os*) 'great, large'.¹⁴ A possible counterexample to this restrictive formulation is *šāuatar* (nom.-acc. sg.) 'horn (a musical instrument, a drinking vessel)', which Melchert (1994:138) derives from **sówedrom* (> Proto-Anat. **sówedVr*) by a special syncope followed by anaptyxis and consonant simplification. It could, however, be the Luvian form that corresponds to Hitt. *šāuitra-* 'horn' (cf. Starke 1990:400).¹⁵

Summary

This study attempted to clarify a further aspect of the prehistory of Hittite *ie/a*-verbs. Our conclusions may be schematically summarized by showing the historical derivation of the relevant forms.

PIE	<i>*ie-b₂</i> , <i>*ie-th₂e</i> , <i>*ie-e</i>	<i>*ie-b₂</i> , <i>*ie-th₂e</i> , <i>*ie-e</i>
transfer to <i>mi</i> -conj.	<i>*ie-mi</i> , <i>*ie-si</i> , <i>*ie-ti</i>	<i>*ie-mi</i> , <i>*ie-si</i> , <i>*ie-ti</i>
<i>*e</i> > <i>*a</i> / ' — .R	—	<i>*ia-mi</i> , <i>*ie-si</i> , <i>*ie-ti</i>
influence from <i>ie-</i> , etc.	—	<i>ie-mi</i> (<i>-ia-mi</i>), <i>ie-si</i> , <i>ie-(z)zi</i>
<i>ie-</i> to <i>ia-</i>	<i>ia-mi</i> , <i>ia-si</i> , <i>ia-(z)zi</i>	<i>ia-mi</i> , <i>ia-si</i> , <i>ia-(z)zi</i>

At the Proto-Indo-European stage, the *ie/o*-verbs must have had thematic endings because they show neither accentual mobility within the paradigm nor qualitative ablaut. The thematic endings, however, were later replaced by *mi*-endings in Proto-Anatolian. Then, at a pre-Hittite stage, there occurred a phonological rule that changed **e* to *a* in post-tonic open syllables before sonorants. This rule applied to the 1 sg. and 1 pl. actives in **ie-*, but not to those in **ie-* nor to the corresponding 1 sg. preterite form. The suffix *-ia-*, an outcome of this sound change, was secondarily

¹⁴ Following observations by Nussbaum (1998:523, 1999:402), Ricken (2005:52–5) derives the oblique stem of *i*-stem adjectives via an *i*-stem nominalization and internal derivation; e.g. a thematic adjective **meg-b₂-o-* (Ved. *mahā-*) → an acrostatic *i*-abstract **még-b₂-i-/még-b₂-i-* → a proterokinetic *i*-adjective **még-b₂-i-/m(e)g-b₂-ei-* (by internal derivation; Hitt. *mekkiš/megqaias* 'great'). The *a*-vocalism of the oblique stem is obtained in the case of nouns with a root-final laryngeal **b₂* or **b₃*, represented by *šalliš/šallaias*, which Ricken derives from Proto-Anat. **sélb₂-i-/s(e)lb₂-ei-*, as well as the above *mekkiš/megqaias*. But in the other cases without a root-final laryngeal, such as *šuppiš/suppaias* 'holy, pure', the *a*-vocalism of the oblique case is not easy to explain.

¹⁵ Difficulties in providing Hitt. *šāuatar*/*šāuitra-* with a reasonable historical interpretation are summarized by Klockhorst (2008:740–1). After surveying the attempts by Oettinger (1979b), Melchert (1994) and Starke (1990), he finds a borrowing more likely.

replaced by *-ie-* to a large extent. But Old Hittite *pé-es-ši-ia-mi*, *pé-es-ši-ia-u-e-ni*, *ú-e-mi-ia-u-en* and *hu-la-a-li-ia-mi* preserve a precious archaism. Furthermore, another rule that changed Old Hittite *-ie-* to *-ia-* occurred at a later stage of Hittite. If this analysis is correct, Old Hittite *pé-es-ši-ia-mi* treated in this paper and *pí-iš-ši-ia-mi* attested in the Neo-Hittite Bronze Tablet are not the same, but have different histories.

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Index Verborum

This index is not exhaustive, but lists only forms that are discussed or analyzed. Branches of Indo-European are given in order of first attestation. Words are listed in English alphabetical order except for Sanskrit and Greek. In cuneiform Anatolian languages the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops, and single and double consonants, is ignored. Orthographic practices varying among the contributors have not been standardized.

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