



The Hittite Particle -kan

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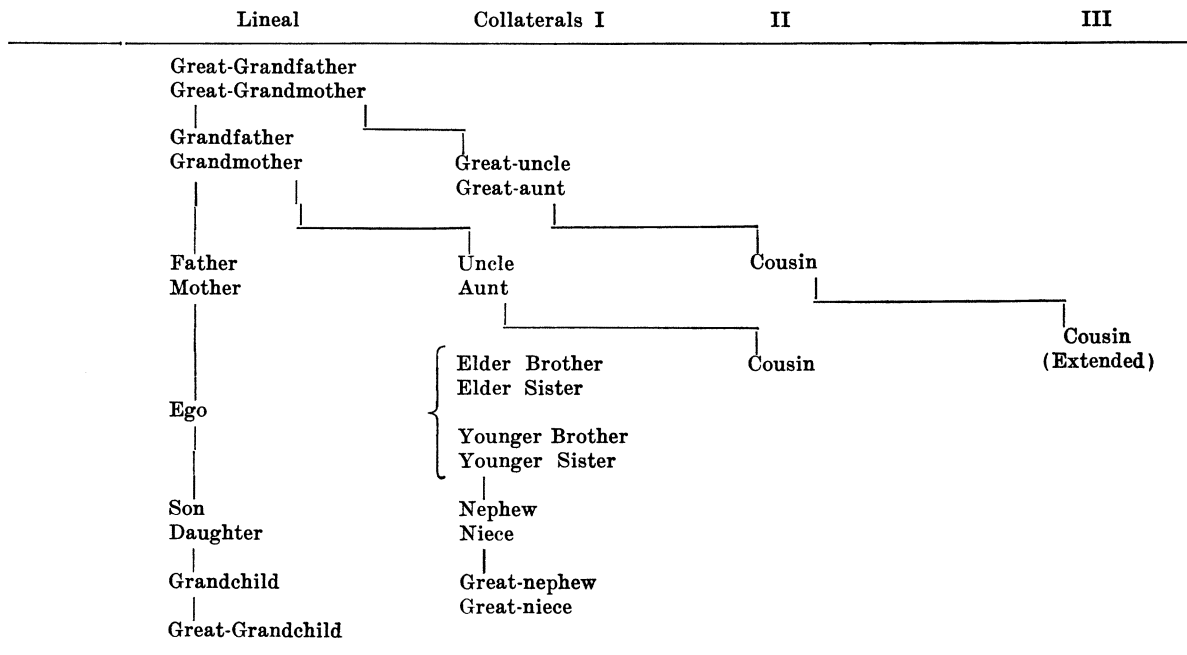
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modern kinship terminology gives no clue as to the exact nature of social organization.

The honorific and depreciatory usages which are so characteristic of the society of Japan have their place, as has been noted, in the kinship system. The terms which the individual uses in making reference to the relatives of others are a reflection of his general social status.²⁷ But in contrast to the kinship system of the Chinese, the emphasis on generation gives way to greater

attention to the totality of immediate inter-personal relationships. The Japanese, lacking surnames until relatively recently, placing little emphasis on a cult of the remote ancestors, lay stress on the immediate kinship usages. The analogy to certain European systems has been suggested above; indeed, one writer draws a close parallel between the familial organization of Japan and that of France.²⁸ Japanese kinship designation serve to affirm social role; they lack any suggestion of broader familial implications.

²⁷ Benedict, Ruth *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1946.) p. 50.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

THE HITTITE PARTICLE *-kan*

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IT IS A characteristic of Hittite that every clause in that language either begins with one or a series of particles, or attaches such particles to the first word of the clause. The question as to the significance of these particles is of the greatest significance for the precise interpretation of Hittite texts. The problems involved are no doubt very intricate.

In 1931 I made a contribution to their solution¹ which has been acknowledged by virtually all Hittitologists to be a decisive step in the right direction.²

¹ *Archiv Orientalní* 5 (1933). 1-38.

² H. Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen* (1938) 152-163; F. Sommer, *Die*

The maximum accumulation of particles follows the pattern of *nu-war-aš-mu-za-kan*. Whatever element is not required in a particular sentence may be omitted; however, the sequence of those elements which are present is always the one indicated. It is agreed nowadays that *nu* (and its syntactical equivalents) are 'sentence connectives,' i. e. particles which serve to connect the sentence in question with what precedes. The second place is occupied by the particle of direct discourse *-wa(r)* whenever needed. Then the pronominal subject and the pronominal object must follow (if there are any). The accumulation is closed by the so-called 'modifying' particles *-za* and, always coming after it, *-kan* or *-šan*, which are mutually exclusive. The former contains, as is generally acknowledged,³ a reference back to the subject of the sentence. The two latter were explained by me as 'local indicators,' *-kan* in a general sense and *-šan* in the more special sense 'upon, unto.'

As far as *-kan* is concerned, my view is now attacked and condemned by B. Schwartz in this JOURNAL, 70 (1950). 18-24. Schwartz advocates return to the old opinion,⁴ which I had thought long since discredited, that *-kan* is an enclitic connective and means 'then, and then, thus.'

The position which Schwartz attacks is not the one which I (or J. Friedrich whom Schwartz includes) maintain.⁵ The views which I do hold can be summarized as follows:

hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I. (1938) 234, 243, 261 and the references there given; J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* 1 (1940), §§ 297-303; F. Sommer, *Hethiter und Hethitisch* (1947) 70. In recent hittitological publications due attention has been given to presence or absence of the particles.

³ H. Pedersen, l. c. 76; J. Friedrich, l. c. §§ 252-255; F. Sommer, *Hethiter und Hethitisch* 70 f.

⁴ See M. Witzel, *Hethitische Keilschrift-Urkunden* (1924) 1 and passim; Barton-Weitzel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (1932) 64 s. v. *-kan*. A. Ungnad, *ZA NF* 3 (1927). 283 called these particles modifying and said they might have a meaning similar to German 'ja, nun, doch.'

⁵ The translations from German placed at the head of the article are far from accurate; that given under (2) is completely misleading. The quotation in fn. 2 on which it is based is mutilated and should read: 'es modifiziert zunächst die Bedeutung der Präverbien von Verben der Bewegung.' Note that the particle is said to modify the meaning of the preverbs and not that of the verbs; furthermore the statement is not a general one but limited to verbs of motion.—One might also take issue with the 'primarily' in point (1). It should be understood that verbs of motion were taken up first

(1) Sentences which contain a verb of motion require the particle *-kan* whenever the verb is accompanied by a postpositional group⁶ which indicates a primary motion.⁷

No *-kan* is found whenever the motion indicated is a secondary motion,⁷ when an adverb or postpositional group indicating a fixed position or no postpositional group at all accompanies the verb of motion.⁸

(2) There are certain verbs which regardless of postpositional groups always require *-kan*.⁹

(3) Sentences in which postpositional groups or the respective adverbs serve as predicates require *-kan*.¹⁰

Finally we may add here:

(4) The particle *-kan* may, in abbreviated style, take the place of a postpositional group.¹¹

This implies setting up two groups of postpositions (local adverbs):

because they offered an opportunity for significant observations.—Schwartz's point (3) can be accepted as a fair statement of my views only with reservations. The fact which was pointed out is that, with certain specific verbs, presence of a preverb (for that term see the following footnote) also entails presence of *-kan* and vice versa.—In point (6) 'in conjunction with' should be substituted for 'in.'

⁶ Schwartz speaks of 'simplex' and 'compound' which he defines (p. 18, fn. 9) as verbs without and with preverb respectively. He may have noticed that I carefully avoided the term. It has not become clear to me whether Schwartz limits the term 'preverb,' never defined, to elements like *anda*, *arba*, etc. when immediately preceding the verbs. This was the definition of L. Zuntz, *Die heth. Ortsadverbien arba, parā, piran* (1936) 8 ff.; it is debatable. Numerous examples which Schwartz marks as 'simplex' contain a postpositional group or a local adverb divided from the verb by other elements.

⁷ An explanation of this term will be given presently.

⁸ Compare, as particularly striking, the following phrases so often encountered in ritual texts: *nu kiššan memai* 'he/she speaks thus' and *anda-ma-kan kiššan memai* 'while acting in the described way, he/she speaks thus.'

⁹ See not only *Tunnawi* 110 f. but already *Annalen des Mursiliš* 291 f. where a much more comprehensive 'test' was made which Schwartz did not use however.

¹⁰ Schwartz mentions cases of this type on p. 23 and labels them as 'ellipsis of the verb.' He apparently had forgotten that a fair number had been collected *Arch. Or.* 5. 28 f. Most of the passages listed on p. 19 under *eš* 'be' also belong here. It has been known for a long time that, in the nominal sentence, forms of *eš* are customary as soon as the sentence is removed from the sphere of the present tense.

¹¹ H. Pedersen, *Hittitisch* . . . 154.

(A) *anda, para, appa, katta, šer, arḫa* denoting motion;

(B) *andan, piran, appan, kattan, šer* denoting rest.

It was stated¹² that the second group—with five specific verbs—does not entail *-kan*.¹³

It should be clear then that in verbal sentences two main cases in which *-kan* occurs should be carefully distinguished: (1) with postpositional groups (or the respective adverbs) in a certain meaning; (2) with certain verbs regardless of whether they are accompanied by postpositional groups or not. Schwartz fails to do so; he ascribes to me the opinion that *-kan* modifies the meaning of the verb, which is not my opinion either with (1) or with (2). Thereby the list of verbs which forms the bulk of his article becomes meaningless. It is formally correct 'that there is no verb in the Hittite language, of whatever shade of meaning, with which *-kan* . . . can not occur' (13) and that the particle 'can be associated with any verb in the language' (18). However, no one has ever doubted that, and the negative and general formulation must, to be meaningful, be replaced by a positive and specific one. Schwartz should have asked himself: if it is not the verb that governs the presence or absence of the particle, what else might it be? Without considering any other possibilities he rashly jumps to the conclusion that *-kan*, since it does not modify the meaning of the verb, must be a sentence connective.

With regard to the general syntactical conditions in which *-kan* appears let me again call attention to the following facts:

(1) In the chain of particles (see above) *-kan* occupies the final position and is separated from the true sentence connectives (*nu*, etc.) by all the other members of the combination. If (with Schwartz) *-kan* were likewise a sentence connective, in what respect is it different from *nu*, *man*, *namma*, *našma*?

(2) The particle *-kan* is interchangeable with *-šan*.¹⁴ The meaning of the two particles, there-

fore, is similar, and neither can be treated without reference to the other. Although Schwartz has not made any statement on *-šan* in his article, it would be logical to assume that, in his opinion, the meaning of *-šan* also falls in the sphere of 'then, thus.' He might perhaps better have started his re-evaluation of the particles with *-šan*. It seems to present less difficulties than *-kan*, and it appears to me that the rather frequent occurrences of *šer-aš-šan*, i. e. the combination of *-šan* with the postposition (adverb) *šer* 'upon,' might have served as a guidepost to safe ground.

(3) The particle *-kan* appears in lexicographical entries where there is no place for sentence connectives. Thus *pa-ra-a-kán pa-a-u-ar*¹⁵ KBo I 35 6; *an-da-kán im-pa-u-wa-ar*¹⁶ KBo I 42 III 53 f.; also *ŠA-kán ku-iš an-da HUL(?) eš-ki-iz-zi*¹⁷ KBo I 30 obv. 14; *ŠA-ir!-kán ku-e-da-ni e-eš-ḫar ma-a-ni-it an-da*¹⁸ KBo I 39 5.

(4) The particle is found in isolated statements which are quite outside any text. E. g., (in colophons) *A-NA GIŠ.HUR(-TE)-kán ḫa-an-da-an* probably 'true to the original script.'¹⁹

(5) The particle occurs with the first sentence of numerous compositions. The fact was already pointed out in Arch. Or. 5 (1933). 2.²⁰ First (or only) tablets of a series are certainly KBo II 3; KUB VII 1; VII 14; VII 53 (i. e. 'Tunnawi'); IX 31 (with the duplicates IX 32 and HT 1). It is well known that *nu* and the other sentence connectives do not appear in that position.

(6) The particle *-kan* may occur with the first sentence of direct discourse, where again sentence connectives are normally missing.²¹

(7) The particle *-kan* is found with the first word of a main clause with a dependent clause preceding. The connective *nu* is normal in such position, but 'and then, thus' would be clearly out of place. It would make sense only at the head of the whole period.

and XIV 20 I 8 (*anda ar-* middle 'take one's stand with'); KBo II 3 I 38 and ibid. I 47 f. (*šer ep-* in a technical sense of the ritual language).

¹⁵ 'Go out, leave.'

¹⁶ Cf. JAOS 69 (1949). 181.

¹⁷ Lit. 'he who uses to become evil in his heart.'

¹⁸ Lit. 'in whose heart there is blood.' For the locative *ŠA-ir* (i. e. *ker*) see F. Sommer, *Bil.* 96.

¹⁹ Cf. JCS 2. 231.

²⁰ Schwartz might have avoided the false statement on p. 23, if he had read that page.

²¹ Arch. Or. 5. 2 f.; cf. Ungnad, *ZDMG* 74 (1920). 420.

¹² Arch. Or. 5. 19 f., 26; but no absolute statement was made as may seem to be the case from Schwartz's quotation.

¹³ A modification of this opinion is now in order; see presently.

¹⁴ Compare, e. g., KBo IV 10 obv. 38 f. and XXIV 4 IV 26 (*aniya-* 'make out (in writing)'); Hatt. III 7

(8) The particle *-kan* is found with the first word of a postpositive dependent clause; in this position the dependent clause exhibits no sentence connective. Since such sentences are rare, I add here two examples:

ar-ḥa-wa-za a-ri-ia I-NA É ka-ri-im-mi-wa-at-ták-kán ku-it an-da ša-ga!!-a-iš ki-ša-at 'make (the fact) subject of an oracle that in the sanctuary an omen occurred for you' KBo V 1 (= Papanikri) I 15 ff.

na-aš-ma-mu-kán L⁰KUR ŠÀ KUR URU ú-iz-zi ka-ru-ú-aš-kán GIM-an an-da ú-it 'or an enemy enters my country (and) my town as he entered before' KBo IV 14 II 13 f.

(9) The particle *-kan* is found in parenthetical statements where again the sentence connective is out of place. E. g.:

nu ne-ku-ma-an-za TÚG-aš-ši-kán NÍ.TE-iš-ši an-da le-e-pít e-eš-zi . . . 'and naked—let there be for him no garment on his body— . . .' KUB XIII 4 III 32 f.

These facts make it, despite Schwartz, abundantly clear that *-kan* cannot possibly be a sentence connective.

For the determination of the specific meaning of the particle it still remains advisable to select the verbs implying motion as a convenient point of departure. It was maintained that the meaning of the various postpositions (preverbs) by which such verbs are so frequently accompanied varies with the presence or absence of *-kan*. This may be illustrated with an example of *appa*, not only because the case of that postposition is particularly clear, but also because Schwartz himself, in a specific occurrence, has indicated the different meaning by a varied translation. The example is KUB XXIX 1 II 32 ff. which reads:²²

32 [LUGAL-i?-wa-k]án ka-a-aš iš-tar-ni-in-ga-in EGIR-pa da-a-aš

33 [ša-a-w]a-ar EGIR-pa da-a-aš kat-ta-wa-a-tar EGIR-pa da-a-aš

²² Schwartz transliterated and translated this text *Orientalia* NS 16 (1947). 23 ff. The reader should note that in the following text, as frequently elsewhere, EGIR-pa is the ideographic spelling of Hitt. *appa*. He should also note that the *-kan* of l. 32 is valid for the whole chain of asyndetic predicates up to, and including, l. 35. As is made clear by the enclitic *-ši-kán*, a new sentence starts with l. 36.

34 [na-aḥ-ša-]ra-at-ta-an EGIR-pa da-a-aš ú-e-ri-ti-ma-an

35 EGIR-pa da-a-aš kar-di-ia-aš GIG-an EGIR-pa da-a-aš

36 GIG-an-ši-kán da-a-aš mi-ḥu-un-ta-tar-še-kán da-a-aš

37 ma-ia-ta-tar-ma-aš-ši EGIR-pa pa-iš ḥu?-ul-la-tar-ma-aš-ši

38 EGIR-pa pa-a-iš

32 'Such (and) such a one has taken an ailment away from the king,

33 'has taken away affliction, has taken away depression,

34 'has taken away awe,

35 'has taken away fear, has taken away heart-sickness.

36 'Sickness (this one) has taken away from him, old age (this one) has taken away from him.

37 'Vigor (this one) has given back to him, prowess (this one)

38 'has given back to him.'

Indeed, the antithesis requires for *appa da-* and for *appa pai-* the translations 'take away' and 'give back' respectively. Schwartz²³ let himself be guided by the context. What he fails to see is that with 'take away' *-kan* is found, and that with 'give back' *-kan* is missing. It is the particle that creates the difference in meaning which the preverb exhibits.

Lack of space prevents me from going into further detail and from accumulating occurrences in actual texts. A comprehensive treatment of the particle would require a special monograph; for the time being the interested reader must be referred to my previous article which includes a fair amount of material. Here, I can—in an improved form—only offer my solution of the problem and explain what I mean by 'primary' and 'secondary' motion.

The postpositions listed under group A above denote the motion as such; when accompanied by *-kan*, they have the following meanings:

anda: motion from an unspecified starting point into a definite location.

para: motion out of a definite location in an unspecified direction.

appa: motion away from a definite starting-point toward some other point.

²³ He translates the second verb by 'restore to' (31).

katta: motion down from a definite starting-point toward some other point.

šara: motion up from a definite starting-point toward some other point.

arḥa: motion away from some point to some other point.

These motions are 'primary,' i. e. they start out from or end in absolute rest, the nature of which is not investigated any further.

The same postpositions, with *-kan* omitted, mean:

anda: back into the location from which the motion started.

para: back out of the location in the direction from which the motion came.

appa: back to the point from which the motion started.

katta: back down to the point from which the motion started.

šara: back up to the point from which the motion started.

arḥa: back from a definite point to the starting point of the motion.

These motions are 'secondary,' i. e. all of them were at some time past preceded by a primary motion, the effect of which is now being cancelled.²⁴

The postpositions (adverbs) of the group B appear more frequently without *-kan* than with the particle.²⁵ They denote rest at a fixed point:

andan: in (the interior).

piran: in front.

appan: at the rear.

kattan: underneath, with, alongside.

šer: above.

However—and this was not considered by me in my previous article—they too can be modified by an added *-kan*. They then denote motion from or to a fixed position and view the motion not as absolute but in its relation to that fixed position. The respective meanings, then, are as follows:

andan: inward.

piran: forward.

²⁴ A fair number of examples was quoted *Arch. Or.* 5. 20 f., 26 ff.

²⁵ It is remarkable that in nominal sentences in which adverbs of group B serve as predicate *-kan* is always found. This seems to be a secondary extension of the sphere of the particle which may have started as an imitation of the construction of *šer* with *-šan*.

appan: backward.

kattan: downward.

šer: upward.

The nuances of meaning which result are often rather subtle. I select as an example *anda pai-/uwa-* and *andan pai-/uwa-*. Variants²⁶ indicate that even to the Hittite scribes the various expressions sometimes seemed interchangeable.

(1) *anda pai-* with *-kan* 'go to reach, go to arrive at or in some place.' Very frequent; to the examples quoted *Arch. Or.* 5 16 f. I add a few new ones picked at random:

A-NA LÚ.MEŠ URUPa-aḥ-ḥu-wa-ma-aš-kán
an-da pa-it 'he went to the people of Paḥ-
ḥuwa' KUB XXIII 72 rev. 17.

nu-kán GAL ME-ŠE-DI an-da pa-iz-zi 'then
the great majordomo goes in' KUB XXV
1 III 43.

na-aš-kán a-ru-na-aš É-ri an-da pa-it 'he
reached the house of the Sea' KUB
XXXIII 102 II 21 (and dupl.) (Ullikummi I c).

anda uwa- with *-kan* 'come to reach, come to arrive at or in some place':

an-da-ma-kán ma-a-an URUH-a-at-tu-ša-az
LÚpít-te-ia-an-za ú-iz-zi 'if a refugee from
Ḥattuša arrives' KUB XXIII 77 rev. 59.

(2) *anda pai-* without *-kan* 'go back, return,'
anda uwa- without *-kan* 'come back, return': see
Arch. Or. 5. 22.

(3) *andan pai-* without *-kan* 'go to be in some place, get in':

ku-it an-da-an pa-iz-zi²⁷ na-aš-ta nam-ma ša-
ra-a Ū-UL ú-iz-zi an-da-ša!!-an²⁸ ḥar-ak-zi
'that which gets in, will not come up again,
in there it will perish' KUB XVII 10 IV
16 f.

andan uwa- without *-kan* 'come to be in some place, to betake oneself to a place':

²⁶ Compare also, e. g., nu KUR-ia an-da-an ka-a-aš-za
ki-i-ša-ti 'in the country famine developed' KUB XVII
10 I 17, where the duplicate KUB XXXIII 4 4 offers
an-da; pár-ke-eš-ni-ta-at-kán an-da-an e-eš-du pal-ḥe-eš-
ni-ták-kán an-da e-eš-du KUB XXIV 13 II 7 f. with
andan and *anda* in completely parallel clauses.

²⁷ Variant *ku-it-kán an-da pa-iz-zi* 'what goes in there'
in the duplicates KUB XXXIII 8 III 8 f. and 54 III 6.

²⁸ Text *an-da-da-an*; variants *an-da-at-kán* KUB
XXXIII 54 III 7; *an-da-pít-kán* KUB XXXIII 8 III 10.

ma-a-an-ma LUGAL *an-da-an pá-r-na ú-iz-zi*
 'when the king betakes himself to the
 palace' KUB XXIX 1 I 50.

(4) *andan pai-* with *-kan* 'enter':

[*ták-k*] *u-kán an-tu-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš I-NA É-ŠÚ*
an-da-an pa-iz-zi 'if a man enters his
 house' KUB XXIX 9 I 4 f.

LUGAL-*uš-kán I-NA É DUTU an-da-an pa-*
iz-zi 'the king enters the temple of the
 Sun-god' KUB XI 17 V 7 ff.

andan uwa- with *-kan* 'come to enter, enter':

I have noted one example with *-šan*:

na-at!!-ša-an I-NA KUR URUḪa-at-ti an-
da-an ú-it nu KUR-e ḫar-ni-in-ke-eš-ki-ir
 'they entered the Ḫatti country and devas-
 tated the country' KUB XXIII 11 III 11 f.

It remains true, then, that *-kan*—like the parallel *-šan*—is a directional indicator and that it points to the motion as in progress. Schwartz objects (18) to the 'varied determinant qualities' which he asserts I have attributed to the particle. In reality,

it would not have been too difficult to see that the Hittite language does not say 'hit somebody' but rather 'hit upon somebody,' not 'cross' but 'cross over,' not 'see a quality in somebody'²⁹ but 'see that quality onto somebody.' In other words, the directional element is considered essential in Hittite to a degree which far surpasses what we are accustomed to.

²⁹ Schwartz p. 19 s. v. *au-* objects to the translation 'an jemandem etwas sehen' and calls it an 'extraordinary definition' of the meaning of the verb. He apparently did not understand (as the occurrences which he quotes show) that the 'definition' refers only to a special construction of *au(š)-*, namely that with a direct and an indirect object and *-kan*. In English, the presence of *-kan* necessitates a translation other than 'see.' This is only one illustration of the fact that the presence or absence of the particle may create special meanings. Another case in point is that of *ar-* (3rd sgl. pres. *artari*). Without *-kan* it means 'stand' (German 'stehen'), with *-kan*, however, 'take one's stand' (German '(hin)-treten'). The second clearly contains an element of motion. Had Schwartz looked into the matter a little more carefully, he would have suppressed the facetious remark at the top of p. 19, col. 1.