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POSTPOSITION AND PREVERB IN HITTITE

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In Hittite the distinction between independent adverb, postposition and preverb is notoriously difficult.¹ Elements like

<i>anda</i>	"in(to)"
<i>appa</i>	"away"
<i>arḫa</i>	"outward"
<i>katta</i>	"downward"
<i>para</i>	"forward"
<i>šara</i>	"upward"

all of which express moving in various directions from one place to another, or elements like

<i>appan</i>	"in back, behind"
<i>kattan</i>	"at the side"
<i>piran</i>	"in front, before"
<i>šer</i>	"on top"

all of which express rest in relation to some fixed point — i.e. all these elements which with a general term will be called here "local adverbs" may be used as postpositions with a directional case preceding, or as a preverb with a verbal form following.

If we exclude for the purpose of this paper the exceptional sentences which exhibit the verb in other than final position, the three elements local adverb, directional case and verb may be combined in the following ways:

- (a) directional case — local adverb
- (b) local adverb — verb
- (c) directional case — local adverb — verb
- (d) local adverb — verb
- (e) local adverb — directional case — verb

In (a) we deal with the nominal clause in which the post-positional expression — and this it will have to be — serves as the predicate.

In (b) and (d) we deal with a compound verb (unless special conditions prevail which will be described later on).

The combination of all three elements, as we

1. The subject of this paper would deserve a detailed investigation. It is doubtful that I can find the time to furnish it soon. Since the problem posed is fundamental to the lexicographer I submit here an outline of my views which was presented to the American Oriental Society at its meeting in Philadelphia on March 30th 1961.

have it in (c) and (e), deserves our special attention.

The question before us is this: what are the conditions that allow us to classify the local adverbs which occur in all five combinations in one case as adverbs but in the other as postpositions or as preverbs? To put the question in a pointed way: to what extent do we have to acknowledge the existence of compound verbs outside the combinations (b) and (d)?

At present we are accustomed to make our decision on the basis of the position which the elements in question occupy in the enumerated combinations. When we read:

- (1) *anda-kan tamedani le kuedanikki paitteni*
"don't ye go in to anyone else" XXVI 1 i 25f.

we describe *anda* as an adverb because it is placed at the beginning of the clause. However, in

- (2) *naš-kan apedani anda pait* "he went in to that man" Taw. iii 48f.

and in

- (3) *nu-kan Mašḫuiluwaš atti-mi pittiyantili anda uit* "M. came in to my father as a fugitive" KBo IV 4 iv 56f.

we take *anda* either as a postposition or as a preverb depending on whether we conceive of it as in nexus with the dative-locative that precedes or with the verb that follows.

We must right here take up a small problem of detail which, if left aside, might obscure the issue. The expression "in nexus" we have just used and which forms part of the definition of both preverb and postposition must be rendered more precise. In either case there exist words which may be inserted without breaking that nexus.

In the case of the preverb, above all, negations are of that nature. Compare, e.g.,

- (4) *kaš-wa wilanaš mahḫan wappui appa natta paizzi* "as this clay does not go back to the claypit" Familienzwist iii 3.
- (5) *kuitman-ma ḫaššuš . . . ḫuwašiya anda nawi paizzi* "as long as the king . . . does

not as yet go to the maššebah" (i.e. "before he goes") X 1 i 22ff.

- (6) *nu namma ḥattešnaš kattanda numan panzi* "they thus can no longer go back down to their lair" XVII 5 I 13f.

The negations may be accompanied by an indefinite, or even several indefinites (*natta/le kuiški/kuitki* etc.). Adverbs like *namma* "again", *imma* "even", *kiššan* "thus", *apeniššan* "just so" do not break the nexus either.

A postposition may likewise, although not so commonly, be separated from the preceding case form. For instance by an indefinite pronoun (which is naturally unstressed) as, e.g., in:

- (7) *našma-za-kan tuzziyaz kuiški arḥa antuḥšan LÚ^{ur} Arzawa tayezzi* "or (if) anybody steals a man, an Arzawean, from the army camp" Targ. rev. 39.

or by a determinate relative (which cannot stand initially)

- (8) *I-NA É karimmi-wa-ta-kan kuit anda šagaiš kišat* "that which as an omen happened in your sanctuary" Pap. i 16 f.

Thus, the term "in nexus" is to be understood in a wider sense so as to include all these cases.

We are now ready to return to the combination (c) as set up above, namely

... directional case — local adverb — verb

The preliminary statement is in order that from an isolated occurrence we are unable to decide whether we deal with a compound verb or with a simple one preceded by a postpositional expression, or, for that matter, with both simultaneously. For such a decision we need additional and fuller examples; examples which insert a subject or an object in the decisive spot and thereby separate the local adverb either from the directional case or from the verb. E.g.,

- (9) *ki-ma-kan tuppi A-NA ʹUTU-ŠI iššaz para Ḥattiliš aniyat* "H. took down this tablet from my Majesty's mouth" (literally: "for my Majesty from the mouth") XV 31 iv 38ff.,
- (10) *nu linkiya kattan ke uddar daiš* "he placed these matters under oath for you" Madd. obv. 14.

The passages quoted establish the fact that *para* and *kattan*, here and presumably in all similar occurrences, are postpositions and that therefore these passages offer no evidence for compound verbs like *para aniya-* and *kattan dai-*.

Inversely we may appeal to occurrences in which directional case and local adverb are separated by a subject nominative or an object accusative, as, e.g.,

- (11) *tuk-kan Madduwattan tuel udneyaz Attar-šiyaš arḥa paraḥta* "A. drove you, M., out of your country" Madd. obv. 1.
- (12) *itten-wa-kan IŠ-TU É.GAL-LIM kallār uddar para šuwatten* "go ye (and) chase out of the palace the spook" KBo IV 2 i 15.

The conclusion must be drawn that we encounter in these occurrences preverbs, i.e. that *arḥa parḥ-* and *para šuwa-* are indeed compound verbs.

However, the borderline between postposition and preverb is by no means absolute and rigid. Let us compare with one another

- (13) *šiunaš piran para ḥandandanni iyahḥat* "before the gods I walked in bliss" Ḥatt. i 48
- (14) *išḥeš-ma ḥaššuwī appan iyantari* "the nobles walk behind the king" KBo IV 9 i 37f.
- (15) *ammuk-at kattan laḥḥi iyantat-pat* "together with me they went indeed to war" KBo V 8 iv 7f.
- (16) *nu-ši DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL... appan iyantari* "the courtiers ... walk behind him" II 6 iii 40f.
- (17) *zik-wa-šmaš ... iwar ʹaTAP-PI-ŠU šiwa-tili kattan iyattati* "you walk with them daily as (though you were) one of them" VIII 48 15.

All these passages contain the middle verb *iya-* "walk" in combination with *piran/appan/kattan*. In the first three cases the local adverbs are employed as postpositions, in the remaining two as preverbs. The reason? In the last two examples the directional caseforms to which they should be postpositions are not nouns but enclitic pronouns. Obviously enclitics cannot support the postpositions, hence these are promptly prefixed to the verb and become preverbs. This shift from postposition to preverb can often be observed. Contrasting pairs like the following are instructive:

- (18) *nu šiunaš piran ḤUR.SAG.MEŠ-aš tak-šanitten* "before the gods level ye the mountains" XV 34 iii 52 and
- (19) *nu-šmaš ḤUR.SAG.MEŠ piran takšatni-*

yantaru "may (o gods) the mountains be leveled before you" *ibid.* i 45.

In this connection another phenomenon previously observed by others should be recalled. Before the particles *-kan* and *-šan* which are attached to sentence connectives an expected suffix of the third person is frequently lacking. The mentioned particles must then be translated by "there-in" "there-upon" or the like. E.g.,

- (20) *nu-kan udne kuit human šara pan ešta* "because the (people of) the whole country had gone up there" KBo IV 4 iv 7f.
 (21) *idalu-kan para ištapdu aššu-(w)a-kan anda kurkdu* "may it (the door) lock the evil things out from there, and may it keep the good things in there" IX 31 ii 38.
 (21a) *kuit-kan anda paizzi nat-kan namma šara natta uizzi* "that which goes into it will not come out again" XXXIII 8 iii 8f.

Tmesis is of frequent occurrence in Hittite. The Old-Latin *ob vos sacro, sub vos placo* has numerous analogues in that ancient language. Any compound verb may be split up so that the preverb begins the clause and the verb closes it ("Spreizstellung"). A few examples must suffice:

- (22) *anda-šan parna nawi paizzi* "he does not return home as yet" HC §93.
 (23) *appa-ma-šan happiriya šannapiliš numan paizzi* "away up to the town he does no longer go emptyhanded" XXXIII 121 ii 16
 (24) *para-ma-aš-šan natta kuitki nai appa-ia-kan natta kuitki peššiyazzi* "he does not add anything, nor does he leave off anything" X 93 iv 1f.
 (25) *šer-ma-šan kudduš Ayaš . . . wetet* "on top the walls (god) Ea built" KBo IV 1 obv. 32.

With sentence connectives that are not themselves enclitic the preverb takes second place in such constructions. Thereby the preverb comes to stand in front of the directional case and takes on the appearance of a preposition presumed to be foreign to Hittite. E.g.:

- (26) *našta anda Hattuši udneya . . . uwatten* "come ye to the Hittite land!" XV 34 ii 6.
 (27) *nu-naš appa tamai uddar hatreškiši* "back

to us you keep writing other things" Madd. rev. 37.

- (28) *nat-za para le kuiški kuedanikki memai* "let no-one divulge it to anybody else" XXVI 1 iii 24f.
 (29) *nu šara nepiši atti-ši halzaiš* "he called up to heaven to his father" KBo III 7 iv 27f.

Hittite is an inflected language. Therefore, its word order is rather free. Thus, it is not surprising that in numerous cases variants occur which, extremely similar to one another, seem to contain preverbs here but postpositions there. In the following I have assembled a group of six passages which will demonstrate this in a way which I think is revealing. All of these passages have the general meaning "if a royal official overhears somebody talk in a derogatory manner of the king":

- (30) *man-wa-kan ŠA 4UTU-ŠI idalun memiyan . . . kuedanikki anda ištamašteni* "if ye hear from anyone evil talk concerning my Majesty" XXVI 1 iii 47ff.
 (31) *nu-kan man ŠA 4UTU-ŠI kuedanikki idalu anda ištamašteni* "if ye hear from anyone evil concerning my Majesty" XXVI 1 iii 54ff.
 (32) *našma-kan araš ari haššuwaš GÛB-an uttar kugurniyaman anda ištamašzi* "or if one hears from the other unfavorable talk concerning the king. . . ." XXI 42 iv 5f.
 (33) *man-a ŠEŠ.LUGAL . . . haššuwaš idalu uttar anda ištamašzi* "if the king's brother hears evil talk concerning the king" XXVI 12 iv 43f.

Here *anda* is according to our definitions preverb.

- (34) *našma-kan man ŠA 4UTU-ŠI kuedani anda idalu ištamašti* "or if you hear evil concerning my Majesty with somebody" Hukk. i 27.

- (35) *našma-kan araš ari anda ŠA 4UTU-ŠI kuinki idalun memiyan ištamašzi* "or if one from the other hears some evil talk concerning my Majesty" XXVI 1 iv 7f.

Here *anda* is according to our definitions preverb.

The difference can be only a stylistic one. As far as I can see, example (30) exhibits normal wordorder and is a matter of fact statement. Example (31) stresses the "evil" (*idalu*), while

example (32) seems to emphasize the word *kugurniyaman*, a Luwian word and a hapax the meaning of which can only be guessed at. Example (33) lacks a directional case so that *anda* can be attached only to the verb. Example (34) lays emphasis on the *kuedani anda*, and (35) on the *ari anda*.

Looking for the common denominator under which all these usages may be subsumed we might say: the local adverb is attached, either enclitically or proclitically, to that element of the sentence which is to be emphasized. This, of course

implies that the local adverb is lacking stress itself, and must, for that reason, seek the support of a stressed element. Quite naturally it is preferably attached to that word which bears the strongest stress. The only place where it acquires stress of its own is as the first word in a clause, i.e. in tmesis from a verb most frequently found at the clause's end. In that position it attracts all the enclitic elements properly employed in the respective clause and thereby is provided with the substance which initial position entails and indeed requires.