



The Hittite Relative Sentence

Warren H. Held, Jr.

Language, Vol. 33, No. 4, Part 2: Language Dissertation No. 55: The Hittite Relative Sentence (Oct. - Dec., 1957), 3+7-52.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0097-8507%28195710%2F12%2933%3A4%3C3%3ATHRS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-X>

Language is currently published by Linguistic Society of America.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/lisa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

PREFACE

Although there have been, up to the present time, several articles dealing with phases of the syntax of the Hittite relative sentence, no attempt has been made at a complete descriptive analysis of the relative sentences which occur in the published Hittite material. Such a descriptive analysis is essential for a full comparison of Hittite syntax with that of any related language. It is hoped, therefore, that the following analysis will contribute toward a better understanding of this aspect of Hittite syntax.

More than a thousand relative sentences were used to form the basis of this analysis. These sentences were gathered from all of the transliterations of Hittite texts which have been published, from all of the tablets in the first seventeen volumes of the KUB series, and from numerous tablets published in other volumes. Thus a substantial cross section of the Hittite literature has been included.

The Hittite transliterations which occur in the body of this work, are cited from the standard publications of the Hittite tablets. The references to the publications are made with the abbreviation of the publication followed by the volume number in Roman numerals, the tablet number in Arabic numerals, the column number in Roman numerals and the line number in Arabic numerals. The only exception to this procedure is those references to the Ullikummi texts, for which it was found more expedient to refer to Güterbock's transliterations, since some of the tablets consist of many fragments, some of them unpublished.

References have been made in the notes to all of the important transliterations and translations of the texts herein, that have come to the attention of the writer. All such references have been taken into consideration in the translations given here, although the translations given in the references have frequently not been adopted. Translations for which no references are cited in the notes are the responsibility of the writer.

I should like to express my sincere gratitude and indebtedness to Professor Albrecht Goetze, under whose guidance this dissertation was written. His many helpful suggestions and kindly advice were most valuable to me at all times.

I should also like to thank Professor Bernard Bloch and Professor Ralph L. Ward for their assistance in the preparation of this work.

June 1954

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAA Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool).
- AM A. Götze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš, MVAG 38 (Leipzig 1933).
- ANET Ancient Near Eastern Texts, edited by J. Pritchard (Princeton 1950).
- Anit. F. Hrozný, L'invasion des Indo-Européens en Asie Mineure vers 2000 av. J.-C., Archiv Orientální, 1.273 ff. (Prague 1929).
- Ann. E. Sturtevant, The Ritual of Anniwiyaniš, TAPA 58.5 ff. and HC 100 ff.
- AU F. Sommer, Die Ahhijava-Urkunden, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Abteilung, NF 6 (Munich 1932).
- Biling. F. Sommer & A. Falkenstein, Die hethitisch—akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I (Labarna II), (Munich 1938).
- BoSt. Boghazköi Studien, herausgegeben von Otto Weber (Leipzig 1917–24). Heft 3—F. Hrozný, Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Leipzig 1919).
- BoTU E. Forrer, Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift, Vol. 41–2 of Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig 1922–6).
- Hatt. A. Götze, Hattušiliš, MVAG 29.3 (Leipzig 1925).
- HC E. Sturtevant & G. Bechtel, A Hittite Chrestomathy (Philadelphia 1935).
- HG E. Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language (1st ed. Philadelphia 1933, 2nd ed. New Haven 1951).
- HPM O. Gurney, Hittite Prayers of Muršiliš II, AAA 27 (Liverpool 1940).
- HT Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from the Tablets in the British Museum (London 1920).
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven).
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies, ed. by A. Goetze, T. Jacobsen, A. Sachs (New Haven).
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi—6 parts in Vol. 30 & 36 of Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig 1921–3).
- KUB Keilschrift-Urkunden aus Boghazköi, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 34 volumes (Berlin 1921–).
- Kulturg. A. Götze, Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients 3.1, Kleinasien (Munich 1933).
- Laws F. Hrozný, Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure (Paris 1922).
- Madd. A. Götze, Madduwattaš, MVAG 32.1 (Leipzig 1928).
- MP O. Gurney, Mita of Paḫḫuwa, AAA 28 (Liverpool 1948).
- MS A. Götze & H. Petersen, Muršiliš Sprachlähmung, published in Det

- Kgl. Danske Vedenskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser 21.2 (Copenhagen 1934).
- MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig).
- NBHatt. A. Götze, Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattušil und den Paralleltexten, MVAG 34.2 (Leipzig 1930).
- Pap. F. Sommer & H. Ehelolf, Das hethitische Ritual des Papanikri von Komana, BoSt. 10 (Leipzig 1924).
- Pest. A. Götze, Die Pestgebete des Muršiliš, Kleinasiatische Forschungen 1.2 (Weimar 1929).
- PT E. Sturtevant, The Proclamation of Telepinuš, HC p. 175 ff. and F. Hrozný, BoSt. 3.90 ff.
- Rein. J. Friedrich, Reinheitsvorschriften für den hethitischen König, Altorientalistische Studien Bruno Meissner zum Sechstzigsten Geburtstag Gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen, und Schülern (Leipzig 1928).
- Sold. J. Friedrich, Der hethitische Soldateneid, ZA NF 1.161 ff. (Leipzig 1924).
- Stvt. J. Friedrich, Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache, MVAG 31.2, 34.1 (Leipzig 1926 & 30).
 Dupp. treaty with Duppi-Tešup of Amurru.
 Targ. treaty with Targašnalliš of Hapalla.
 Kup. treaty with Kupanta-^PKAL of Mira and Kuwaliya.
 Man. treaty with Manapa-Dattaš of the land of the river Šeḫa.
 Alak. treaty with Alakšanduš of Wiluša.
 Hukk. treaty with Hukkanaš and the people of Hayaša.
- TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association (Middletown, Conn.).
- Tem. E. Sturtevant, A Hittite Text on the Duties of Priests and Temple Servants, JAOS 54 p. 363 ff. (New Haven 1934).
- Tunn. A. Goetze, The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi, American Oriental Series 14 (New Haven 1938).
- Ull. H. Güterbock, The Song of Ullikummi, JCS 5.4, 6.1 (New Haven 1951-2).
- VBoT A. Götze, Verstreute Boghazköi Texte (Marburg 1930).
- ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Berlin and Leipzig). NF = Neue Folge (1924-).

- cf. compare.
 f. following line or page.
 ff. following lines or pages.
 fn. footnote.
 obv. obverse.
 p. page.
 pp. pages.
 rvs. reverse.
 Sec. section.

1. DETERMINATE AND INDETERMINATE RELATIVES

In undertaking the grammatical analysis of a feature in a language, a discussion of the terms to be used is a useful and, in fact, necessary procedure. The first point of order is, therefore, a definition of the relative sentence in Hittite. It will be assumed that suitable definitions for both the sentence and the clause have been stated elsewhere, since these two categories embrace elements of a much larger scope than that with which we are here concerned. The formulation for a definition of this kind is complicated by several factors. In spite of the fact that approximately eight hundred relative sentences have been analyzed, many of these were incomplete because of breaks in the tablets. Still others were unintelligible because of our still imperfect knowledge of the language. Either our own ignorance or the imperfection of the Hittite method of writing causes occasional confusion between relative and interrogative sentences, and between the relative *kuiš* and the subordinating conjunction *kuit*. These added complications necessitate a somewhat more involved definition for the relative sentence than might otherwise be expected.

DEFINITION 1. Any compound sentence,¹ one clause of which contains a declensional form of *kuiš*, and a second clause of which contains or implies the containment of a form that may be identified with the declensional form of *kuiš* of the first clause (or the noun which it modifies), is a *relative sentence*.

DEFINITION 2. Of the two clauses which condition the relative sentence as prescribed by Definition 1, the clause containing the declensional form of *kuiš* will be termed a *relative clause*.

DEFINITION 3. Of the two clauses which condition the relative sentence as prescribed by Definition 1, the clause which contains or implies the containment of a form that may be identified with the declensional form of *kuiš* in the relative clause, will be termed a *resumptive clause*.

Every relative sentence contains both a relative clause and a resumptive clause. The relative clause is always a clause dependent upon the resumptive clause. The resumptive clause, however, may be either a clause subordinate to another clause, or may be an independent clause.

The first clause of each of the two relative sentences that follow, contains a declensional form of *kuiš* and is therefore a relative clause. In the second clause of example 1, occur both *-aš* and NAM.RA, each of which may be identified with NAM.RA *ku-in* of the relative clause. Therefore, the second clause is a resumptive clause. The second clause of example 2 is also a resumptive clause, as the *kuiš* of the relative clause is implied as the subject of the verb.

- 1 KBo III 4 III 19 f.² *nu-mu* NAM.RA *ku-in pa-ra-a pí-i-e-er na-aš 4 LI-IM*
NAM.RA *e-eš-ta* 'There were four thousand NAM.RA's³ which they surrendered to me.'

¹ Containing more than one clause.

² AM p. 70.

³ NAM.RA is not translated, as the word implies much more than can be easily translated by a single word. Cf. AM pp. 217-20.

- 2 KBo VI 26 I 48 f.⁴ ZAG-an-na ku-iš pár-ši-ia 1 UDU 10 NINDA.ĜI.A 1 DUG KA.KAK pa-a-i 'And the man who violated the boundary shall pay one sheep, ten loaves and one jug of beer.'

DEFINITION 4. The declensional form of *ku-iš* which occurs within a relative clause is a *relative*.

DEFINITION 5. The form which is contained or implied in a resumptive clause, and which may be identified with the relative, is the *resumption*.

The relative and the resumption in examples 1 and 2 are obvious from the discussion above. The interrogative, at this point, may be easily contrasted. The interrogative has no resumption, and hence, the interrogative sentence sometimes consists of but one clause.

- U11. 2nd tablet I 32 f. nu-wa ku-iš nam-ma za-aḥ-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi 'Who, therefore, will continue to fight?'

- KUB XIV 13 IV 16⁵ na-aš a-ki ku-it [nu šu-me-e-eš] ku-e-iz EGIR-pa ta-ni-nu-mi 'Since they are dead, with what shall I establish you again?'

DEFINITION 6. Relatives which act as modifiers to nouns occurring in the same clause, are *relative adjectives*.

DEFINITION 7. Relatives which do not act as modifiers to nouns occurring in the same clause, are *relative pronouns*.

The relative clause of example 3 contains a relative adjective, since *ku-iš* acts as a modifier to ŠEŠ 'brother.' The *ku-it* in example 4, however, is a relative pronoun, since it is not a modifier to a noun within the relative clause.

- 3 KBo IV 4 II 45 f.⁶ Š[EŠ-Š]U-ma-wa-aš-ši ku-in I-NA KUR ^{URU}Kar-ga-miš LUGAL-un i-ia-at nu-wa-ra-[aš] BA.UG₆ 'But his brother, whom he had made a king in Kargamiš, has died.'

- 4 KUB I 1 IV 69⁷ am-mu-uk-kà ku-it ḫar-ku-un a-pád-da-ia pa-ra-a pí-iḫ-ḫu-un 'And I gave away also that which I had.'

DEFINITION 8. The noun which is modified by a relative adjective is the *modificand* of the relative.

Relative pronouns never have modificands. The relative adjective *ku-e* in example 5 and *ku-e-eš* in 6 act as modifiers of É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ 'temples' and ša-ak-la-uš 'decrees,' respectively. Therefore, É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ and ša-ak-la-uš are modificands to these relative adjectives. In example 7, *ku-e-da-aš* has two modificands—ĜUR.SAG.ĜI.A 'mountains' and ÍD.ĜI.A 'rivers.'

- 5, 6 KUB VI 46 IV 31 ff.⁸ [(É.MEŠ)] DINGIR.MEŠ-ia-at-ta ku-e i-ia-mi ša-ak-la-uš-ša ku-e-eš [i-ia-(mi)] nu-za-kán ^{DU}Pi-ḫa-aš-ša-aš-ši-iš EN-IA pa-ra-a du-uš-kat-ti 'You, Stormgod, Piḫaššaššiš, my lord, shall rejoice over the temples which I will build for you and over the laws which I will make for you.'

- 7 KUB XIII 2 III 8⁹ A-NA ĜUR.SAG.ĜI.A ÍD.ĜI.A ku-e-da-aš SISKUR.

⁴ Laws Sec. 168; ANET p. 195.

⁵ Pest. p. 248; restoration is from l. 5 of the same text. Perhaps *na-aš* should read *na-at*.

⁶ AM p. 118.

⁷ Hatt. p. 38.

⁸ ANET p. 398.

⁹ ANET p. 211.

SISKUR *e-eš-zi na-aš ši-pa-an-za-kán-du* 'Let them continue to give sacrifices to the mountains and the rivers for which such are established.'

DEFINITION 9. Any relative which occurs as the first word of its clause, or which is preceded in its clause only by a conjunction¹⁰ with or without succeeding enclitics, will be said to be in *initial position*.

Examples 8 and 9 below have the relative pronoun standing in initial position. The *ku-iš* of 8 is preceded by *na-aš-ta* which is a combination of the conjunction *nu* and the enclitic *-ašta*. In 10, *ku-iš* is preceded by ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}A-ra-u-wa-an-na-aš, and, therefore, cannot be in initial position.

- 8 KBo VI 34 IV 7 f.¹¹ *na-aš-ta ku-iš ku-u-uš NI-IŠ DINGIR.MEŠ šar-ri-iz-zi na-an ki-e NI-IŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ap-pa-an-du* 'And then, let these oaths seize anyone who breaks these oaths.'
- 9 KUB XXIX 1 III 10 ff.¹² *ku-iš LUGAL-i i-da-a-lu ša-an-ḥa-az-zi a-pu-un-na DINGIR.MEŠ i-da-la-u-e pí-eš-še-ia-an-du nu a-pu-un-na pa-ak-ku-uš-kán-du* 'Anyone who plots evil against the king, let the gods abandon him to an evil fate and let them crush him.'
- 10 KBo III 4 III 47 ff.¹³ *nu ku-it-ma-an A-BU-IA I-NA KUR ^{URU}Mi-it-tan-ni e-eš-ta nu ^{LÚ}KÚR ^{URU}A-ra-u-wa-an-na-aš ku-iš KUR ^{URU}Ki-iš-ši-ia-a GUL-an-ni-eš-ki-it na-at me-ek-ki ta-ma-aš-ša-an ḥar-ta nu ^{PUTU}-ŠI I-NA KUR ^{URU}A-ra-u-wa-an-na pa-a-un nu KUR ^{URU}A-ra-u-wa-an-na GUL-un* 'And as long as my father was in the land of Mitanni, the Arawana enemy which was striking the land of Kiššiya and had very much oppressed it, I, the Sun, marched to the land of Arawana and I struck the land of Arawana.'

Examples 11 to 18 are pairs of relative clauses which are almost identical, except that one relative in each pair stands in initial position, and one does not. From these examples we shall attempt to demonstrate the importance that position plays in the syntax of the Hittite relative, and the effect which it produces upon the word order of some clauses.

- 11, 12 KBo VI 2 I 56 ff.¹⁴ [*ták-k*]u LÚ.GÁL.LU-aš ^{DUG}UTÚL-i *na-aš-ma lu-li-ia pa-ap-ri-iz-zi ka-ru-ú* [6 GÍ] N KUBABBAR *pí-iš-kir pa-ap-ri-iz-zi ku-iš* 3 GÍN KUBABBAR *pa-a-i [ḥa-aš-šu-w]a-an-na pár-na* 3 GÍN KUBABBAR *da-aš-ki-e-er ki-nu-na LUGAL-uš ŠA É.GAL-LIM [pé-eš-ši-]it ku-iš pa-ap-ri-iz-zi nu a-pa-a-aš-pít* 3 GÍ[N KUBABBAR] *pa-a-i pár-na-[aš-]še-a šu-wa-a-i-iz-zi* 'If a man puts filth into a pot or cistern, formerly they paid six half-shekels of silver; that man who puts in the filth pays three half-shekels of silver and for the palace they used to take three half-shekels of silver. The king has now abandoned the (share) of the palace. Anyone who puts in filth (from now on) pays three half-shekels of silver and pledges his estate as security.'

The two relative clauses in this section from the Laws —*ku-iš pa-ap-ri-iz-zi* and *pa-ap-ri-iz-zi ku-iš*—offer a simple comparison. The *ku-iš* of *pa-ap-ri-iz-zi*

¹⁰ Either subordinating or coordinating.

¹¹ Sold. p. 168; ANET p. 354.

¹² ANET p. 358.

¹³ AM p. 78.

¹⁴ Laws Sec. 25; CH p. 18 ff.; ANET p. 190. The text occurs also in KBo VI 3 I 66 ff.

ku-iš is in non-initial position. The verb, which usually has its place at the end of its clause, is here placed before the *ku-iš* for the specific reason that there is nothing else in the clause which can precede *ku-iš* to keep it from being in initial position. This *ku-iš* refers to a definite individual, namely, 'that man who puts in the filth'—as opposed to 'that man who uses the well,' and 'that man who owns the well,' etc. The *ku-iš* of *ku-iš pa-ap-ri-iz-zi*, on the other hand, is in initial position and does not refer to a specific individual. It is quite possible to understand from the context that the possibility exists that no one will put in filth, since the writer of the law cannot be sure that someone will break it.

Examples 13 and 14 may be similarly contrasted. Example 13 is from a bilingual inscription. Unfortunately, the vital parts of the Akkadian sentence which concerns us, are broken off. Labarna is giving advice to his son, Muršiliš, that when a crisis arises, he should call the assembly and discuss the matter there. The relative *ku-it* refers to a definite thing—that which is in his heart, as opposed to those things which are not. In 14 is given a portion of a charm spoken over trees in the ritual for building the palace. Here the *ku-it* is in initial position. The lines following the relative sentence indicate the indefinite quality of the relative.

- 13 KUB I 16 III 62 f.¹⁵ DUMU-la-ma-aš-ša-an [tu-el] *ku-it kar-di nu-za a-pa-a-at e-iš-ši* 'My son, act always in accordance with that which is in your heart.'
- 14 KUB XXIX 1 I 43 ff.¹⁶ *ku-it-ma-aš-kán kar-di-eš-mi-ma(?) an-da na-at uš-ši-it-ten ták-ku ha-az-zi-ia-aš-šar na-at ú-da-at-ten ták-ku i-da-a-lu-uš []-e-eš na-at uš-še-it-ten ták-ku hur-ta-aš na-at uš-ši-ia-at-ten* 'Anything which is in your heart, cast it out. If (it is) a flaw, remove it. If (it is) an evil ... , cast it out. If (it is) a curse, cast it out.'

Another pair of relatives which may be contrasted can be found in an omen text. Example 15 occurs in the text before the precise nature of the votive offering has been determined. It is not yet known, at this point, exactly which goddess is angry or why she is angry. Thus the relative, which is in initial position, refers to an indefinite object. When example 16 occurs, more has been ascertained about the nature of the goddess' anger. It is now known that votive offerings must be made, and therefore the relative refers to the specific votive offerings which have been determined.

- 15 KBo II 2 III 33 f.¹⁷ *ku-iš IK-RI-BU šar-ni-in-ku-wa-aš na-an šar-ni-in-kán-zi* 'Any votive offering which there is to be made in restitution, they will make it in restitution.'
- 16 KBo II 2 IV 7 f.¹⁸ *nu IK-RI-BI.ḪI.A-ma ku-i-e-eš šar-ni-in-ku-e-eš na-aš šar-ni-in-kán-zi* 'But they will make in restitution those votive offerings which are to be made in restitution.'

In the next two examples, the difference in position of the relatives is again paralleled by the difference in reference to a definite or indefinite object. Presumably, the writer could enumerate the things which his father could and did replace, but could not fully recount everything which his father could not do.

¹⁵ Biling. p. 17.

¹⁶ ANET p. 357.

¹⁷ BoSt. #3 p. 52.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 54.

- 17, 18 KUB XIV 13 I 41 ff.¹⁹ *nu A-BU-IA ku-it tar-aḫ-[ta] na-at EGIR-pa i-ia-at ku-it-ma Ū-UL tar-aḫ-[ta] na-at Ū-UL EGIR-pa i-ia-at* 'My father replaced that which he was able (to replace), but anything which he was not able (to replace), he did not replace.'

In each pair of examples, the relative which stands in initial position refers to an indefinite object, the existence of which, in some cases, may be in doubt. These relatives will be hereafter considered to be *indeterminates*.²⁰ Relatives which are in non-initial position and which refer to specific objects are *determinates*.

Unfortunately, such pairs of determinate and indeterminate relatives as have been given above, are very infrequent. Every relative, on the basis of its position in the clause, falls into one of the two categories and, consequently, provides evidence for the one kind or the other. In the list of examples that follows, it may be noted that the usual position of the relative adjective is before the modificand. Those determinate relative adjectives which follow the modificand would be indeterminates if they preceded.

Determinate Relative Adjectives

- 19 KBo VI 3 II 14 f.²¹ *ták-ku LŪ-ša DUMU.SAL na-ú-i da-a-i na-an-za mi-im-ma-i ku-ú-ša-ta-ma ku-it píd-da-a-it na-aš-kán ša-me-en-zi* 'If a man has not yet taken a girl, and he refuses her, he forfeits the bride-price which he has brought.'
- 20 VBoT 24 II 6 ff.²² *te-kán-ma píd-dan-zi nu MUŠEN.ḪI.A IM ku-i-e-eš i-ia-an-te-eš na-aš-kán kat-ta-an-ta da-a-i* 'But they scoop out the ground, and she puts down in the birds which (have been) made.'
- 21 KUB I 1 IV 75 f.²³ *am-mu-uk-ka-za ku-it ḫa-aš-ti-ia-aš É-ir DŪ-nu-un na-at A-NA DINGIR-LIM pa-ra-a pí-iḫ-ḫu-un* 'I have given to the goddess the mausoleum which I have built.'
- 22 KUB VII 53 II 18 ff.²⁴ *i-da-la-u-e-ša-an ku-i-e-eš an-tu-uḫ-ši-iš pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ḫi-iš <-ki->ir na-at ar-ḫa QA-TAM-MA šal-la-an-ta-ru* 'Let those wicked people who were making him unclean be flattened in the same way.'

Indeterminate Relative Adjectives

- 23 KUB VII 1 I 39 f. *nu ku-iš DUMU-aš al-pa-an-za na-aš-ma-aš-ši-kán ga-ra-a-te-eš a-da-an-te-eš na-an tu-i-ik-ku-uš iš-ga-aḫ-ḫi* 'Any child who is bewitched, or whose *garateš* have been eaten, I shall anoint the parts of its body.'
- 24 KUB XIII 2 III 6 f.²⁵ *ku-e-da-ni-ma A-NA TÚL SISKUR.SISKUR*

¹⁹ Pest. p. 244.

²⁰ The term *indeterminate* is used instead of *indefinite*, so that the latter term may be reserved for the forms of *kuiški*, which are not relatives.

²¹ Laws Sec. 30; ANET p. 190.

²² Ann. Sec. 11.

²³ Hatt. p. 38.

²⁴ Tunn. p. 12.

²⁵ ANET p. 211.

NU.GÁL *na-at-kán ša-ra-a im-ma ar-aš-kán-du* 'But any spring for which there is no established rite, let them come to it all the same.'

Determinate Relative Pronouns

- 25 KUB I 1 IV 68²⁶ [*an-*]*na-al-la-an ku-it e-eš-ta a-pa-a-at-ši pa-ra-a pí-iḫ-ḫu-un* 'I gave her that which was there previously.'
- 26 KUB XXX 10 rvs. 24 f.²⁷ *a-aš-šu ku-i-uš iš-ša-aḫ-[ḫi nu-mu] ḫu-iš-nu-uz-zi Ū-UL ku-iš-ki* 'None of those for whom I do good wishes me (long) life.'
- 27 KUB XIII 4 I 14²⁸ *nam-ma NINDA.[KUR₄].RA UD-MI ku-i-e-eš e-eš-ša-an-zi na-at pár-ku-wa-iš a-ša-an-du* 'In addition, let those who made the daily loaves be clean.'

Indeterminate Relative Pronouns

- 28 KUB XIII 2 III 16²⁹ *ku-i-ša-an-ša-an EGIR-pa tar-na-i na-an ša-ku-wa-an-zi*³⁰ 'Anyone who lets him come back shall be put in prison.'
- 29 KUB XXI 42 II 11 f. *na-at ku-iš i-ia-zi na-at-ši-ia-at GAM-an NI-EŠ DINGIR-LIM GAR-ru* 'Let that be included under the oath for anyone who does it.'
- 30 KUB XII 2 III 28 *ku-it ḫa-an-da-an a-pa-a-at i-iš-ša* 'Whatever is fitting, that he shall do.'

²⁶ Hatt. p. 38.

²⁷ ANET p. 401.

²⁸ Tem. p. 364; ANET p. 207.

²⁹ ANET p. 211.

³⁰ Tablet reads *-za*; *na-an ša-ku-wa-an-zi* occurs in KUB XIII 9 III 11.

2. THE DETERMINATE RELATIVE ADJECTIVE

I. Position

The relatives which have been classified as determinate relative adjectives, outnumber, by far, the relatives in any of the other categories. A total of four hundred and fifty six of these relatives were compiled. Of this number, one hundred ninety five occurred before their modificands, as opposed to the two hundred sixty one which followed their modificands. As has been pointed out in Chapter 1, the normal position of the relative adjective is *before* the modificand.¹ Not only do all indeterminate relative adjectives occur before their modificands, since they must occur initially in their clauses, but determinate relative adjectives also precede unless other syntactic considerations,² later to be enumerated, compel their postponement until later in the clause. The following sentences contain examples of each position which the determinate adjective may take. It may be noted that proper names may occur as modificands, as in 31, only with determinate adjectives.

31, 32 KBo V 8 II 14 ff.³ *nu KUR URUTu-u-um-ma-an-na ku-it PA-NI A-BI-IA e-eš-ta-at nu URUTu-u-um-ma-an-na-an URU-an nam-ma-ia ku-i-e-eš URU.DIDLİ.ĜI.A BĀD ú-e-da-an-te-eš e-še-er na-aš LÚKÚR URUKà-aš-kà-aš ħar-ni-ik-ta nam-ma-aš-za e-ša-an-ta-at-pīt* 'The land of Tummana which remained on my father's side, the city of Tummana, and, furthermore, the fortified cities which had been built, these the Kaskian enemy laid waste and, besides, possessed them, too.'

33, 34 KUB XXI 27 I 18 ff.⁴ *ħa-an-te-ez-zi-uš LUGAL.MEŠ ku-i-e-eš e-šir DUTU URUTÚL-na GAŠAN-IA ku-e-[eš-ma-aš KUR.KUR].MEŠ SUM-an ħar-ta [a-pé-e-m]a-aš KUR.KUR.MEŠ ħar-ni-in-ki-i]š-kir* 'Those who were the earlier kings, they let become destroyed those lands which you, Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, had given them.'

From these examples it may be seen that in each case where a determinate relative adjective precedes its modificand, another word or words occur before it in the clause. Should a noun precede the relative, the noun may stand in any case form. When the nominative precedes, the relative and the modificand are in a case form other than the nominative.

A. Nominatives preceding relatives not in the nominative

35 KUB V 7 obv. 10⁵ *DKa-al-li-iš-wa-kán ku-e-da-ni A-NA ĤUR.SAG ar-ta-ri nu-wa ĤUR.SAG KU[BABBAR GAR.R]A e-eš-ta* 'The mountain on which Kalliš stands, was a silver plated mountain.'

¹ This statement is contrary to opinions voiced by E. Sturtevant, HG (1st ed.), p. 255^{*} and by E. Hahn, Language Vol. 22 p. 73 (1946).

² Usually that occurrence before the modificand would put them in initial position.

³ AM p. 152.

⁴ ANET p. 393.

⁵ ANET p. 497.

- 36 KBo III 4 IV 40 f.⁶ *nu-za* ^PUTU-ŠI *ku-in* NAM.RA *I-NA É* LUGAL *ú-wa-te-nu-un na-aš* 3 *LI-IM* NAM.RA *e-eš-ta* 'The NAM.RA's which I, his majesty, brought back to the palace were three thousand (strong).'⁷
- 37 KBo III 4 III 90 f.⁸ *nu-za* ¹*Pi-iḫ-ḫu-ni-ia-aš ku-it* KUR ^{URU}*Iš-ti-ti-na ta-a-an ḫar-ta na-at* EGIR-*pa ú-e-te-nu-un* 'And I built up again the land of Ištitina which Piḫḫuniaš had held.'
- 38 KBo III 4 IV 46 f.⁹ DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-*ma-za BE-LU*.MEŠ-*ia ku-e* KUR.KUR ^{LÚ}*KŪR tar-aḫ-ḫi-eš-kir na-at-ša-an Ū-UL an-da* 'But the enemy lands which the princes and lords defeated, they are not within (them any longer).'
- 39 KUB I 1 IV 62 ff.¹⁰ [*nu* DUMU ŠE]Š-*IA* ¹*PKAL-*an ša-ra-a da-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-za ŠEŠ-IA* ¹NIR.GÁL-*iš ku-[it]* AŠ-*RU* ^{URU}*DU-aš-ša-an pár-na-wa-iš-ki-it na-an a-pi-ia pi-di* LUGAL-*iz-na-an-ni ti-it-ta-nu-nu-un* 'I took my brother's son, ^PKAL-aš, and put him upon a throne in the same place, Dattašaš, which my brother, Muwatalliš, used for a palace.'*

B. Accusatives preceding relatives not in the accusative

- 40 VBoT 2, 14 ff. *ki-i-kán tup-pí ku-iš* DUB.ŠAR-aš *ḫal-za-a-i na-an* ^{PÉ}.A-aš *ḫa-at-ta-an-na-aš* LUGAL-uš *ḫi-lam-na-aš-ša* ^PUTU-uš *aš-šu-ú-li pa-aḫ-ša-an-ta-ru* 'May Ea, king of wisdom, and the Sungod of the ḫilammar protect with favor the scribe who reads out this tablet.'
- 41 KUB VII 5 II 5 ff. *nu* SISKUR.SISKUR *ku-e-da-ni pár-ni iš-ša-aḫ-ḫi nu* ^{GIS}BANŠUR GIBIL *ki-it-ta-ri nu-uš-ša-an* NINDA.ERÍN.MEŠ *še-er I-NA* ^{GIS}BANŠUR *te-eḫ-ḫi* 'A new table is set up in the house in which I make offerings, and I put the ration on the table.'
- 42 KBo IV 2 III 56 f.¹¹ GUD *pu-u-ḫu-ga-ri-in-ma ku-e-da-ni UD-ti* [(*ú-nu-e-er*)] *nu-za* ^PUTU-ŠI *a-pé-e-da-ni UD-ti wa-ar-ap-ta* 'But his majesty took a bath on that day on which they adorned the atonement ox.'

C. Dative-locatives preceding relatives not in that case

- 43 KUB VII 2 I 26 f. EN SISKUR.SISKUR-*ia ku-iš* ALAM.IM *i-en-zi nu-uš-ši* 1 ^{LÚ}*kat-ta-an ti-ia-zi* 'And one man stands with that clay image which they make for the lord of the sacrifice.'
- 44 Ull. 3rd tablet III 35 f. A-*ni-kán ku-iš* ^{NA}*SU.U-zi-iš an-da mi-e-eš-ta Ū-UL-an ša-ak-ti* 'Do you not know the kunkunuzzi who grew in the water?'
- 45 KUB XXI 15 I 17 f.¹² ERUM-*an-ni-ia-mu ku-e* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *pí-ia-an* [*e-šir*] *nu-mu-kán a-pé-e-ia ar-ḫa da-at-ta-[at]* 'The lands which had been given to me in serfdom were likewise taken from me.'

⁶ AM p. 136.

⁷ Similar passages in KBo III 4 II 41 ff. (AM p. 56), KBo III 4 III 32 ff. (AM p. 132).

⁸ AM p. 94.

⁹ AM p. 136.

¹⁰ NB Hatt. p. 32.

¹¹ MS p. 6.

¹² NB Hatt. p. 46.

D. Genitives preceding relatives not in the genitive case

- 46, 47, 48 KUB XII 34 I 19 + XV 39 I 19 ff.¹³ *nu-uš-ša-an A-NA 2 EN. SISKUR ku-it SIG.DIR SIG.ZA.GÍN NÍ-TE-aš ki-it-ta iš-ša-na-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš ku-e 2 ALAM pí-ra-an kat-ta ki-it-ta [iš-ša-n]a-aš-ma-aš-ma-aš QA-DU EME.ĤI.A-ia ku-e I-NA SAG.DU-ŠU-NU ki-an-ta [na-at-ša-ma-aš-kán SAL ŠU.GI ar-ḫa da-a-i* 'The red wool and the blue wool that had been placed upon the bodies of the two sacrificers, the two figures of dough that had been placed before them, and the hands and tongues of dough that had been placed upon their heads, those the old woman removes.'
- 49 KBo V 6 II 19 f. *nu-kán ŠA URUKUBABBAR-ti ku-iš ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU. KUR.RA.MEŠ na-an-kán še-er a-ra-a-an-zi* 'The troops and charioteers of the Hatti country which were there, rebelled against him.'
- 50 KUB XIII 2 II 28 ff.¹⁴ *ki-e-da-ni-wa-aš-ša-an URU-ri na-aš-šu ŠA PX ku-it É ka-ri-im-mi na-aš-ma ta-me-e-da-aš DINGIR-LIM-aš ku-it-ki É ka-ri-im-mi ki-nu-na-at kat-ta mu-ša-a-an na-at ar-ḫa ḫar-kán* 'In this town, whether it is the sanctuary which (belongs to) the Stormgod,¹⁵ or some sanctuary of others gods, it is now collapsed and broken down.'

E. Instrumental preceding relative not in the instrumental

- 51 KUB VI 45 III 34 f.¹⁶ *[nu] IŠ-TU EME¹⁷-IA ku-i-e-eš DINGIR.MEŠ ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-un nu A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ar-ku-wa-nu-un nu-mu-kán DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ú-wa-ia-nu-ut da-pt-aš* 'The gods which I called upon with my tongue—I prayed to the gods—intercede for me with all those gods.'

F. Ablatives preceding relatives not in the ablative

- 52 KUB XXX 10 ob. 10¹⁸ *nu-za DUMU-an-na-az ku-it ŠA DINGIR-IA du-ud-du-mar na-at-ta ša-a-ak-ḫi na-at [.....]* 'The superior power of my god which I have not known since childhood [must I experience] it [in my old age?']
- 53 KUB XIII 2 III 2 f.¹⁹ *na-at ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-an-du nam-ma-aš-ši ka-ru-ú-li-ia-az ku-it SISKUR na-at-ši pt-ia-an-du* 'Let them arrange for them and, furthermore, let them present for them the sacrifice which is (customary) from olden times.'

Such nouns in their various case forms are the most frequent means by which the determinate relative adjective is kept from initial position when it precedes the modificand. There are, however, other means. A few cases can be found in

¹³ ANET p. 350.

¹⁴ ANET p. 210.

¹⁵ Lit. 'which is of the god.'

¹⁶ ANET p. 398.

¹⁷ For *laḫit*(?)

¹⁸ ANET p. 400.

¹⁹ ANET p. 211.

which a noun and postposition come first in the clause, or may be assumed to come first.

- 54 KUB XXIII 72 rvs. 27 f.²⁰ *na-aš-ta A-NA LÚ.MEŠ URU Pa-aḥ-ḥu-wa²¹ ku-e-da-ni UD-ti ku-u-ru-ra-aš me-mi-an an-da iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni nu a-pé-e-da-[ni UD-ti A-NA URU Pa-aḥ-ḥu-wa] a-ar-ḥi nu URU Pa-aḥ-ḥu-wa-an wa-al-aḥ-ten* 'March to Paḥḥuwa and strike Paḥḥuwa on that day on which you hear a word of enmity among the people of Paḥḥuwa.'
- 55 KUB XXIII 72 rvs. 2 f.²² *ka-a-ša ¹Mi-i-ta-aš wa-aš-ta-[aš-ki-it nu-uš-ši ŠA-PAL NI-IŠ DINGIR.LIM-ia²³] ku-e ud-da-a-ar ti-ia-a-[an] e-eš-ta a-pa-a-ša-at-kán ḥu-u-ma-an-ta šar-ra-aš* 'Behold, Mita sinned, and the words which were put [under oath for him], he violated all of them.'
- 56 KUB VII 8 II 19 ff.²⁴ *nu-ut-ta ki-i še-er²⁵ ku-e-da-ni ud-da-a-ni-i mu-ki-eš-ki-ū-ē-ni nu-za DINGIR.LUM DINGIR.LI[M-tar] te-ek-ku-uš-nu-ut* 'On account of this matter for which we have come to you, O god, show your divine power.'

Perhaps example 56 would be more appropriately placed under the next group of examples—those in which a modifier of the modificand is first in the relative clause. The most frequently used modifiers are the demonstratives. Demonstratives can modify the modificands of only determinates, as one would expect.

A. *aši*

- 57 Ull. 3rd tablet I 27 ff. *a-ši-wa ku-in ^DU[l-li-kum-mi-in] ^{NA}ku-un-ku-nu-zi-in me-mi-iš-k[án-zi nu-]wa-ra-an-za-an tar-aḥ-ta ku-wa-a[t-ka] am-me-el LÚ-an na-ak-ki-in x[.....]x-an* 'Perhaps this Ullikummi (made of) kunkunuzzi stone, whom they talk about, overcame him, my husband, the weighty

B. *uni*

- 58 KBo V 8 III 24 ff.²⁶ *nu u-ni ku-in 9 LI-IM ERÍN.MEŠ ¹Pi-tág-ga-tal-li-iš ú-wa-te-it na-aš-mu za-aḥ-ḥi-ia ti-ia-at na-an za-aḥ-ḥi-ia-nu-un* 'Those aforementioned 9000 troops which Pitagatalliš brought, made battle with me and I fought them.'

C. *kaš*

- 59 KUB XXI 1 III 73 f.²⁷ *nam-ma ki-i ku-it TUP-PU tu-uk ¹A-la-[ak-ša-an-du-uš i-ia-]nu-un ne-et-ták-kán MU.KAM-ti pi-ra-an 3-Š[U ḥal-zi-eš-ša-an-]du* 'Furthermore, this tablet which I have made for you, Alexanduš, let it be read aloud to you three times every year.'

Only one example occurs with an adjective placed alone before the determinate relative adjective. It was given above as 22.

When the relative clause contains only a determinate adjective, its modificand,

²⁰ MP p. 37.

²¹ Probably for *antuḥšaš paḥḥuwaš ištarna*.

²² MP p. 36.

²³ For *lenkiya kattan*, a phrase well-known from other treaties and oaths.

²⁴ ANET p. 349.

²⁵ The position of *še-er* is unusual. We should expect it to come after *ud-da-a-ni-i*.

²⁶ AM p. 158.

²⁷ Stvt. Alak. p. 76; cf. also KBo VI 29 III 34 (NB Hatt. p. 50) *ki-i ku-it É-ir*.

and a verb, the verb usually precedes the relative and the modificand. Only in clauses containing these three elements alone may the verb come first.

60 KUB VII 1 I 33 f. *ar-ri-ma-za ku-e-ez-za ú-e-te-na-az nu me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da wa-ḥi-eš-na-aš wa-a-tar* 'But the water with which it washes itself is water of *waḥeššar*.'

61 KBo VI 29 II 14 f.²⁸ *nu ḥa-at-ra-a-nu-un ku-e-da[-aš KUR.KUR-]e-aš EGIR-an-wa-mu ti-ia-at-ten na-at-mu EGIR-an ti-[i]-e-ir* 'And the countries to which I wrote, *Follow me*, they followed me.'

In addition to the above forms which occur before the determinate relative adjective may be added a number of adverbs.²⁹ The following list of examples containing adverbs is considered to be representative of this fairly common feature.

62 KUB VII 49, 10 ff. *EGIR-pa-ma ku-e* 2 NINDA *a-a-an ki-it-ta-ri nu-uš-ša-an* ^{DNi}*[-in-na-at-ta-an GUŠKIN a-ša-ši³⁰]* 'But the two hot loaves which are lying behind, upon them he sets the gold Ninata.'

63 KUB VII 49, 8 ff. *nu pī-ra-an ku-it* 1 NINDA *a-a-an da-a-i nu-uš-ša-an* ^{PIŠTAR} GUŠKIN *a-ša-ši* 'The hot loaf which he puts in front, upon it he sets the gold Ištar.'

64 KUB XXI 27 I 5 f.³¹ *nam-ma-ma-za ku-it KUR-e* ^{GIŠ}ERIN-*aš i-ia-at nu-za-kán* ^{DNi}*He-pát ŠUM-an da-iš-ta* 'But, furthermore, you take the name *Ḫepat* in the land which you made the land of cedar.'

65 KUB VI 3, 7 f. *ka-ru-ú-uš-ši ku-e-eš MU.ḪI.A a-ri-ia-še-eš-na-za me-ma-an-te-eš a-pé-e-da-ša-aš MU.ḪI.A-aš pa-ra-a TI-an-za* 'Those years which (were) already reported to him by divine oracle, (if) he shall live beyond those years

66 KBo VI 29 II 16³² *Ú-UL-ia ku-e-da-aš KUR-e-aš ḥa-at-ra-a-nu-un nu ḥu-u-ma-an-pīt am-me-e-ta-az ti-ia-at* 'And those countries to which I did not write, all of them supported me.'

Of the possible forms, listed above, which may precede a determinate relative adjective and its modificand, a combination of several forms may also occur. The verb, however, never occurs in conjunction with other forms.

67 KUB VI 41 II 19³³ [(*tu-uk-ma* ^{DNi}UTU-ŠI *ku-it KUR-TAM AD-DIN*)] *nu-za a-pa-a-at KUR-TAM pa-aḥ-ši* 'But protect that land which I, his majesty, have given to you.'

68 KUB XVII 3 II 3 f.³⁴ [*z*]*i-ik-ma-wa-kán a-pu-uš ku-i-e-eš* 2 U[R.MAḪ.MEŠ] *ku-in-ni-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-aš-mu i-it 2-it* [.....] 'But those two lions which you have killed, go [fetch] them both for me.'

If one of the forms listed above does not precede the determinate relative adjective and its modificand, the relative follows its modificand, so that it does

²⁸ Hatt. p. 48.

²⁹ The term 'adverb' is used as defined by L. Zuntz, *Die hethitischen Ortsadverbien arḫa para piran*, etc., p. 8 (Munich 1936).

³⁰ For restoration see 63.

³¹ ANET p. 393.

³² Hatt. p. 48.

³³ Stvt. Kup. p. 118.

³⁴ Friedrich, ZA 5 p. 20 (Gilgameš Epic).

not stand in initial position. The vast number of determinate adjectives which follow their modificands, do so for this reason, as in the examples which follow.

- 69 KUB VIII 1 II 7 f. *ma-a-an I-NA UD.20.KAM* ²SIN-*aš a-ki DUMU. LUGAL ku-iš ar-ḥa pár-ḥa-an-za na-aš EGIR-pa ú-iz-zi nu-za* ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA A-BI-ŠU *e-ep-zi* 'If the moon dies on the twentieth day, the prince who is in exile will come home and take his father's throne.'
- 70 KBo IV 9 IV 51 ff.³⁵ 3 ^{LÚ}.MEŠ *ME-ŠE-DI-ma ku-i-e-eš* ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*i ZAG-na-az i-ia-an-ta-ri na-at EGIR-pa ú-wa-an-zi* 'But the three guards who march at the right of the table go away again.'
- 71 KUB VII 5 IV 5 ff.³⁶ *ku-it-ma-an-ma DINGIR-LUM I-NA UD.3.KAM mu-g[a-i] nu-za-kán za-aš-ḥi-mu-uš ku-i-e-eš uš-ki-iz-zi na-aš me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi* 'During the three days that he entreats the god, he tells the dreams which he sees.'

There are some few examples in which the determinate adjective occurs later in the clause than one would expect. These relatives fall into three categories. The first category consists of those relative clauses in which a qualifying modifier to the modificand and the modificand itself precede the relative. The modificand and the modifier act as a single unit, with the relative following, since it cannot precede the unit.

- 72 KBo IV 4 IV 35 f.³⁷ [NAM.R]A ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti-ia-wa-an-na-aš-kán *ku-iš an-da nu-wa-ra-an pa-ra-a pí-i-i[a-u]-e-ni* 'We want to hand over the Hittite NAM.RA's who are with us.'
- 73 KUB VII 5 II 9 ff.³⁸ *nu-uš-ša-an pár-ši-ia-an-du-uš NINDA.KUR₄.RA. ḪI.A ku-i-e-eš A-NA NINDA.ERÍN.MEŠ ki-an-ta na-aš-ta te-pu da-aḥ-ḥi nu LÚ-i BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR pí-iḥ-ḥi* 'I shall take a little of the broken sacrificial loaves which are lying on the rations and give (it) to the male sacrificer.'
- 74 KUB VII 5 IV 17 f.³⁹ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR GIBIL-*ma ku-iš mu-ke-eš-ni ar-ta [na-a]t*⁴⁰ ŠA DINGIR-LIM-*pít ki-ša-ri* 'But the new table which stands there during the entreaty becomes the property of the deity itself.'

The second category consists of those relatives which are placed later in their clauses because of an emphasis put on the other words of the clause. This type of clause is exceedingly rare. The relative is delayed until just before the verb, instead of taking its usual position earlier in the clause. The relative may be separated from its modificand by other words in order to be relegated to this position of unimportance.

- 75 KUB XXIV 3 II 6 ff.⁴¹ ^{LÚ}.M[^{ES}APIN.LÁ]L A.ŠAG A.QAR.ḪI.A DINGIR-LIM *ku-i-[e-eš] an-ni-eš-kir na-at e-kir nu nam-ma A.ŠAG A.QAR.[ḪI.A DINGIR-LIM] a-ni-ia-an-zi wa-ar-aš-ša-an-zi Ú-UL ku-[iš-ki]* 'The plough-men who used to work the fields of the god have died, and so no one works or reaps the fields of the god.'

³⁵ ANET p. 360.

³⁶ ANET p. 350.

³⁷ AM p. 138; cf. *ibid.* l. 48 (p. 140).

³⁸ ANET p. 349.

³⁹ ANET p. 350.

⁴⁰ Restoration unsure.

⁴¹ HPM p. 26.

- 76 KUB XXXI 124 II 10 f.⁴² *nu ki-e-ta-aš A-NA KUR.KUR.ḪI.A šu-me-en-za-an*⁴³ *É.ḪI.A DINGIR.MEŠ-KU-NU ku-e e-eš-ta na-at LÚ.MEŠ* ^{URU}*Ga-aš-ga ar-ḫa pī-ip-pī-ir* 'The Gašga men sacked the temples which you, the gods, possessed in these lands.'
- 77 KUB I 6 III 15 f.^{43A} *nu-wa-za zi-ik LUGAL.GAL am-mu-uk-ma-wa-kán* [1-E]N *ḪAL-ZI ku-in da-li-ia-at nu-wa-za ŠA 1-EN ḪAL-ZI LUGAL-uš* 'You are the great king, but the one fortress which you have left for me, of that one fortress I am king.'

The third and last category contains those relative clauses which have adverbs in initial position. There is a marked tendency for the determinate relative not to follow an adverb in initial position. In many cases, this tendency brings about the placement of the relative after its modificand, even though the relative would not otherwise be in initial position.

- 78 KUB XIII 4 II 73 f.⁴⁴ *an-da-ma-za šu-me-eš ku-i-e-eš LÚ.MEŠ É DINGIR-LIM nu-za ḫa-li-i[a-aš] ud-da-ni-i me-ek-ki pa-aḫ-ḫa-aš-ša-nu-wa-an-te-eš e-eš-ten* 'Further: you who are temple officials, be very careful with respect to the precinct.'
- 79 KUB IV 1 II 5 f.⁴⁵ *nu-uš-ma-aš-ša-an ka-a-ša DI-NAM ku-it ar-nu-um-me-ni na-at iš-ta-ma-aš-te-en* 'Listen (ye) to the complaint which we bring to you.'

Whenever one determinate relative adjective modifies two modificands, the relative regularly follows both modificands, unless the position before both modificands is non-initial. In the latter case, the relative precedes both modificands as in 49 above.

- 80 KBo IV 9 V 3 ff.⁴⁶ ^{GIŠ}*ŠUKUR.ḪI.A-ma Û* ^{GIŠ}*PA.ḪI.A ku-e ḫar-kán-zi nu-uš-ma-ša-at-kán 1-aš* ^{LÚ}*ME-ŠE-DI ar-ḫa da-a-i na-at pa-iz-zi ŠA GAL. ME-ŠE-DI* ^{GIŠ}*ŠUKUR GUŠKIN kat-ta-an ku-ut-ti-iš- <ša-an> an-da da-a-i* 'One major-domo takes from them the spears and scepters which they hold, and goes to put them with the gold spear of the great major-domo against the wall.'
- 81 KBo V 6 II 24 f. *ERÍN.MEŠ-wa-kán ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ ku-iš I-NA* ^{URU}*Ḫar-mu-ri-ga še-er nu-wa-ra-aš-kán LÚ.MEŠ* ^{URU}*Ḫur-ri an-da wa-aḫ-nu-wa-an ḫar-kán-zi* 'The Hurrians hold surrounded the troops and charioteers which are in the land of Ḫarmuriga.'
- 82 KUB XIV 16 I 25 f.⁴⁷ *ERÍN.MEŠ* ^{LÚ}*.MEŠUKUŠ-ia-mu ku-iš kat-ta-an e-eš-ta [na-at pa-it KUR]* ^{LÚ}*KÚR GUL-an-ni-iš-ki-it* 'The troops and the heavy-armed troops which were with me went and attacked the land of the enemy.'

Example 83 is the only case in which the relative occurs between the two modificands. This example is 'odd' in another respect—namely, that the relative is in the plural, since the other NAM.RA.ḪI.A's of similar texts are construed in

⁴² ANET p. 399.

⁴³ Text reads *ŠA* here, which must be deleted.

^{43A} Hatt. p. 28.

⁴⁴ Tem. p. 380; ANET p. 209. An adverb followed by *šu-me-eš ku-i-e-eš* occurs very frequently in the Hittite instructions.

⁴⁵ ANET p. 355.

⁴⁶ ANET p. 360.

⁴⁷ AM p. 28.

the singular. The fact that each modificand with its modifiers is somewhat lengthy (in contrast to the other examples) may contribute to the unusual position of the relative.

- 83 KBo V 9 II 38 ff.⁴⁸ NAM.RA.ĤI.A KUR ^{URU}Nu-ḥaš-ši ku-i-e-eš Ū NAM. RA.ĤI.A KUR ^{URU}Ki-in-za A-BU-IA ar-nu-ut am-mu-uk-ka-at ar-nu-nu-un nu-mu-kán ma-a-an a-pé-el ku-iš-ki ŠA NAM.RA.MEŠ ḥu-u-wa-iz-zi na-aš tu-uk kat-ta-an ú-iz-zi zi-ga-an Ū-UL e-ep-ti 'The NAM.RA's of the Nuḥašši land and the NAM.RA's of the Kinza land, which my father has moved and I have moved, if any of these NAM.RA's flees from me and he comes to you and you do not seize him, (let that come under the oath.)'

Whenever the determinate relative adjective modifies three modificands, the relative precedes all three, unless this position is initial in which case the relative follows the first modificand.

- 84 KBo II 5 I 15 f.⁴⁹ nu-kán NAM.RA.ĤI.A ku-iš GUD UDU [an-da e-eš-ta] na-an ḥu-u-ma-an-da-an e-ep-ta 'He took all of the NAM.RA's, oxen and sheep which were within.'
- 85 KBo III 4 III 34 f.⁵⁰ ^{URU}KUBABBAR-aš-ma-za EN.MEŠ ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia ku-in NAM.RA GUD UDU-ia ú-wa-te-it nu-uš-ša-an kap-pu-u-wa-u-wa-ar NU.GÁL e-eš-ta 'But there was no number to the NAM.RA's, the oxen and the sheep which the lords of Ḥatti, the troops and the charioteers brought back.'

II. The Resumption

Determinate relative adjectives may be resumed in one of several ways. The most simple resumption is a mere reiteration of the modificand. Examples 86-8 illustrate the type of relative sentence in which the modificand, which is always a noun, is resumed by the identical noun in the resumptive clause. Resumptions may stand in any case form, depending upon their syntax within the resumptive clause.

- 86 KBo VI 29 I 15 f.⁵¹ nu-mu É-ir ku-it e-eš-ta nu-kán IŠ-TU É.IA ^{URU}Ša-mu-ḥa ḥa-an-ti-ia-nu-un 'And the house which I had, with my house I was true to the Ištar of Šamuḥa.'
- 87 KUB XIX 37 III 28 f.⁵² nu-za KUR ^{URU}Ta-pa-a-pa-nu-wa ku-it da-a-an EGIR-pa e-ša-at nu KUR ^{URU}Ta-pa-a-pa-nu-wa ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-ir 'They burned the land of Tapapanuwa which was hostile a second time.'
- 88 Ull. 1st tablet III 38 f. ^{URU}Im-pa-lu-ri INIM.MEŠ-ar-[ta] ku-e me-mi-iš-ki-mi nu-mu ud-da-na-aš GEŠTUK-an p[a-ra-a] la-ga-a-an ḥar-ak 'O Impaluri, hold your ear inclined to my words which I speak to you.'⁵³

If the reiterated modificand is to be made emphatic or more explicit, a demon-

⁴⁸ Stvt. Dupp. p. 18.

⁴⁹ AM p. 180.

⁵⁰ AM p. 76; similar passages in KBo III 4 III 53 ff. (AM p. 78 ff.), IV 42 ff. (AM p. 136).

⁵¹ Hatt. p. 46.

⁵² AM p. 174.

⁵³ Identical passages Ull. 1st tablet II 16 ff. and Ull. 3rd tablet II 18 ff.

strative modifier may be added. The demonstrative is, in each case, a declensional form of *apaš*, *kaš*, or *uni*.

- 89 KUB XXVII 16 I 22 f. *nu wa-a-tar ku-it* [...] *IŠ-TU* 8 ^{DUG}HAB.HAB *ḫar-kán-zi nu* SAL.LUGAL ^{PX} [...] *a-pé-e-ez ú-e-te-na-az a-ar-ri* 'And the water which they have from the 8 jugs, the queen washes the Stormgod with that water.'
- 90 KUB VI 45 I 27 f.⁵⁴ *nu-za A-WA-TE.MEŠ ku-e A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ ar-ku-wa-ar DÜ-mi nu ki-i A-WA-TE.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ da-at-ti-in iš-ta-ma-aš-ti-ni-ia-at* 'The words which I am making in prayer to the gods, receive these words, O gods, my lords, and hear them.'
- 91 KBo III 4 III 39 ff.⁵⁵ *nu-za* ^{HUR.SAG}*Aš-ḫar-pa-ia-an ku-iš* ^{URU}*Kà-aš-kà-aš e-ša-an ḫar-ta nu ŠA KUR* ^{URU}*Pa-la-a KAŠ.MEŠ kar-aš-ša-an ḫar-ta nu u-ni ŠA* ^{HUR.SAG}*Aš-ḫar-pa-ia* ^{URU}*Kà-aš-kán za-aḫ-ḫi-ia-nu-un* 'And the Kaškian city which had possession of Mt. Ašḫarpaya and had cut off the roads to the land of Pala, with that Kaškian city of Mt. Ašḫarpaya I fought.'

The demonstrative *apaš* may appear alone in the resumptive clause. Although *apaš* occurs quite frequently with a noun resumption, it is the only demonstrative which functions alone as a resumption. The following examples have resumptions with forms of *apaš*.

- 92 KUB XXIV 5 rvs. 6 f.⁵⁶ *am-mu-uk-ma-wa-tá[k-kán] tar-pa-al-li-uš ku-i-e-eš ŠU-i te-eḫ-ḫu-un nu-wa-za a-pu-u-uš da-a* 'Take these substitutes which I have put in your hand.'
- 93 KBo III 4 I 11 f.⁵⁷ *DUMU-ŠU-ma-wa-aš-ši-za-kán ku-iš A-NA* ^{GIŠ}*GU.ZA A-BI-ŠU e-ša-at nu-wa a-pa-a-aš-ša ka-ru-ú* ^{LÜ}*KAL-an-za e-eš-ta* 'But his son who sat on the throne of his father, he, too, was already a hero.'

The most common means by which the Hittite relative is resumed, is the enclitic pronoun of the third person. Practically any enclitic pronoun may be found as a resumption, except the pronouns of the first and second persons singular which are sometimes reconstructed as in 96, but for which no actual examples are citable.

- 94 VBoT 1, 17 f. *an-ni-ia-at-ta-aš-ma-mu ku-e-da-aš ḫa-at-ra-a-eš up-pí-wa-ra-at-mu ne-it-ta up-pa-aḫ-ḫi* EGIR-an-da 'But the regalia for which you wrote, *Send them to me*, I will send them to you afterwards.'
- 95 KUB XXV 1 VI 11 ff.⁵⁸ *nu* ^{LÜ}*QA.ŠU.DU₃.A ku-iš ḫa-aš-ši-i ta-pu-uš-za pá-r-aš-na-an ḫar-zi ta-aš ša-ra-a ti-i-ia-zi ta-aš LUGAL-i UŠ-KI-EN* 'The cupbearer who has been squatting beside the hearth gets up and pays homage to the king.'
- 96, 97 KUB XIX 50 III 3 ff.⁵⁹ *nu-ut-ták-kán A-BU-IA am-mu-uk-ka₄ [ku-it EGIR-pa ti-ia-u-en] ... nu-ut-ta* ^P*UTU-ŠI ku-iš [gi-en-zu da-aḫ-ḫu-un nu-mu*

⁵⁴ ANET p. 398.

⁵⁵ AM p. 76.

⁵⁶ ANET p. 355.

⁵⁷ AM p. 16 ff.

⁵⁸ ANET p. 361.

⁵⁹ Stvt. Man. p. 12.

ar-ḥa ti-ia-at] nu-ut-ta ¹*Uḥ-ḥa-LŪ-iš ku-[iš gi-en-zu Ū-UL da-a-aš] nu a-pé-e-da-ni* EGIR-*an t[i-ia-at]* 'Although my father and I supported you, ... you have fallen away from me, his majesty, who has shown favor to you, and you have supported Uḥḥa-LŪ-iš who has not shown favor to you.'

In rare cases, the possessive suffixes may function as resumptions, although an enclitic pronoun may be used also in the same clause.

- 98 KUB VII 1 I 7 *nu DUMU-an ku-in ḥu-uk-ki-iš-ki-mi na-an-kán ŠUM-ŠU te-e-mi* 'The child whom I magically treat, his name I shall mention here.' (lit. 'I shall mention him his name.')

Although the Hittite language, for the most part, expresses the resumption of the determinate relative adjective in one of the ways listed above, the resumption may occasionally be understood when the context is clear and no ambiguities can result. Examples 99 and 100 illustrate unexpressed resumptions understood as subjects of verbs.

- 99 KBo IV 4 II 68 ff.⁶⁰ *nu-kán* ¹*Na-na-LŪ-in ku-in DUMU.LUGAL A-NA* ¹*Nu-wa-an-za GAL.GEŠTIN ḥa-lu-ki pa-ra-a ne-eḥ-ḥu-un nu-mu KAS-ši me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da u-un-ni-eš-ta* 'Nana-LŪ-iš, the prince, whom I had sent for a messenger to Nuwanga, the GAL.GEŠTIN, came to me on the road.'
- 100 KBo V 8 II 29 ff.⁶¹ *an-tu-uḥ-ša-tar-ra-za-kán ku-it te-e-pa-u-wa-az an-da [ḥu-u-]it-ti-ia-an ḥar-ta nu ŠA KUR Pa-la-a A-NA* [^{LŪ}KŪR *pa-]ra-a Ū-UL ku-it-ki pé-eš-ta* 'And the population which he had drawn there in small numbers, gave nothing of the land of Pala to the enemy.'

When the relative sentence consists of very short clauses, a resumption which would be grammatically construed as object of the verb, may be omitted. The modificand occurs just before the resumptive clause, so that the resumption is readily understood. Relative sentences containing resumptions of this type occur in texts written in a terse abbreviated style. No examples of this occurred in historical prose.

- 101 KUB V 7 rvs. 22 f.⁶² *A-NA DINGIR-LIM ku-it ŠA-MU še-er nu-wa ḥa-li-iš-ša-az ar-ḥa iš-ḥu-u-wa-an ḥar-zi* 'He stripped of its covering the baldachin which the god had.'
- 102 VBoT 2, 24 f. DUB.ḪI.A-[ia] *ku-e ú-da-an-zi nu ne-eš-um(?) -ni-li ḥa-at-re-eš-ki* 'And write the tablets which they bring in Nešian.'
- 103 KBo II 2 II 21 f. DINGIR-LIM-tar *ku-it SIxDI-at kat(?) -ta a-ri-ia-u-e-en* 'We made the deity which was determined, the subject of an oracle.'

The resumption is sometimes omitted in other circumstances. If the resumptive clause contains a non-demonstrative adjectival modifier, the resumption may be omitted. Resumptions of this type always resume a plural modificand or several singular modificands.

- 104 KBo IV 1 rvs. 21 f.⁶³ *ŠA NA₄.ḪI.A-ia ku-i-e-eš GUNNI.MEŠ [nu] ku-iš-ša 1 GIN* 'And the hearths which are of stones, each (hearth) is one shekel (in weight).'

⁶⁰ AM p. 120.

⁶¹ AM p. 154.

⁶² ANET p. 498.

⁶³ ANET p. 356.

105 KUB XXVI 92, 12 f. GIM-an-ma LÚ.MEŠ *TĒ-ME* ku-i-e-eš u-i-[ia-nu-un] nu EGIR-pa Ū-UL ku-iš-ki ú-it nu-za me-mi-an ḫa-a-nu-un 'But the messengers whom I sent out, when none (of them) came back, I believed the word.'

106 KUB XXIV 3 II 26 ff.⁶⁴ nu ku-ri-wa-na-[(aš KUR.KUR.TIM k)u-(e)] a-ra-aḫ-za-an-da KUR ^{URU}Mi-it-ta-an-ni KUR ^{URU}[Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na KUR ^{URU}(Ar-za-u-wa)] nu ḫu-u-ma-an-za šu-ul-li-e-et nu-za-kán DI[(NGIR.MEŠ ša-ra-a)] Ū-UL i-ia-an-zi 'The independent lands which are neighboring—Mittani, Kizzuwatna, and Arzawa—all (of them) have scorned and do not reverence the gods.'

Another example is given above as 66. Several more examples occurred with the adjective *ḫumant-* in conjunction with an enclitic pronoun or a genitive.

107 KBo II 5 I 15 f.⁶⁵ nu-kán NAM.RA.ḪI.A ku-iš GUD UDU [an-da eš-ta] na-an ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an e-ep-ta 'He took all of the NAM.RA's, oxen and sheep which were within.'

108 KUB XIX 65, 16 f.⁶⁶ KUR.KUR.ḪI.A ku-e dan-na-at-ta am-mu-[(uk EGIR)]-pa a-še-ša-nu-nu-un nu-mu-kán a-pé-e-ia ḫu-u-ma-an-[(da ar)]-ḫa da-a-aš 'The uninhabited lands which I had resettled, all of those he took away, too.'

Resumptive clauses in which the resumption would be construed in the locative case, frequently omit the resumption. They imply the locative notion by the use of the enclitic particles *-kán* or *-šan*, or the use of the adverb *anda* and *-kán* or *-šan*.⁶⁷

109 KUB XXI 27 I 5 f.⁶⁸ nam-ma-ma-za ku-it KUR-e ^{GIŠ}ERIN-aš i-ia-at nu-za-kán ^PḪe-pát ŠUM-an da-iš-ta 'But, furthermore, you take the name Ḫepat in the land which you made the land of cedar.'

110 KBo III 4 IV 42 f.⁶⁹ ^{URU}KUBABBAR-aš-ma-za EN.MEŠ ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia ku-in NAM.RA GUD UDU ú-wa-te-it na-aš-ša-an Ū-UL an-da e-eš-ta 'But the NAM.RA's, oxen and sheep which the lords of Ḫattušaš, the troops and the charioteers brought back, are not included therein.'

111 KUB I 1 III 6 f.⁷⁰ nu-un-na-aš É-ir ku-it [(e-eš-šu-u-en)] nu-un-na-aš-kán DINGIR-LUM an-da ar-ta-at 'The house which she had created for us, the goddess stood within it for us.'

Possibly the enclitic particles serve the same purpose also in the following isolated cases in which the modificand is resumed by implication.

112 KUB XIX 37 II 44 f.⁷¹ [^{URU}Ḫa-at-t]u-ša-aš-ma-za ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ ku-in NAM.R[A GUD] UDU [ú-wa-te-i]t nu-uš-ša-an ir-ḫa-aš mi-ia-na-aš NU.GÁL e-[eš-ta] 'But there was no limit to the abundance of

⁶⁴ ANET p. 396.

⁶⁵ AM p. 180.

⁶⁶ NB Hatt. p. 28.

⁶⁷ In addition to the following three examples may be added 5, 6, 38, 62 and 63.

⁶⁸ ANET p. 393.

⁶⁹ AM p. 136.

⁷⁰ NB Hatt. p. 12.

⁷¹ AM p. 170.

NAM.RA's, oxen and sheep which the troops and charioteers of Hattušaš brought.'

- 113 KBo III 4 III 53 f.⁷² UR^UKUBABBAR-aš-ma-za EN.MEŠ ERÍN.MEŠ ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ-ia ku-in NAM.RA.MEŠ GUD UDU ú-wa-te-it nu-kán kap-pu-u-wa-u-wa-ar NU.GÁL e-eš-ta 'But there was no number to the NAM.RA's, oxen and sheep which the lords of Hatti, the troops and the charioteers brought back.'

Of the total number of determinate relative adjectives, the resumptions of all but a few fit into one of the above categories. These few cases all contain the phrase *kuedani meḫuni*. This phrase, though it undoubtedly contains a relative, functions in the manner of a subordinating conjunction. We must assume, however, that the resumption would be *apedani meḫuni* if the resumption were to be emphatically expressed. This assumption yields the literal translation, 'At the time when, at that time' which equals 'When, then' or simply, 'When, ...'

- 114 KUB XIII 4 II 22 ff.⁷³ nu e-ep-pu-u-wa-an-zi Ū-UL nu-un-tar-nu-zi e-ep-zi[(-ma ku-e-d)]a-ni me-e-ḫu-ni nu nam-ma ar-ḫa Ū-UL tar-na-a-i 'It (the will of the gods) does not make haste to seize, but when it seizes, it does not thereafter let go.'

- 115 KBo VI 29 II 31 ff.⁷⁴ nu-uš-ši kat-ta-an EGIR-pa ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḫu-ni ar-ḫu-un BĀD-eš-šar ŠA GIŠ.ZI 40 gi-pé-eš-šar kat-ta ú-it 'When I arrived again with him, the fortification—40 *gipeššar* of wall—came down.'

The relationship which ties the relative clause to the resumptive clause is loose and flexible. A fuller discussion of this subject will be undertaken in a later chapter. It may be shown here, however, that this flexibility allows for interesting variations in regard to the resumption of the determinate relative adjective. One such variation is the frequent use of one resumptive clause and one resumption to serve for several relatives and their modificands. Examples 31-2 and 46-8, cited above, illustrate the construction. Another variation is the converse of the first. The relative and the modificand are resolved by the resumption into more specific categories. That is, several resumptions occur, either in one resumptive clause or in several, which in their totality make up the quantity designated by the modificand.

- 116 KUB XVII 21 II 8 ff.⁷⁵ šu-me-en-za-an ne-pí-ša-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ku-e KUR.KUR.ḪIA NINDA ḫar-ša-ia-aš DUG^Uiš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ia-aš ar-ga-ma-na-aš-ša e-eš-ta ar-ḫa-kán LÚ.MEŠSANGA SAL.MEŠAMA.DINGIR-LIM šu-up-pa-e-eš LÚ.MEŠSANGA LÚ.MEŠGUDŪ LÚ.MEŠNAR LÚ.MEŠiš-ḫa-ma-tal-le-eš ku-e-ez i-ia-an-ta-at DINGIR.MEŠ-ša-kán ar-ga-ma-nu-uš ḫa-[a-az-] zi-ú-ia ku-e-ez ar-ḫa pīd-da-a-ir 'The lands which were obliged to render sacrificial loaves, libations and tribute to you gods of heaven, in some the priests, the mothers-of-god, the holy priests, the 'anointed,' the musicians and the singers had to go, in others the tributes and treasures of the gods disappeared.'

⁷² AM p. 78; see also KUB XIV 15 III 51 ff. (AM p. 56).

⁷³ Tem. p. 374; ANET p. 208. Restored from KUB XIII 6 II 15.

⁷⁴ Hatt. p. 50.

⁷⁵ ANET p. 399.

- 117 KUB XIV 15 III 28 f.⁷⁶ NAM.RA.MEŠ *wa-mu-kán ku-i-e-eš pí-ra-an ar-ḫa pár-še-er* NAM.RA ^{URU}Hur-[ša-na-aš-ša-kán NAM.RA ^{URU}Šu]-ru-ta Û NAM.RA.MEŠ ^{URU}At-ta-ri-ma an-da ú-e-er 'The NAM.RA's who fled before me, the NAM.RA's of Huršanašša, the HAM.RA's of Šuruta and the NAM.RA's of Attarima came in.'

The looseness of the Hittite construction also permits some differences in number between the relative and the resumption. A few of these are cited elsewhere.⁷⁷

- 118 KUB V 7 rvs. 27 ff.⁷⁸ MÁŠ.GAL.ḪI.A *ia-wa-aš-ši ku-i-e-eš tu-u-ri-ia-an-te-eš nu-kán A-NA* 1 MÁŠ.GAL.SI.ḪI.A *ar-ḫa ma-uš-ša-an-za* 'The bucks which are harnessed for him, the horns on one buck have fallen off.'

III. Tense

The list of examples of the determinate relative adjective which has been given above, has amply illustrated the large percentage of relative sentences in which the verbs of the relative clause and of the resumptive clause occur in the same tense. Examples of both verbs in the preterit are most common in the historical texts, while examples of both verbs in the present-future are found in the rituals, laws, and instructions, for the most part. Combinations of the two may also occur in either type of text. Examples of the verb of the relative clause in the preterit and of the verb in the resumptive clause in the present-future have occurred above in examples 46-8, 83 and 94.

The last possibility—sentences with the verb of the relative clause in the present-future, and the verb of the resumptive clause in the preterit—is rarely found among determinate relative adjectives. Example 35 is a certain case. Probably 57, although it is restored, belongs here also.

A relative clause or a resumptive clause may occur as a nominal clause. In such a clause, the copula is omitted if it would otherwise be in the present-future tense. Examples 77 above, and 119 have nominal resumptive clauses, while 120 and 121 have nominal relative clauses.

- 119 KUB XXI 27 I 13 ff.⁷⁹ *nu-un-na-aš* ^{PUTU} ^{URU}TÚL-na GAŠAN-IA *ku-e-da-ni pé-di ti-it-ta-nu-ut na-at tu-el a-aš-ši-ia-an-ta-aš* DUMU-aš ŠA ^{IM} ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik AŠ-RU 'O Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, the place in which you established us is the place of your beloved son, the Stormgod of Nerik.'
- 120 KUB XIX 37 III 36 f.⁸⁰ *nu-uš-ša-an I-NA* ^{URU}Kap-pé-e-ri *ku-it É* DINGIR-LIM ŠA ^{ḪI}A-ti-pu-na-a EGIR-an *na-at ḫu-ul-da-la-a-nu-un* 'I spared the temple of Ḫatipuna which is back in the land of Kapperi.'
- 121 KUB XIV 1 rvs. 56⁸¹ KUR ^{URU}Ḫa-pa-a-al-la-wa ŠA ^{PUTU}ŠI *ku-it* KU[R-e zi-ig]-ga-wa-ra-at *ku-wa-at da-a-at-ta* 'Why have you taken the land of Ḫapalla which is a land of his majesty?'

⁷⁶ AM p. 52.

⁷⁷ Examples 104 following. See also 122-3.

⁷⁸ ANET p. 498.

⁷⁹ ANET p. 393.

⁸⁰ AM p. 176.

⁸¹ Madd. p. 32.

The imperative, of course, can never appear within a relative clause. It can, and frequently does, appear in resumptive clauses, whether the verb in the relative clause is in preterit or present-future tense.

122 KUB VI 46 IV 11 f.⁸² *nu-za A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ ku-it ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-mi nu-kán A-WA-TE.MEŠ A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ an-da šu-un-ni.* 'The prayer which I make to the gods, report it to the gods completely.'

123 KUB XIII 4 I 18 ff.⁸³ *I-NA Ê^{LÚ}NINDA.DÛ.DÛ-ma-aš-kán ku-e-da-aš an-da-an e-eš-ša-an-zi na-at-kán ša-an-ḥa-an ḥur-nu-wa-an e-eš-du* 'The bakeries in which they prepare them, let them be swept and cleaned.'

⁸² ANET p. 398.

⁸³ Tem. p. 364; ANET p. 207.

3. THE INDETERMINATE RELATIVE ADJECTIVE

I. Position

The least frequent of the four types of relatives is certainly the indeterminate adjective. Roughly, one indeterminate adjective occurs for every eighteen determinate adjectives. Indeterminate adjectives occur, for the most part, in prayers, instructions, and rituals. A few examples occurred elsewhere, although practically none were found in the epics or in historical prose.

As was indicated in Chapter I, the indeterminate adjective is always in initial position. Therefore this type of relative may be preceded only by a conjunction and its enclitic particles, and must always precede the modificand. The modificand usually follows immediately, although another word may stand between it and the relative. These relative clauses are comparatively short, in relation to the relative clauses containing determinate adjectives.¹

II. Resumption

Insofar as can be determined from the small number of examples, the indeterminate adjective parallels the determinate adjective in the types of resumptions which may accompany it. Each of the groups listed below has been listed also in Chapter II for the determinate adjective. Very likely, the lists would match if enough examples could be provided.

The following examples illustrate the type of resumption which is a reiterated modificand.

124 KUB XIII 2 III 29 f.² *ku-e-da-ni-ma-aš-ša-an URU-ri EGIR-pa a-ar-ti nu LÛ.MEŠ URU-LIM hu-u-ma-an-du-uš pa-ra-a hal-za-a-i* 'But in whatever town you arrive, call together all the people of the town.'

125 KUB IX 31 IV 20 ff.³ *ku-iš-kán [(DINGIR-LUM k)]i-i BĀD-an ŠAG KARASŠ DÛ-at nu-wa a-pa-a[(-aš DINGIR-LUM az-)]zi-iš-ki-id-du ak-ku-uš-ki-id-du* 'Whatever god made this plague within the army, let that god eat and drink.'

The next example contains both a pronoun and a reiterated modificand in the resumptive clause.

126 KUB IX 31 II 51 ff.⁴ *ku-iš-wa DINGIR-LIM ŠA KUR LÛKÛR [(ki-i hi-in)]-kán i-ia-an har-zi nu ka-a-ša [(ku-u-un UD)]U.NITÁ har-ša-na-al-la-an-da-an tu-uk A-[(NA DINGIR-LIM ták-šu-la-)]an-ni u-un-nu-um-mi-in* 'Whatever god of the enemy land has caused this plague, see, we have driven up this crowned ram for you, O god, in pacification.'

Indeterminate adjectives may have forms of *apaš* as resumptions.

127 KBo VI 4 IV 15 ff.⁵ *ták-ku A.ŠAG A.QAR ku-iš-ki ŠA LÛ GĪŠKU hu-u-ma-an-da-an wa-a-ši EN A.ŠAG A.QAR-ma-kán har-ak-zi nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an*

¹ Examples of the position of the indeterminate adjectives may be seen below.

² ANET p. 211.

³ Duplicate text in HT 1 IV 24 ff.

⁴ Duplicate text in HT 1 II 24 ff. Cf. ANET p. 347.

⁵ Laws Sec. 47B; ANET p. 191.

ku-it ša-aḫ-ḫa-an LUGAL-uš da-a-i nu a-pa-a-at e-eš-ša-i 'If anyone buys all the field and fallow of a craftsman and the owner of the field and fallow perishes, any socage which the king imposes on him, that he shall do.'

- 128 KUB XXIII 72 rvs. 22 ff.⁶ *ku-i-ša-aš-ma-aš* ^{LÚ}KÚR LÚ *ṭĒ-MI u-i-e-ez-zi a-pé-[e-el LÚ ṭĒ-MI ap-pa-an-zi]* *na-an A-NA* ^{PUTU-ŠI} *up-pí-an-zi ... na-at A-NA* ^{PUTU-ŠI} ERUM.MEŠ 'And any enemy who sends a messenger, (if) they seize the messenger of that (enemy) and send him to my majesty ... they are servants to my majesty.'

Like the determinate, the indeterminate adjective is most frequently resumed by the enclitic pronoun. In addition to the examples following, may be added example 23.

- 129 KUB VI 45 I 29 f.⁷ *ku-e-ma-mu A-WA-TE.MEŠ* ^{Ú-UL} *iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni am-mu-uk-ma-za-at A-NA* DINGIR.MEŠ *ar-ku-wa-ar i-ia-mi-ptt* 'But any matters to which you do not pay attention, I shall make a prayer for them to you gods.'
- 130 KBo III 8 III 32 f. [*ku-*]*e-ša DUMU-aš ḫu-el-pí-iš na-aš šu-up-pí-iš te-e-ta-nu-uš* [*ḫa-*]*mi-ik-ta-at* 'And any child which is a first-born (child), it was bound with respect to the clean hair.'
- 131 KBo V 4 rvs. 19 f.⁸ *nu-uš-ma-aš ku-it DI-NU nu-uš-ma-ša-at* ^{PUTU-ŠI} [*pu-nu-u*]*š-mi* 'Any law suit which you may have, I, my majesty, shall question you about it.'

One relative sentence containing an indeterminate adjective occurs in which the resumption is to be understood as the subject of the verb in the resumptive clause.

- 132 KUB XXX 10 rvs. 3⁹ *nu-mu ku-iš* DINGIR-IA *i-na-an pa-iš nu-mu gi-en-zu* [*da-ú*] 'Whatever god of mine gave me the disease, let him take pity on me.'

One example has a resumption understood with *human-*.

- 133 KUB IX 6 II 5 ff. *na-aš-ta ku-i-e-eš* DINGIR.MEŠ *A-NA EN SISKUR a-aš-ša-u-e-eš* ^{PUTU} ^{PIM} ^{Ḫe(!)}-*pa-du-uš na-aš-kán ḫu-u-ma-an-du-uš IŠ-TU KAxU-ŠU* *ú-e-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi* 'And then any gods which it pleases the sacrificer—the Sungod, the Stormgod, and Ḫepat—he invokes them all with his mouth.'

Resumptions which would be construed in the locative case are omitted, and are implied by *-kán* or *anda*.

- 134 KUB XIII 2 III 13 f.¹⁰ *ku-e-da-ni-ma-aš-kán URU-ri ar-ḫa pá-r-ḫi-iš-ki-ir na-aš-kán ar-ḫa pá-r-ḫi-iš-kán-du* 'But in any town in which they have been imposing exile, let them continue to impose exile.'
- 135 KUB IX 2 I 2 f. *ku-it É ka-ri-im-me* EGIR-*pa ne-wa-aḫ-ḫi-ir na-aš-ta ku-up-ti-in an-da* GUL-an-*zi* 'In any temple which they have renewed, they strike the *kupti*.'

⁶ MP pp. 37 & 43.

⁷ ANET p. 398.

⁸ Stvt. Targ. p. 62.

⁹ ANET p. 400.

¹⁰ ANET p. 211.

The next two examples are the indeterminate counterpart to examples 114–5 in Chapter 2. Those examples contain the phrase *kuedani meḫuni* which, as a determinate, meant ‘at the time when.’ As an indeterminate, we must translate ‘at any time when’ or ‘whenever.’

136 KUB XIII 4 IV 68 ff.¹¹ *ma-a-an-ma-at UL-ma iš-du-wa-a-ri na-at ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḫu-u-ni a-ra-an-zi na-aš-ta BI-IB-RU DINGIR-LIM ZI-TI*
^{GIŠ}*iš-ta-na-na-az GAM da-an-du* ‘But if it does not become known, whenever they arrive, they shall take the rhyton of the god of life from the cult stand.’

137 KUB XXI 38 obv. 18 *nu-wa-ta ku-e-da-ni me-e-ḫu-ni LÚ.MEŠ ṬĒ-ME an-da ú-e-mi-ia-zi nu-wa-mu-kán ŠEŠ-IA LÚ PÍT-ḪAL-LI pa-ra-a [na-a-i]* ‘Whenever he meets your messengers, my brother will send out a horseman to me.’

The one remaining type of resumption to be discussed is a lone example containing the phrase *kuedani pedi*. This phrase is similar to the examples just discussed in that it functions almost as a subordinating conjunction. One might translate 138, ‘Wherever in the vineyard’ Note that the resumption is not expressed, and we must assume that *apedani pedi* is understood, just as we must assume *apedani meḫuni* to be understood with *kuedani meḫuni*.

138 KUB XII 44 III 10 ff. *nam-ma ku-e-da-ni pé-di ŠA* ^{GIŠ}*KIRI.GEŠTIN*
^D*Ma-li-ia-an-ni-uš a-ša-an-zi nu* ^D*Ma-li-ia-an-na-aš pí-ra-an te-k[án] pí-da-aḫ-ḫi* ‘Then in whatever part of the vineyard the Maliyanni are, (there) I dig up the ground in front of the Maliyanni.’

III. Tense

The most striking feature about the use of tenses with indeterminate adjectives¹² is the predominant use of the present-future tense in both the relative and the resumptive clauses. All but six of these sentences are so construed. We are, of course, considering imperative forms as present-futures, also.

139 KUB XIV 1 rvs. 63 f.¹³ *ku-iš-wa-ták-kán ŠA KUR* ^{URU}*[Ḫa-at-ti LÚḫu-ia-an-za pí-da-da-]i-iš-ki-it-ta-ri [zi]-ga-wa-ra-an a-ḡp-pa A-NA* ^D*UTU-ŠI up-[pí-eš-ki]* ‘Any fugitive from the Ḫatti country who seeks asylum with you, you send him back to my majesty.’

140 KUB XIV 10 IV 17 ff.¹⁴ *nu ku-e-ez-za ud-da-a-na-az ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri na-at ú-e-mi-ia-at-ta-ru* ‘And any reason for which people are dying, let it be found out.’

One case presents the relative clause as a nominal clause, and the verb of the resumptive clause in the past tense. This example was given above as 130. The remaining five cases have the verb of the relative clause in the past tense, and the verb of the resumptive clause in the present-future. See 132, 134–5, and the following two examples.¹⁵

¹¹ ANET p. 210.

¹² And pronouns, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

¹³ Madd. p. 34.

¹⁴ Pest. p. 218.

¹⁵ Since the verbs never both occur in the past tense, and since the resumptive clause has no *-kán* or *anda*, the presence of a relative clause in Hatt. II 15 is unlikely.

- 141 KUB XIII 2 III 12 f.¹⁶ *ku-e-da-ni-aš-kán URU-ri ku-aš-ki-ir na-aš-kán ku-wa-aš-kán-du* 'In any town where they have been accustomed to execute, let them execute.'
- 142 KUB XIV 2 obv. 9 ff.¹⁷ *ku-iš-ma-za UN-aš ŠA DINGIR-LIM ar-[kam-ma-] Ū-UL me-em-ma-aš na-an-kán [...]* *Ū-UL u-i-iš-kán-zi*. 'But any man who has refused the god's tribute ... , are they not accustomed to send him ?'

¹⁶ ANET p. 211.

¹⁷ AU p. 298.

4. THE DETERMINATE RELATIVE PRONOUN

I. Position

Since the relative pronouns, as we have defined them, do not have modificands, the determinate relative pronoun must in every case be preceded in its clause by some grammatical form other than a conjunction or modificand. This grammatical form is usually a noun. In the following examples containing nouns in initial position in the relative clause, it may be noted that 144 is the only case where the relative stands in the same case as the noun which stands before it in initial position.

A. Nominatives in initial position

- 143 KBo V 3 II 6¹ *zi-ik ku-e-da-ni EGIR-an ti-ia-ši nu a-pu-u-un-na ḫar-ni-in-kd[n-du]* ‘Let them also destroy that man whom you support.’
144 KUB XXI 1 III 36 f.² ERUM.MEŠ-ŠU-ma-aš-ši *ku-i-e(m)eš LÚ.MEŠ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa-ia na-at mar-ša-an-te-(m)eš* ‘But those who are his servants and the people of Arzawa, they are bad.’

B. Accusatives in initial position

- 145 KBo IV 1 obv. 11 f.³ *ki-e-ia-wa É DINGIR-LIM ku-iš u-e-[(te-it)] nu-wa-ra-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš pi-ra-an QA-TAM-MA uk-tu-u-ri-iš e-eš-du* ‘Let the one who built this temple be firm before the gods in the same way.’
146 KUB XIII 4 III 51 f.⁴ *nu wa-aš-túl ku-iš i-ia-zi na-aš QA-DU NUMUN-ŠU ḫar-ak-zi-pít* ‘The one who commits the sin, he, together with his descendants, will be thoroughly destroyed.’

C. Dative-locatives in initial position

- 147 KUB XXX 10 obv. 13⁵ *ši-ú-ni-mi-ma-mu ku-ít šu-up-pí a-da-an-na na-at-ta a-ra na-at Ú-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka e-du-un* ‘That which is holy to my god and not fit to be eaten, I have never eaten it.’
148 KUB XV 5 II 46 ff. *za-aš-ḫi-ia ku-ít A-NA^PUTU-ŠI me-mi-ir UM-MA^{SAL}Ḫé-pa-SUM* ‘That which they told his majesty in the dream, , Ḫepa-SUM (replied to it) thus,’

D. Ablatives in initial position

- 149 KUB IX 15 II 10 ff. *nu šal-la-ia-az ku-iš pi-ra-an u-i-ia-an-za nu A-NA LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM ma-li-ia-aš-ḫa-az me-ma-a-ú* ‘Let the one who is sent forth with something important tell the people of the town at once(?).’

¹ Stvt. Hukk. p. 114.

² Stvt. Alak. p. 72.

³ Restoration from KUB II 2 I 11. Cf. ANET p. 356.

⁴ Tem. p. 386; ANET p. 209.

⁵ ANET p. 400.

- 150 KUB XVII 27 II 6 f.⁶ *ták-na-az-kán ku-it ša-ra-a pít-[ta-it an-da-ma-at-kán] pé-eš-ši-iš-ki-iz-zi* 'That which she has dug out from the ground, she throws it therein.'

E. Predicative genitive in initial position

- 151 KUB XII 63 rvs. 23 ŠA GUD.MAH *ku-iš nu-za GUD.MAH-an da-a-aš*⁷ 'He to whom an ox was due, took an ox.'

A verb may precede the determinate relative pronoun, but only in clauses which contain those two elements alone, disregarding, of course, conjunctions.

- 152 KUB XXVI 12 III 11 f. *me-ma-i-ma-at ku-e-da-ni na-an-kán ha-an-ti-i Ū-UL ti-ia-zi* '(If) the man to whom he says it does not denounce him,'

- 153 KUB V 6 II 49⁸ *hal-lu-wa-ir-ra ku-i-e-eš na-aš PA-NI DINGIR-LIM za-ha-a[n-zi]* 'And they fight before the god those who quarreled.'

Adverbs, too, may occur in initial position before the determinate pronoun. One example is given above as 25.

- 154 KUB IX 28 II 12 f. *nu ha-a-an-za ku-iš ar-ta na-an-kán ši-pa-an-ti* 'She pours a libation for the one who is standing in front.'

- 155 KUB XXI 38 obv. 39 *UL-ia-wa ku-it i-ia-u-wa-aš nu-wa-ra-at i-ia* 'That which is not done, do it.'

A verb, as was pointed out above, cannot be in initial position unless there is nothing else in the clause which could stand in initial position. Thus the verb cannot precede the determinate pronoun in combination with other words. The other forms discussed above do enter into various combinations, such as an adverb with a noun, several nouns in different case forms, etc.

- 156 KBo VI 26 III 17⁹ 5 GUD *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš UZU[-ŠU-N]U ku-iš wa-a-ši 1 UDU pa-a-i* 'That man who buys the meat of five weanlings shall pay one sheep.'

- 157 KBo III 4 IV 47 f.¹⁰ *pa-ra-a-ma-mu DUTU URUTÚL-na GAŠAN-IA ku-it pé-eš-ki-iz-zi na-at a-ni-ia-mi na-at kat-ta te-eḫ-ḫi* 'But I will perform and complete that which the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, gives me in addition.'

II. Resumption

The resumption of the relative pronoun is usually a form of *apaš* or an enclitic pronoun.

- 158 KBo VI 26 I 44 f.¹¹ *Ū A.ŠAG-LAM ka-ru-ú-pít ku-iš šu-ú-ni-e-et ta-az*

⁶ ANET p. 347.

⁷ The same sentence is repeated in the following lines of the text with different objects. Cf. 181 where the same construction occurs with an indeterminate relative pronoun.

⁸ AU p. 282.

⁹ Laws Sec. 186; ANET p. 196.

¹⁰ AM p. 136.

¹¹ Laws Sec. 167; ANET p. 195.

a-pa-a-aš wa-ar-aš-zi 'And that man who sowed the field first, shall reap it.'

- 159 KUB XIV 14 rvs. 10¹² *nu-kán 1Du-ud-ḫa-li-ia-an ku-i-e-eš ku-en-nir nu e-eš-ḫar a-pu-u-uš šar-ni-[in-kán-du]* 'Let those who killed Dudḫaliya atone for his blood.'

- 160 KUB XXIX 7 rvs. 14 f.¹³ [*nu-za-kán*] *U-NU-UT SAL.LUGAL ku-iš EGIR SISKUR.SISKUR ḫar-zi nu-uš-ši ḫa-šu-wa-[a-i^{SAR} pa-a-i]* 'The queen gives a soda plant to the one who holds her equipment during the ceremony.'

The possessive enclitic pronoun may occur with or without another enclitic pronoun as the resumption.

- 161 KUB XII 63 obv. 28 *nu an-ni-iš-ki-mi ku-in na-an-kán ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi* 'I shall call him whom I treat ritually by his name.'

- 162 KUB XII 63 obv. 34 *nu an-ni-iš-ki-mi ku-in nu-kán ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi* 'I shall call him whom I treat ritually by his name.'

A determinate pronoun may have its resumption understood as the subject or object of the verb in the resumptive clause.

- 163 KBo VI 26 III 15¹⁴ 2 *GUD.GAL UZU-ŠU-NU ku-iš wa-a-ši 1 UDU pa-a-i* 'That man who buys the meat of two full grown cattle shall pay one sheep.'

- 164 KUB XIV 8 rvs. 26 f.¹⁵ *na-an EN-ŠU ku-it a-pi-ia i-e-ez-zi na-an i-e-ez-zi* 'That which his lord wants to do with him then, he may do with him.'

One example occurred in which *šumaš* serves as the resumption.

- 165 KUB XXVI 12 I 11 ff. *nam-ma-ia ku-i-e-eš NUMUN [(LUGAL-UT-TI)] ... nu šu-um-ma-aš BE-LU.ḪI.A* 'And, furthermore, those who are the seed of royalty ... you are lords.'¹⁶

An example containing *kuiški* as a resumption was given above as 26.¹⁷ There remains only one more type of resumption which occurs with the determinate pronoun. This group contains those sentences in which a noun functions as the resumption.

- 166 KUB XII 12 VI 33 f. *nu-kán A-NA NINDA.SIG ku-iš ki-it-ta-ri nu DINGIR-LUM iš-kán-zi* 'They anoint the god who is placed upon the dry bread.'

- 167 KUB XII 12 VI 34 f. *a-pé-e-ni-eš-ša-an-ma ku-in ḫar-kán-zi nu SAL.LUGAL iš-kán-zi* 'But they anoint the queen whom they hold in the same way.'

¹² Pest. p. 172.

¹³ ANET p. 346.

¹⁴ Laws Sec. 185B; ANET p. 196.

¹⁵ Pest. p. 216.

¹⁶ Restoration from KUB XXVI 13 obv. 12.

¹⁷ Probably KUB XIII 4 III 13 f. is a case in which *kuiša* is used as the resumption. The *-ša* has been omitted by a graphic haplogy, since the word is followed immediately by *ŠA*.

III. Tense

Little needs to be said concerning the use of tenses with the determinate pronoun. Both verbs are frequently in the present-future tense as in examples 161, 163, 164, and 166. Example 25 has both verbs in the past tense. Numbers 153, 158 and 159 have the verb of the relative clause in the past tense and the verb of the resumptive clause in the present-future. Two examples—147 and 151—have nominal relative clauses and verbs in the past tense in the resumptive clauses.

5. THE INDETERMINATE RELATIVE PRONOUN

I. Position

The indeterminate relative pronoun always stands in initial position.

- 168 KUB XIII 2 III 30 f.¹ *nu ku-e-da-ni DI-NAM e-eš-zi na-at-ši ha-an-ni na-an-kán aš-nu-ut* 'Anyone who has a complaint, judge it for him and set him right.'
- 169 KBo VI 4 IV 38 f.² *ku-iš-za L^UA-SI-RUM-ma ha-ap-pár [i-i]a-zi na-aš-kán ha-ap-pár-ra-az ša-me-en-zi* 'Anyone who transacts business with a *hippa-raš*-man shall forfeit the purchasing price.'
- 170 KUB XIII 4 I 17 f.³ *ku-i-e-eš-za DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ZI-an NÍ.TE-an-na [ša-ak-]kán-zi na-aš a-pu-u-uš e-eš-ša-an-du* 'Let any (persons) who know the will and character of the gods prepare them.'

II. Resumption

The indeterminate relative pronoun is usually resumed by a form of *apaš* or an enclitic pronoun. The following examples contain resumptions of these two types.

- 171 KBo II 11 rvs. 14⁴ *nu-ut-ták-kán ku-ít ZAG-na nu a-pa-a-at up-pí* 'Whatever seems right to you, send (me) that.'
- 172, 173 KUB XII 21, 10 ff. *nu ku-ít IGI-ít uš-ki-ši ku-ít-ta-ia iš-ta-ma-an-ta iš-ta-[ma-aš-ti] nu a-pu-uš šal-la-nu-ut* 'Anything which you see with the eye and also anything which you hear with the ear, make those things great.'
- 174 KUB XIII 4 I 59⁵ *ku-i-ša-at-kán šar-ra-a-i-ma na-aš a-ku* 'But let anyone who divides it die.'
- 175 KBo VI 34 III 39 ff.⁶ *ku-iš-wa-kán ki-e li-in-ga-uš šar-ri-iz-zi nu-uš-ši PIM-aš G¹⁸APIN ar-ḫa du-wa-ar-na-a-ú* 'Anyone who breaks these oaths, may the Stormgod break his plow.'

The possessive suffix may occur in conjunction with an enclitic pronoun or a form of *apaš*.

- 176 KUB XIII 3 III 7 f.⁷ *ku-iš dam-ma-i-in-ma da-a-i EGIR-pí-iz-zi-ia-ma-at iš-tu-wa-a-ri nu-uš-ši QA-DU₄ NUMUN-ŠU ḪUL-lu BAD-an pí-ia-an-zi* 'But anyone who takes another and it becomes known afterward, they shall put him to death together with his offspring.'
- 177 KBo VI 34 III 33 ff.⁸ *na-aš-ta ku-iš ku-u-uš NI-IŠ DINGIR.MEŠ šar-ri-iz-zi nu a-pé-el É-ZU IŠ-TU DUMU LÚ.GÀLLU GUD.ḪI.A-ŠU UDU.ḪI.A-ŠU QA-TAM-MA ša-an-na-pí-li-eš-du* 'Let the house of any-

¹ ANET p. 211.

² Laws Sec. 48A; ANET p. 191.

³ Tem. p. 364; ANET p. 207.

⁴ AU p. 242.

⁵ Tem p. 370; ANET p. 208.

⁶ Sold. p. 168; ANET p. 354.

⁷ Rein. p. 47; ANET p. 207.

⁸ Sold. p. 168; ANET p. 354.

one who breaks these oaths be robbed of men, cattle and sheep in the same way.'

A few cases occur in which the resumption is to be understood. In 178, a dative enclitic is to be understood,⁹ and in 179 the resumption is implied as the subject of the verb.

178 KUB XXI 42 III 2 *ku-iš-ma-at DÛ-zi na-at GAM-an NI-[EŠ DINGIR-LIM GAR-ru]* 'But let it be put under the oath for anyone who does it.'

179 KBo III 1 II 50 f.¹⁰ *ku-iš ŠEŠ.MEŠ-na NIN.MEŠ-na iš-tar-na i-da-a-lu i-ia-zi nu LUGAL-wa-aš ħar-aš-ša-na-za šu-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi* 'Any (king) who does harm among his brothers and sisters shall forfeit (his) royal head.'

Examples 180 and 181 have both the resumption understood as subject of the verb and the resumption expressed in the reflexive enclitic *-za*.

180 KUB VII 1 II 3 ff. *nu-kán ku-i-da-ni ka-ra-a-ti-iš a-ta-an-te-eš nu-za URUD-iš-pa-a-tar da-a-i nu-uš ħa-aš-ša-az EGIR-pa iš-pa-an-ni-it 1-EN-aš <1->EN-aš da-aš-ki-iz-zi nu-uš az-zi-ki-iz-zi* 'Any person by whom the *garateš* have been eaten, takes a copper tongs and takes them with the tongs one after the other out of the stove and eats them.'

181 KUB XII 26 III 21 ff. *ku-iš ŠA GIŠZE-ER-TI nu-za GIŠZE-ER-TUM da-a-ú* 'Anyone to whom an olive is due, let him take an olive.'¹¹

In a few cases, the object denoted by the indeterminate pronoun is resumed by a noun. In sentences such as these, the noun which occurs as the resumption may actually be understood as a modificand in the relative clause. The relatives, nonetheless, must be considered pronouns since no modificand is expressed.

182 KUB IX 31 III 52 ff. *nu-wa-ra-at-za [(ku-iš)]¹² ú-e-mi-ia-az-zi nu-wa-za ki-i i-da-a-lu BAD-an a-pa-a-aš KUR-e-an-za da-a-ú* 'Any (country) which joins with them, let that country receive this evil plague.'

183 KUB XIV 10 I 13 ff.¹³ *ku-it-kán I-NA ŠAG KUR URUĤa-at-ti ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri nu-kán IŠ-TU KUR URUĤa-at-ti ħi-in-kán ar-ħa Ū-UL-pti ta-ru-up-ta-ri* 'Whatever pestilence is raging throughout the Ĥatti land, it is by no means being removed from the Ĥatti land.'

The few remaining examples present other aspects of the resumption. Examples 184 and 193 have a difference in number between the relative pronoun and the resumption.

184 KUB XXIII 72 rvs. 21¹⁴ *nu ku-iš A-NA DUTU-ŠI ku-u-ru-ur A-NA LŪ.MEŠ URUPa-aḫ-ħu-wa-ia-at ku-u-ru-ur a-ša-an-du* 'And anyone who is at war with his majesty, let him also be at war with the people of Paḫḫuwa.'

Examples 185-7 have, for the resumption, an enclitic pronoun and another form that functions as an appositive to the enclitic.

185 KBo VI 34 II 46 ff.¹⁵ *na-aš-ta ku-iš ku-u-uš NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM šar-ri-iz-zi nu-wa-kán A-NA LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL*

⁹ See KUB XXI 42 I 32.

¹⁰ PT Sec. 31; 2 BoTU 23 II 50 f.

¹¹ The same construction occurs with a determinate pronoun in 151.

¹² Restoration from KUB IX 32 obv. 32.

¹³ Pest. p. 206.

¹⁴ MP p. 36.

¹⁵ Sold. p. 166; ANET p. 354.

HUL-lu *ták-ki-iš-zi na-an ki-e NI-IŠ* DINGIR.MEŠ LŪ-an SAL-an *i-en-du* 'Anyone who breaks these oaths and does evil to the king, queen and princes, let these oaths change him from a man into a woman.'

- 186, 187 KUB XIII 4 II 46 ff.¹⁶ *ku-iš-ma-za NÍG.BA LUGAL UL ḫa-ap-pi-ra-a-iz-zi ... ku-iš-ma-an e-ep-zi na-an mu-un-na-a-iz-zi na-an LUGAL-an a-aš-ka Ū-UL ú-wa-te-ez-zi nu-uš<-ma->ša-at 2-aš-pít* SAG.DU-aš UG₆-tar *2-uš-pít-at ak-kán-du* 'But anyone who does not sell a gift of the king ... and anyone who takes it and hides it and does not bring it to the king's court, both of them are liable to the death penalty; let them both die.'

The resumption for the second relative in the next sentence is unusual. The first relative is normally resumed by *-aš* in *na-aš a-ku*. The second relative is actually resumed by the two forms *a-ku-wa-ra-aš* and *šar-ni-ik-du-wa* which are complete sentences in direct discourse.

- 188, 189 KUB XI 1 IV 19 ff.¹⁷ *ku-iš e-eš-ḫar i-e-ez-zi nu ku-it e-eš-ḫa-na-aš-pít iš-ḫa-a-aš te-ez-zi ták-ku te-ez-zi a-ku-wa-ra-aš na-aš a-ku ták-ku te-ez-zi-ma šar-ni-ik-du-wa nu šar-ni-ik-du* 'Anyone who commits a murder, whatever the avenger of the murdered man says, if he says, 'Let him die,' let him die; but if he says, 'Let him make restitution,' let him make restitution.'

III. Tense

The number of indeterminate relative pronouns which were examined, exceeds one hundred and seventy-five. Of this number, only five sentences do not have the verbs of both the relative clause and the resumptive clause in the present-future tense. Example 190 has both verbs in the past tense.

- 190 KUB VI 41 I 16 f.¹⁸ *nu-za ku-i[(t ^DUTU-ŠI da-aḫ-ḫu-un)] na-at-za ^{URU}KU-BABBAR-ši ar-ḫa ú-wa-[(te-nu-un)]* 'I brought home to Hattušaš whatever I, my majesty, took for myself.'¹⁹

The remaining examples have the verb of the relative clause in the past tense and the verb of the resumptive clause in the present-future.

- 191 KUB IX 4 III 23 ff. *ku-i-e-[eš-ká]n ú-te-er ZI-aš i[m-pa-an] NÍ.TE-[aš] ta-aš-ši-ia-tar nu-uš-ma-aš pí-iḫ-[ḫi] ŠAḪ.TUR ŠA ^DPa-an-nu-un[-ta]* 'Whatever (persons) brought the burden of the soul and the denseness of the body, to them I give the young pig of the god Panunta.'

- 192, 193 KUB IX 34 III 30 ff. *ku-iš-ša-an ú-e-ri-te-nu-ir ku-e-ša-an-kán la-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-nu-e[-nu-e]-er ... pa-a-i-wa-ni-wa-ra-an ša-an-ḫi-eš-ki-u-e-ni* 'Any (persons) who frightened him and any who caused him anxiety(?) ... let us go and look for them.'²⁰

¹⁶ Tem. p. 376; ANET p. 208.

¹⁷ PT Sec. 49.

¹⁸ Stvt. Kup. p. 108.

¹⁹ Probably KUB XIV 13 I 32 ff. (Pest. p. 244) is an example of this type, although the restoration cannot be made with certainty.

²⁰ See also KUB XIII 4 I 64 ff.

6. RELATIVE SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Since most of the material dealt with thus far has been concerned with the elements which occur within the relative and resumptive clauses, we have now to investigate the nature of the ties which bind these two clauses within the relative sentence. The major tie is, of course, the link between the relative and resumption. In many cases, this link is the only indication that the two clauses belong to the same sentence. The Hittite clause is usually well delimited either by coordinating conjunctions, or by enclitic particles, or by the position of the verb, etc.; but it is often difficult to determine whether a clause is a main clause or a dependent clause. Thus the end of a Hittite sentence is sometimes not easily determined.

The looseness and flexibility of the Hittite sentence structure can be shown in several ways. One of these was discussed in an earlier chapter,¹ namely, the occasional difference in number between the relative and its resumption. Such a difference in number is not usual, although approximately seventeen cases occurred in all—a high number if they are to be considered ‘mistakes’ by the scribes.

The lack of an indication for the sentence terminations creates some difficulties occasionally. The looseness of the sentence structure makes it impossible to determine whether 194 and 195 contain one relative sentence, or whether they consist of two interrogative sentences. We may be sure that each example contains two clauses, since the particle *-wa* is twice repeated. The *kuiš* and *kuit* may be relatives or interrogatives, depending upon whether the two clauses are to be taken together or individually.

194 KBo VI 34 II 44 f.² *ki-i-wa ku-it Ū-UL-wa ŠA SAL ṽGNÍG.LÁM.MEŠ*
‘That which (is) this (here), are they not the garments of a woman?’ or
‘What (is) this? Are they not the garments of a woman?’

195 KBo VI 34 III 14³ [*ka-a-aš-wa ku-iš Ū-[UL-wa] li-in-kiš-ki-it* ‘Did not this (man) who (is here) take the oath?’ or ‘Who (is) this (man)? Did he not take the oath?’

The flexibility of the sentence structure also permits other clauses to be inserted between the relative clause and the resumptive clause. The inserted clauses may be independent clauses which are sentences in themselves as in 196, or they may be dependent clauses which are syntactically part of the relative sentence as in 197.

196 KUB IX 32 obv. 19 ff.⁴ *ku-iš-wa DINGIR-LIM ki-i UG₆-an i-ia-at ki-nu-na-wa ka-a-ša UDU.ŠIR.ĪI.A a-ra-an-ta-ri nu-wa-ra-at IŠ-TU ṽṽNÍG. GIG ṽṽŠAG Ū IŠ-TU ṽṽŪR me-ek-ki wa-ar-ga-an-te-eš nu-wa-aš-ši-kán ŠA A-MI-LŪ-UT-TI UZU pu-ug-ga-ru* ‘Whatever god caused this plague—here are rams standing and they are well fattened in the liver, heart and limbs—let the meat of mankind be taboo for him.’

¹ See discussion following example 115.

² Sold. p. 166; ANET p. 354.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Dup. HT 1 III 29 ff. and KUB IX 31 III 36 ff.

- 197 KBo IV 4 II 63 ff.⁵ ¹ ^DKAL-aš-ša *ku-e* KARAŠ.ḪI.A *I-NA* KUR ^{URU}Nu-
 ḥaš-ši ḥal-ki-ḪI.A-uš ḥar-ni-in-ku-wa-an-zi pé-e-ḥu-da-an ḥar-ta nu-za-kán
¹NÍG.BA-^DU-aš *ku-it* LUGAL ^{URU}Ki-in-za ¹A-i-ták-ka-ma-an A-BA-ŠU
ku-en-ta na-an-mu kat-ta-an ú-wa-te-er na-an-za-an ERUM-na-aḥ-ḥu-un
 'Also the troops which ^DKAL-aš had led to the land of Nuḥašši to destroy
 the grain, since NÍG.BA-^DU-aš killed Aitakkamaš, king of Kinza, his
 father, they led him to me, and I made him a servant of mine.'

Although the relative-resumptive correspondence is the strongest link between the relative clause and the resumptive clause, there are other links. Subordinating conjunctions may sometimes introduce a relative clause, but may apply more directly to the following resumptive clause. In 198, *ku-it-ma-an* occurs at the beginning of the relative clause, although it actually subordinates the resumptive clause. In 199, *ma-a-an* functions similarly.

- 198 Ull. 3rd tablet II 5 ff. *te-pa-u-e-wa-mu pé-di pa-u-[wa-an-zi* ^DIM-aš *me-mi-
 iš-ta]* *ku-it-ma-an-wa-aš-ši* MU.KAM.ḪI.A *ku-i-e-eš da-ra-an-te-eš nu-wa-ra-
 aš-za ša-ra-[a] ti-it-ta-nu-zi* 'The Stormgod told me to go to a humble place
 until he will have fulfilled the years that are decreed for him.'
 199 KBo V 9 III 7 ff.⁶ *ma-a-an me-mi-ia-aš-ma ku-iš i-ia-u-wa-aš zi-i-g[a-an]*
^ŪUL *i-ia-ši ... nu-kán MA-ME-TUM šar-ra-at-ti* 'If you do not do the
 matter which needs to be done, ... you violate the oath.'

Such subordinating conjunctions do not often introduce relative clauses. Usually coordinating conjunctions occur at the head of both the relative and the resumptive clauses. The rules governing the use of coordinating conjunctions in relative sentences are, in general, the same as those which apply to other sentences. Relative sentences which do not have coordinating conjunctions in each clause fall into one of the following categories:

A. Relative sentences occurring in one of the early texts, such as the Laws, the Proclamation of Telepinuš, Anittaš, etc.⁷ Examples are 2, 11, 12, 200, and 201.

- 200 KBo III 1 II 56 ff.⁸ DUMU.MEŠ.LUGAL-*ma ku-e-da-ni [še-e]r ḥar-ki-
 iš-kán-ta-ri Ū*UL A-NA É.MEŠ-ŠU-NU A.ŠAG.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU ^{GIS}KIRI
 GEŠTIN.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU [KIS-L]AḪ.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU SAG.GÌM.ERUM.MEŠ
 -ŠU-NU GUD.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU UDU.ḪI.A-ŠU-NU 'That on account of
 which princes are destroyed (does) not (apply) to their houses, their fields,
 their vineyards, their storehouses, their slaves, their cattle and their sheep.'
 201 KBo III 22, 58⁹ KAS-*za ku-it a-aš-šu ú-daḥ-ḥ[u-un (a-pé-e-da an-da ḥa-
 liš-ši-ia-nu-un)]* 'And the goods which I brought home from the campaign,
 I had them enshrined(?) therein (i.e. the temples).'

B. Relative clauses which follow resumptive clauses, a subject to be taken up in Chapter 8, have no coordinating conjunctions.

C. Relative sentences consisting of two short clauses sometimes do not have coordinating conjunctions. See 30 and 103.

⁵ AM p. 120.

⁶ Stvt. Dupp. p. 20.

⁷ See the list of abbreviations for the publications of these texts.

⁸ PT Sec. 31; (2 BoTU 23).

⁹ Anit. p. 278; (2 BoTU 7).

D. In relative sentences containing two or more relative clauses in juxtaposition, the second relative clause and any others that follow may omit a coordinating conjunction.¹⁰

202-5 KUB XVII 27 II 28 ff. UH₄-*na-aš* UN-*aš* *ku-e ud-da-a-ar me-mi-iš-ki-it ta-ru-up-pt-ia-at ku-e ma-al-ki-ia-at ku-e e-eš-še-iš-ta ku-e-da-ni pé-di nu a-pa-a-at-ta Ū-UL I-DI* UH₄-*na-aš* UN-*aš* 'Those words which the magician spoke, that which he twisted together, that which he wove, that place in which he made it, those things the magician did not know.'¹¹

¹⁰ In such cases where a coordinating conjunction does appear, it is *-ma* or *-a*. See examples 5-6, and 46-8. The coordinating conjunction *nu* occurs in this situation only when the relative is understood in the second relative clause, as in KUB XXVI 12 I 18 f. *na-at ku-iš iš-ta-ma-aš-zi na-at mu-un-na-iz-zi* ... 'Anyone who hears it and hides it ...'

¹¹ Further examples are KUB XVII 27 II 28 ff., KBo VI 2 II 58 ff. and KUB IX 31 III 26 ff.

7. RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH INDEFINITES

Whenever any form of *kuiški* occurs in a relative clause, the form is without the final *-ki* or *-ka*. This phenomenon gives to such relative clauses the appearance of two relative pronouns or adjectives occurring in the same clause. The two forms are usually close together in the clause. The relative usually precedes the indefinite, unless the relative is a determinate and cannot precede.

- 206 KUB VI 45 III 21 ff.¹ *nu DINGIR.MEŠ ku-i-e-eš ke-e-da-ni UD-ti ku-e-da-ni ar-ku-u-e-eš-ni IŠ-TU EME-IA ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫu-un na-aš ne-pí-ša-aš*² *UTU-uš ne-pí-ša-az KI-az ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ-az ÍD.MEŠ-az IŠ-TU É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ-ŠU-NU* ^{GIŠ}*GU.ZA.MEŠ-ŠU-NU ḫal-za-a-i* 'Those gods whom I invoked with my mouth on this day for any request, summon them, O Sungod of Heaven, from heaven (and) from earth, from the mountains (and) rivers, from their temples (and) their thrones.'
- 207 KUB XIII 35 I 4 [nu] *Ū-NU-TUM ku-it ku-e-da-ni pé-eš-ki-it na-at Ū-UL ši-i-e(!)-eš-ki-it* 'The utensil which he gave to someone, he did not properly seal it.'
- 208-9 KUB XXI 42 III 3 ff. *na-aš-ma-za ku-i-e-eš EN.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL-ia nu-za ŠA MA-ME-TI li-e ku-iš-ki ku-e-da-ni-ik-[ki] ki-ša-ri ku-iš-ma-za ŠA MA-ME-TI ku-e-da-ni ki-ša-ri na-at GAM-an NI-EŠ DINGIR-LIM GAR-ru* 'Further, none (of you) who are lords and princes is to become obligated by oath to any other (person); but anyone who does become obligated by oath to any other (person), let that (misdeed) be included under (his) oath.'
- 210 KUB XIII 4 III 21 ff.² ^{URU}*Ha-at-<tu>-ši-ma-kán ku-e-da-ni ku-iš ša-ak-la-a-iš še-er ma-a-an* ^{LÚ}*SANGA* ^{LÚ}*GUDÚ LÚ.MEŠ ḫa-li-ia-at-tal-li-e-eš ku-i[š-ki] tar-ni-eš-ki-iz-zi na-aš tar-ni-eš-ki-id-du-ḫit* 'If any priest or 'anointed' admits people accompanied by guards, let him admit also the Hittite for whom any rite is (performed).'
- 211 KUB XIII 2 II 44³ *ku-e-da-ni-ia*⁴ *DINGIR-LIM-ni ku-it me-ḫur na-an a-pé-e-da-ni me-ḫu-ni e-eš-ša-an-du* 'And that date which is (set) for some god, let them worship him on that date.'
- 212-4 KUB XVII 21 I 14 ff.⁵ *nam-ma šu-me-en-za-an DINGIR.MEŠ-aš ku-e ALAM.ḪI.A-KU-NU ŠA KUBABBAR GUŠKIN nu-uš-ša-an ku-e-da-ni DINGIR-LIM-ni ku-it tu-e-ek-ki-iš-ši an-da ú-iz-za-pa-an DINGIR.MEŠ-ša ku-e Ū-NU-TE.MEŠ ú-iz-za-pa-an-ta na-at an-zi-el i-wa-ar EGIR-pa Ū-UL ku-iš-ki ne-u-wa-aḫ-ḫa-a[n ḫar-t]a* 'Furthermore, those statues of silver and gold which (belong) to you gods—no one has ever renewed, as we have, that which had grown old on any god's body and those implements of the gods which had grown old.'

¹ ANET p. 398.

² Tem. Sec. 11; ANET p. 208.

³ ANET p. 211.

⁴ We prefer to consider this as *kuedani* + *a*, not *kuedania* 'each'.

⁵ ANET p. 399.

The best example of these is probably 209 where *ku-e-da-ni* is actually paralleled by *ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki* in the previous clause. The assumption that these forms belong to the indefinite pronoun can be borne out by several facts. A. No *kuiški*, or form with *-ki* or *-ka* ever occurs in any relative clause.⁶ B. The meanings, as far as can be determined from the contexts, are indefinite in every case. C. In most cases, no word in another clause could be considered a resumption, nor can a resumption be understood. Perhaps it may be argued that, in 211, *ku-e-da-ni* ... DINGIR-LIM-ni is resumed by *-an* in *na-an*. The relationship between these phrases may be considered to be the same as between *ku-in-ki* and *-an* (in *zi-ik-ma-an-za-an*) in the following quotation.

KUB XXVI 12 III 21 ff. *na-aš-ma* ^PUTU-ŠI *ku-in-ki* SIG₅-aḫ-mi *zi-ik-ma-an-za-an tu-e-el aš-šu-la-an* [ḫal-]zi-ia-ši *na-at* GAM-an NI-EŠ DINGIR-LIM GAR-ru 'Or (if) I, my majesty, promote anyone, but you call him your favorite, let that be put under the oath.'

If *ku-in-ki* in this sentence read *ku-in*, we should without difficulty consider this a relative pronoun, although a determinate, to be sure. There is, then, no reason to suppose that *-an* in *na-an* of 211 above is not this sort of construction.

It is unfortunate that so few examples of the indefinite in a relative clause occur. If our interpretation is correct, the examples just quoted take on a much wider significance than might at first be expected. In each of the examples above, the indefinite adjective modified a noun other than the modificand. There is no reason, however, to suppose that such a situation could not occur. If, for example, in the relative clause, *kuiš* (*antuḫšaš* ... 'Any man who ...,' the speaker wishes to make *antuḫšaš* still more indefinite, he might add the appropriate form of *kuiški* and say *kuiš kuiš antuḫšaš* ... 'Any man at all who ...'

In short, we propose that the relative *kuiš kuiš*⁷ is actually *kuiš* (determinate or indeterminate relative adjective) + *kuiš[-ki]* (indefinite adjective or pronoun), and that the indefinite has no *-ki* for the same reason as in the examples given earlier. From such an explanation for *kuiš kuiš*, one can easily understand why it is graphically represented by two words instead of one, as we find Latin *quisquis*, and why it may be separated by sentence connectives or *imma*, while such a compound as *ḫaršiḫarši* may not be separated.

Indeterminate relative adjectives and indefinite pronouns

215 KUB XII 34 I 16 ff. + KUB XV 39 I 16 ff.⁸ *ku-it-wa-za-kán ku-it iš-tar-na ḫur-za-ki-it-ten ki-nu-na-wa a pu-u-uš ḫur-da-a-uš* EME.ḪI.A ^PUTU-uš GÜB-la *wa-aḫ-nu-ud-du* 'Anything at all upon which you spoke a curse, let the Sungod now turn those curses and tongues toward the left.'

216 KUB XII 58 III 12 ff.⁹ [nu-]kán ^{GIŠ}GA.ZUM.ḪI.A ^{GIŠ}šar-ra-an *pīt-tar TÚG.GÜ.Ē.[A GE₆ TUGGAD.DA]M GE₆ ku-it-ši-iš-ša-an ku-it an-da e-eš-*

⁶ This statement is made with the reservation that we have not found such a form with a negative. Whether we would find *UL kuiš* or *UL kuiški* is a matter of speculation.

⁷ We include here the relative *kuiš imma kuiš* also, as we consider this to be *kuiš kuiš* + *imma*.

⁸ ANET p. 350.

⁹ Tunn. p. 16.

- [*ta na-a*]t EGIR-an ÍD-i tar-na-i 'And the combs, the brush(?), the wing, the black shirt, the black gaiters—anything at all which was on him, that she puts behind her in the river.'
- 217 KUB XIX 49 I 43 ff.¹⁰ [*nu-wa* N]AM.RA.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Mi-ra-a N[AM.RA.M]EŠ ^{URU}GIŠ.PA-ti [*na-aš-ma-ká*]n NAM.RA.MEŠ KUR ^{URU}Ar-za-[*u-wa ku-iš*]-*wa-mu-kán ku-iš* [*pár-ra-an-d*]a *ú-wa-an-za nu-wa-za-kán hu-u-ma-an-da-an a-pé-e-ez-za* [*pé-eš-ki*]-mi 'And the NAM.RA's of Mira, the NAM.RA's of Hatti, the NAM.RA's of Arzawa—any (persons) at all who have come over to me, I will hand over all (of them) to you from there.'
- 218 KBo V 6 I 25 ff. *na-at ku-e-da-aš ku-e-da-aš A-NA BÂD KI.KAL.BAD za-aḫ-ḫi-ia pa-a-ir nu A-NA BE-LU.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ a-pt-ia pt-ra-an hu-u-wa-a-ir* 'Any (places) at all in which they marched to a fortified camp for a battle, there the gods assisted the lords.'
- 219 KUB XVII 27 II 23 ff.¹¹ *nu ku-it ku-it LÍL-ri da-a-i na-at an-da-an URU-ia ú-da-i na-at-kán URU-ri ŠAG.É.ŠAG ḫar-wa-ši pé-di da-a-i* 'Anything at all which she had taken to the open country, that she carried back to the city and put it in a secret place inside the inner chamber in the city.'
- 220 KBo VI 4 IV 2 f.¹² *ku-it-ta-ia-aš-ši-kán ku-it ḫar-ak-zi na-at EGIR-pa 1-ŠU šar-ni-ik-zi* 'And anything at all which is lost to him, he replaces it once.'

Indeterminate relative adjectives and indefinite adjectives

- 221 VBoT 24 I 8 f.¹³ *ku-in ku-in MUŠEN-an LÚ.MEŠ MUŠEN.DU uš-kán-zi nu-uš-ša-an Ū-UL ku-in-ki wa-ag-ga-aš-nu-an-zi* 'They do not omit any bird at all which the bird-makers observe.'
- 222 KBo VI 4 I 11 ff.¹⁴ *ták-ku Ū-UL-ma A.ŠAG A.QAR dam-me-el pé-e-da-an du-wa-an 3 KAS.GÍD du-wa-an-na 3 KAS.GÍD nu-kán ku-iš ku-iš URU-aš an-da SIxDI-ri nu a-pu-u-uš-pít da-a-i* 'But if the field and fallow of another man does not exist, three leagues (shall be taken) in one direction and three leagues in the other direction; and any town at all which is determined to be within, he shall take even those.'
- 223 KUB VII 13 obv. 4 f. *ku-it-ta-i[a-at] ku-it GIŠ-ru ku-ut-ti wa-al-ḫi-eš-ká[n-zi] na-at-kán kat-ta iš-ḫu-u-wa-an-zi* 'They throw down any wood at all which they hit on the wall.'
- 224 KUB IX 31 III 17 f.¹⁵ *nu ku-i-e-eš ku-i-e-eš EN.MEŠ [(KI.KAL.)]BAD hu-u-ma-a[(n-te-)]eš nu-za hu-u-ma-an-za UDU.ŠIR ḫa-an-da-iz-zi* 'All of whatever generals at all are present, each one prepares a ram.'
- 225 KUB XXIX 7 rvs. 59 f.¹⁶ *ku-it ku-it i-da-a-lu ut-tar NI-IŠ DINGIR-LIM hu-u-ur-ta-iš [pa-ap-]ra-a-tar PA-NI DINGIR-LIM i-ia-an na-at ki-e na-*

¹⁰ Stvt. Man. p. 8.¹¹ ANET p. 347.¹² Laws Sec. 44B; ANET p. 191. Cf. also KBo VI 10 II 17 ff. (Laws Sec. 127; ANET p. 194).¹³ Ann. Sec. 2.¹⁴ Laws Sec. 6 (later version); ANET p. 189.¹⁵ Parallel text in HT 1 III 5 ff.¹⁶ ANET p. 346.

ak-ku-uš-ši-e-eš A-NA DINGIR-LIM pi-ra-an ar-ḥa [pé-]e-da-an-du 'With whatever evil word, oath, curse and uncleanness the god was afflicted, let these substitutes carry them away from the god.'

The combination of a determinate relative adjective and an indefinite renders a phrase that is difficult to translate into English. It is intended to denote a definite thing, the scope of which is not known to the speaker. In 227, for example, Ḫattušil speaks of the cities of Armadattaš in just as certain terms as the house of Armadattaš in 226, although he is vague in remembering which or how many cities this group included.

226-7 KUB I 1 IV 71 ff.¹⁷ *Ē¹ D¹SIN-DU* *ma-aš-ši ku-it pi-iḥ-ḫu-un nu URU. DIDLI.ḪI.A ku-i-e-eš ku-i-e-eš ŠA¹ D¹SIN-DU na-an-kán ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-pit EGIR-an^{NA4} ZI.KIN ti-it-ta-nu-uš-kán-zi DUG ḫar-ši-ia-li-ia-kán iš-ḫu-iš-kán-zi* 'But the house of Armadattaš which I gave her and the cities—whichever ones there were¹⁸—which belonged to Armadattaš, behind everyone they are setting up her statue again and distributing libation cups.'

228-31 KUB XXIII 72 rvs. 13 ff.¹⁹ *ŠA KUR URU I-ša-wa-ia ku-it ku-it ḫar-kán-zi an-tu-uḥ-ša-an GUD.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A ... nu an-tu-wa-aḥ-ḥa-aš ku-iš a-ag-ga-a-an-za GUD.ḪI.A UDU.ḪI.A ku-iš ar-ḥa a-da-a-an[-za Ū-UL du-ug-ga-ri] ku-i-ša e-eš-zi-ma ša-a-ku-wa-at-kán du-ug-ga-a-ri* 'That property of the Išuwa country—whatever there is—which they are holding—men, cattle, sheep, ... those men who have died (and) those oxen (and) sheep which have been eaten are not important, but anyone else who is left is, of course(?), important.'

232 KUB I 1 I 71 f.²⁰ *nu-kán ŠAG KUR.KUR.MEŠ URU Ḫa-at-ti LÚKUR ku-iš ku-iš an-da e-eš-ta na-an-kán IŠ-TU KUR.KUR.MEŠ URU Ḫa-at-ti ar-ḥa-pit u-i-ia-nu-un* 'I chased out of the Ḫatti lands that enemy—whoever he was—who was within the interior of the lands of Ḫatti.'

233 KUB XIII 35 IV 21 f. *Ib-ri-LUGAL-ma-aš-wa-mu ku-e ku-e Ū-NU-TE. MEŠ EGIR-pa ma-ni-ia-aḥ-da nu-wa-ra-at ú-da-aḥ-ḫu-un* 'Those tools—whichever ones there were—which Ibri-LUGAL assigned to me, I brought them.'

234 KUB XIII 35 IV 28 ff. *Ū-NU-TE.MEŠ-wa-mu ku-it ku-it ši-ia-a-an pi-i-e-ir nu-wa-ra-at SIG₅-in ar-nu-nu-un* 'Those tools—whichever ones there were—which they gave to me sealed, I moved them carefully.'

In one lone example, *ku-it* occurs by itself as a complete clause. Here we must consider the relative *ku-it* as a pronoun and the indefinite *ku-it* as a pronominal predicate.

235 KBo V 3 II 20²¹ *ku-it-wa ku-it nu-wa-ra-at A[-NA IḪu-]uk-ka-na-a e-eš-du* 'Anything at all which (happens)²² let it be for Ḫukkanaš.'

¹⁷ Hatt. p. 38.

¹⁸ We mean to translate the indefinite *kuieš* by these four words.

¹⁹ MP p. 36.

²⁰ Hatt. p. 12 Duplicate in KBo III 6 I 60 ff.

²¹ Stvt. Hukk. p. 114.

²² This is literally translated, 'Anything which is anything.'

As was pointed out earlier, the relative-indefinite *kuiš kuiš* may be separated by the adverb *imma*.

- 236 KUB XIX 49 IV 33 ff.²³ ... *na-aš-ma* [× *ki-i*] *tup-pt-ia-[aš KA.MEŠ]* *wa-aḫ-nu-ut-te-ni* [*ku-it-*]*kán im-ma ku-it* [*ki-e-*]*da-ni A-NA DU[P.PÍ GAR-r]*i ... '... or (if) you violate these terms of the tablet—anything at all else which is put down on this tablet— ...' (may these oaths destroy you, etc.).
- 237 KUB XIII 4 III 3 ff.²⁴ *ku-i-ša-aš ku-iš LÚ É DINGIR-LIM* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*SANGA G[AL.GAL LÚ.MEŠ]SANGA TUR.TUR* ^{LÚ.MEŠ}*GUDÚ ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš ku-iš-pít-kán im-ma ku-iš DINGIR.MEŠ-aš* ^{GIŠ}*kat-ta-lu-uz-zi šar-ri-eš-ki-iz-zi nu 1-aš 1-aš I-NA É DINGIR-LIM ša-ra-a še-e-šu-u-wa-an-zi li-e-pít kar-aš-tar-ri* 'He may be any kind of temple official whatsoever—the high priests, the lesser priests, all the anointed—anyone at all else who is permitted to cross the god's threshold, let them not neglect sleeping in the temple one at a time.'

It may be noted that in example 237 *ku-i-ša-aš ku-iš LÚ É DINGIR-LIM* is not treated as a relative clause. It is our considered opinion that in clauses of this type, *-aš* is the subject and *ku-iš ... ku-iš LÚ É DINGIR-LIM* is the predicate, or vice versa. In any event, *kuiš kuiš* plays the part of a regular adjective and could easily be substituted by *idaluš* 'evil' or a similar adjective. For this reason, we consider this type of *kuiš kuiš* to be an indefinite adjective and quite out of the scope of this investigation. The majority of cases of *kuiš imma kuiš* fall into this category.²⁵ We have found only two cases of *kuiš imma kuiš*, the two cited above, which are relative. On the other hand, *kuiš kuiš* is primarily relative.²⁶ It may well be that we are observing the transition of a language in which *kuiš kuiš* (and *kuiš imma kuiš*) served as both a relative and indefinite, to a language in which the relative and indefinite are kept distinct by the presence or lack of *imma*.

²³ Stvt. Man. p. 18.

²⁴ Tem. p. 380; ANET p. 209.

²⁵ As, for instance, KBo V 3 III 44 ff. (Stvt. Hukk. p. 126) *ku-i-ša-aš im-ma ku-iš ŠA É. GAL. LIM SAL ma-a-na-aš EL-LUM ma-a-na <-aš> SAL. SUḪUR. LAL nu-uš-ši ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an li-e ti-ia-ši nu-uš-ši ma-ni-i[n-ku]-wa-an li-e pa-a-i-ši* 'She may be any kind of a palace woman whatsoever. Whether she is a free woman or a hierodule, do not stand close to her and do not go close to her.'

²⁶ A case of the indefinite *kuiš kuiš*, besides the one in 237, may be found in KBo V 3 I 14 ff. (Stvt. Hukk. p. 106).

8. RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SECOND PLACE

We have made reference, thus far, only to those examples of relative sentences in which the resumptive clause (usually the main clause) follows the relative clause. There is a small group, however, in which the resumptive clause precedes the relative clause. The precise reason why these clauses should not follow the usual order, poses a difficult question. There are, nevertheless, three observable facts which differentiate these clauses from those already discussed. A. The verb in the main clause of the sentence is *always* in the present-future tense. B. The relative clause characterizes or particularizes the resumption by indicating the customary state in which it is, or by indicating the customary action which it performs or has performed upon it. C. The customary state or the customary action began in past time, is continuing in the present and will presumably continue in the future if the existing conditions remain the same.

238 KUB IX 31 II 9 f. *nu* 8 DUMU.MEŠ-uš *ú-wa-da-an-zi* SAL-ni-iš-ša-an *ku-i-e-eš na-a-ú-i pa-a-an-zi* 'They bring eight boys who have not yet gone to a woman.'¹

239 KUB XVII 28 III 7 f. *nu* *ma-al-ti* ^DUTU-i *ku-iš pí-ra-an ar-ta* 'The one who stands before the Sungod recites.'

240-3 HT 1 I 29 ff.² *e-ḫu* ^DMARDUK *kat-ti-ti-ma-at-ta* ^DIn-na-ra-wa-an-ta-aš *ú-wa<-an>-du e-eš-ḫa-nu-wa-an-ta ku-i-e-eš ú-e-eš-ša<-an>-ta* LÚ.MEŠ *lu-u-la-ḫi-ia-aš-ša-an ḫu-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫi-ia-an-ti-iš³ IŠ-TU GÍR-ia-aš-ša-an ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫu-uz-zi-ia-an-te-eš* ^{GIS}BAN.ḪI.A-aš-ša-an *ku-i-e-eš ḫu-ít-ti-ia-an-ta* ^{GIS}KAK.Ú.TAG.GA.ḪI.A-ia *ḫar-kán-zi nu ú-wa-at-ten nu e-ez-za-at-ten* 'Come, Marduk, and, behold, let the Innarawanteš come with you, who wear bloody (garments), who (are) wrapped in Lulalḫhian *ḫupruš* (?) garments, who (are) girt with daggers, who hold stringed bows and arrows, come ye and eat.'⁴

244 Ull. 3rd tablet III 52 f. *nu-kán ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia* ^{URUD}ar-da-a-la [*pa-r*]a-a *ti-ia-an-du ne-pí-iš te-kán-na ku-e-ez ar-ḫa ku-e-ri-ir* 'Let them bring forth the ancient saw(?) with which they cut apart heaven and earth.'

In 244, the relative clause indicates that the heaven-and-earth-cutting-saw is the only saw which will be able to cut the stone figure of Ullikummi. The saw is particularized by its customary state—that of being the heaven-and-earth-cutting-saw.

245 KBo IV 1 I 28 ff.⁵ *ka-a-ša ki-e ku-e* É DINGIR-LIM *tu-uk A-NA DINGIR-LIM-ia-kán ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-za-a-i ú-e-da-an-zi-ia-at ku-e-da-ni nu-wa-ra-at Ū-UL an-za-aš ú-e-tum-me-en DINGIR.MEŠ-wa-ra-at ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš ú-e-te-er* 'See, this temple which we have built for you—and he mentions the name of the god for whom they are building it; it is not we who have built it, all the gods have built it.'

¹ A similar sentence occurs in IV 28 ff. of the same text.

² Schwartz, JAOS Vol. 58 p. 334 (1938).

³ End of section.

⁴ Dup. text KUB IX 31 I 36 ff.

⁵ ANET p. 356.

- 246 Ull. 1st tablet I 15 f. *na-aš da-lu-ga-aš-ti* 3 KAS.GÍD *pal-ḫa-aš-ti-[ma-aš X KAS.GÍD]* $\frac{1}{2}$ KAS.GÍD-*ia kat-ta-kán ku-it ḫar-zi* 'Her length is 3 leagues, but her width which she has below, is X leagues and a half league.'⁶
- 247-8 KUB XIII 4 II 46 ff.⁷ *ku-iš-ma-za NÍG.BA LUGAL UL ḫa-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi ŠUM LUGAL-kán ku-e-da-ni GUL-ša-an nu-za QA-TAM-MA-pít KUBABBAR GUŠKIN TÚG-TUM Ū-NU-UT ZABAR ḫa-ap-pí-ra-a-iz-zi* ... 'But anyone who does not sell a gift of the king for which the king's name is stamped, and he, nevertheless, sells the silver, gold, clothing (and) bronze tools, ...'
- 249 Ull. 3rd tablet III 28 f. T[I-*an-za-wa-ra-aš e-eš-du*] ^DŪ-pé-el-lu-ri-iš MI-*ia KI[-pí AN-iš-wa-kán K]I-aš ku-e-da-ni še-er ú-e-da-an-za* 'May he live, Upelluri, on the dark earth, (he) upon whom heaven and earth are built.'⁸
- The relatives which occur in sentences where the resumptive clause precedes, are mostly determinate relatives. Only three cases involve indeterminates.
- 250 KUB XXIX 1 I 51 f.⁹ *ma-a-an pa-a-i-ši-ma nu ú-li-li-ia* ^{GIŠ}TIR-na *šu-ú-wa-ia ku-i-e-eš a-ša-an-zi* 'But should you go there, drive out of field and wood any who still remain there.'
- 251-2 KUB VI 45 III 4 ff.¹⁰ [(DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ)] DINGIR.SAL.MEŠ ŠA LUGAL-RI Ū ŠA SAL.LUGAL-TI *ku-i-e-eš da-ra-an-[(te-eš)] ku-i-eš Ū-UL da-ra-an-te-eš* 'O gods and goddesses of the king and queen, whichever (of you) have been invoked and whichever (of you) have not been invoked.'
- 253 KUB IX 31 III 46 f. *na-aš-kán pa-a-an-zi A-NA ZAG* ^{LÚ}KÚR *an-da ar-ḫa pít-ta-la-an-zi ku-e-da-ni pé-di an-ze-el Ū-UL a-ra-an-zi* 'They go and run into the enemy country to any place where (those) of us do not come.'

The relative clause may, in some cases, be a nominal clause, i.e. the copula may be omitted if it is in the present-future tense. These examples appear in tablets where the language is in a more terse and abbreviated style.

- 254-5 KBo II 2 II 50 f.¹¹ ^DUTU ^{URU}TÚL-na *ku-iš SIxDI-at* ^DUTU ^{URU}TÚL-na ŠA ^{URU}TÚL-na *ku-iš* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR.RA *nu KUŠ.MEŠ nu SIG₅-du* 'The Sungoddess of Arinna who was determined, (is it) the Sungoddess of Arinna whose altar (is) in Arinna? Then let the omens be unfavorable.'
- 256 KBo II 2 III 2 f.¹² *nu* ^DUTU ^{URU}TÚL-na *DUMU an-na-aš-ma ku-iš nu KUŠ.MEŠ NU SIG₅-du* 'Or (is it) the Sungoddess of Arinna who is the mother of the child(?)? Then let the omens be unfavorable.'
- 257 KUB XIV 13 I 11 ff.¹³ ... ^DX ^{URU}Li-iḫ-zi-na ^DKAL KARAŠ ŠA A-BI

⁶ We prefer to interpret *kat-ta-kán ku-it ḫar-zi* in this way rather than with the following clause as does Güterbock, for the reason that no determinate relative pronoun occurs with a verb in the present tense, and the verb in the resumptive clause in the past tense.

⁷ Tem. p. 376; ANET p. 208. See 187 for rest of the sentence.

⁸ Tentative restoration made by Güterbock.

⁹ ANET p. 357.

¹⁰ ANET p. 398. Dup. text KUB VI 46 III 42 ff.

¹¹ BoSt. #3 p. 44.

¹² Ibid. p. 46. Cf. KBo II 2 II 54 ff.

¹³ Pest. p. 242. This quotation is in the midst of a long list of deities which are invoked.

- PUTU-ŠI I-NA ^{URU}Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ti-ia ku-iš ^DÚ-li-ia-aš-ši-iš ŠA ^{URU}Pár-ma-an-na ... 'Stormgod of Liḫzina, protecting deity of the camp of the father of the Sun who (is) in Maraššantia, Uliliyaššiš of Parmanna, ...'
- 258 KUB IX 6 I 9 f. nu-za ^{DUG}GAL.GIR₄ ZAG-az ŠU-az e-ep-zi GEŠTIN-ša-an IĀ.GIŠ LĀL-ia ku-e-da-ni la-aḫ-ḫu-wa-an 'From the right hand she takes the cup in which the wine, sesame and honey are poured.'
- 259 KUB IX 6 I 10 ff. GÜB-la-az-za-ma-az ŠU-az ^{G1}pát-tar da-a-i pa-ak-ku-uš-šu-wa-an-da-aš-ša-an ku-e-da-ni šu-uḫ-ḫa-a-an 'But from the left hand she takes the reed tray on which the ... is scattered.'

The fact that the verbs in the relative clauses refer to a continuous and customary action is made more evident by the use of *-sk-* forms of the verbs. The first two of the following examples have the verb in the relative clause in the past tense. The action expressed by these verbs took place, for the most part, in past time, although it still continues at the time of the action of the main verb and will continue into future time unless the existing situation is changed—by cutting down the timber or by the effect of the ritual employed by the 'Old Woman' to counteract the sorcery.

- 260 KUB XXIX 1 I 26 f.¹⁴ nu GIŠ.ĤI.A LUGAL-uš ^{PX}-ni ú-e-ek-ki hé-e-ia-u-e-eš ku-it ta-aš-nu-uš-ki-ir šal-la-nu-uš-ki-ir 'The king is asking the Stormgod for timber which the rains have made strong and tall.'
- 261 KUB XII 58 II 21 ff.¹⁵ ka-a-ša-wa-aš-ši-kán da-aš-ki-mi pa-ap-ra-an-na-aš ud-da-na-az da-an-ku-i ḫa-aḫ-la-u-wa-an-da pa-ap-ra-an-na-aš-ša-aš ud-da-ni-i ku-e-da-ni pí-ra-an da-an-ku-iš-ki-it ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-li-eš-ki-it a-aš-ta-[ia]-ra-tar da-aš-ki-mi 'I am now taking away from him/her darkness and stiffness caused by the formula of uncleanness, on account of which formula of uncleanness he/she became dark and stiff; I am taking sin away.'
- 262 KUB VI 45 III 9 ff.¹⁶ DINGIR.LÚ.MEŠ DINGIR.SAL.MEŠ X-aš MI-iš KI-aš ne-pí-iš te-kán al-pu-uš IM.ĤI.A-uš te-et-ḫi-ma-aš wa-an-te-wa-an-te-ma-aš tu-li-ia-aš pé-e-da-aš DINGIR.MEŠ ku-e-da-ni pé-di tu-li-ia ti-iš-kán-zi 'Gods and goddesses, ... and dark underworld, heaven and earth, clouds and winds, thunder and lightning, place of assembly, in which place the gods are accustomed to meet in assembly.'
- 263 Ull. 1st tablet I 5 f. (Variant B, KUB XXXIII 98 I 4 f.) nu-za ^DKu-mar-pí-iš GALGA-tar ZI-ni kat-ta-an da-aš-ki-iz-zi UD.KAM-an ku-iš LÚ.ĤUL-an šal-la-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi 'Kumarbi, who causes the day to grow into an evil being, takes wisdom to his mind.'¹⁷
- 264 Ull. 3rd tablet III 54 ff. [nu-ká]n ^DUl-lu-kum-mi-in ^{NA4}ŠU.U-zi-in GİR.MEŠ GAM-an ar-ḫa ar-du-[u-e-ni ^DK]u-mar-bí-iš ku-in DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš IGI-a[n-d]a [tar-p]a-[n]a-al-li-in š[al]-l[ā]-an-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi¹⁸ 'And

¹⁴ ANET p. 357.

¹⁵ Tunn. II 46 ff.

¹⁶ ANET p. 398.

¹⁷ Parallel A has no relative, and reads nu ĤUL-lu-un UD.KAM-an LÚ.ĤUL-an šal-la-[(nu-uš-ki-iz-zi)].

¹⁸ Güterbock restores šal-la-nu-ut. The restoration of the past tense creates this as a unique example of a simple action in past time in this type of relative sentence.

Ullikummi, the kunkunuzzi, whom Kumarbi is fostering as a rebel(?) against the gods, shall we saw(?) him off down at his feet?’

- 265 KUB XVII 20 II 1 f. EGIR-ŠU ^PGUL.ĪI.A-uš ^PMAĪ-uš *a-ša-an-zi gul-aš-kán-zi-kán ku-e-eš* ‘The Fategoddesses and Mother-goddesses who are accustomed to write (it) down sit behind.’

The verb ‘to know’ occurs in three instances of this type of sentence. ‘Knowing’ is not an instantaneous action, but is rather a continued action.

- 266 KBo II 2 IV 27 ff.¹⁹ *ma-a-an e-ni-pūt* KA DUMU²⁰ *an-na-aš ¹Ka-ta-pa-DINGIR-LIM ku-in I-DI nam-ma-ma KI.MIN nu KUŠ.MEŠ SIG₅-ru* ‘If this is a word of the mother of the child (?) which Katapa-DINGIR-LIM knows, etc., let the omens be favorable.’

- 267 Ull. 3rd tablet III 48 ff. *ud-da-a-ar-mu iš-ta-ma-aš-ten ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-aš DINGIR.MEŠ-iš ka-ru-ú-i-li ku-i-e-eš²¹ ud-da-a-ar ku-i-e-eš [š]e-ek-te-ni* ‘Hear my words, O ancient gods, you who know the ancient words.’

- 268 KUB V 7 obv. 26 ff.²² *ma-a-an-za DINGIR-LUM ki-e-da-aš u-wa-aš-ku-wa-aš še-er TUKU.TUKU-u-wa-an-za ka-ru-ú ku-in²³ še-ek-ku-u-e-ni KI.MIN nu KUŠ.MEŠ SIG₅-ru* ‘If the god whom we already know, is angry about these offenses, ditto, let the omens be favorable.’

The idea of repeated action may be implied by the order of the clauses as in the following cases.

- 269-70 Ull. 1st tablet IV 56 ff. LÚ.BANŠUR-aš ĪUL-lu-uš [^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-un *ku-iš da-|a-iš nu-za Ū-UL e-za-at-ta ^{LÚ}QA.ŠU.DU₈.A-aš ĪUL-|u-uš GAL-in(?) ku-iš pa-a-iš nu Ū-UL e-ku-ut-t[a]* ‘Is the steward bad who(se duty it is to) set the table, (so that) you did not eat? Is the cupbearer bad who(se duty it is to) give the cup, (so that) you did not drink?’

- 271 KUB XIII 4 II 20 f.²⁴ *nu-za UKÛ-an-na a-ú ZI-aš-ták-kán ku-iš zu-u-wa-an IGI.ĪI.A-wa-az pa-ra-a pūt-te-nu-zi* ‘Look at the man who (makes a habit of) taking your desired meat from (before your) eyes.’

In addition to the above examples of resumptive clauses which precede the relative clauses, may be added those cases in which the relative clause is a parenthetical expression. The resumption is actually in the clause which precedes the parenthetical expression, although the parenthetical expression is not otherwise, grammatically, related to the sentence. Such parenthetical expressions will not, of course, fulfill the categories set up earlier in this chapter.

- 272 Ull. 3rd tablet III 32 f. *Ū-UL-wa-ra-an ša-ak-ti ^PKu-mar-bí-eš-wa ku-in nu-ut-ta-ri-ia-an DINGIR-LIM-in DINGIR.MEŠ-aš IGI-an-da ša-am-na-it* ‘Don’t you know him—the swift(?) god whom Kumarbi created against the gods?’

The Ullikummi epic is believed to have been written in metrical form.²⁵ The

¹⁹ BoSt. #3 p. 56.

²⁰ Tablet reads SUM here. See 256 for the restoration.

²¹ One *kueš* must be omitted, preferably the first. See Ull. p. 28, fn. 52.

²² ANET p. 497.

²³ The text reads *-iš*, but must be corrected to *-in*.

²⁴ Tem. p. 374; ANET p. 208.

²⁵ See Ull. Vol. 5 p. 141 ff.

metrical needs of the lines may have contributed, in part, to the use, here, of this type of relative sentence. The *-an* 'him' expressed early in the sentence must be made clear to the hearers of the song. This is clearly the function of the relative clause. Similarly, with the following examples:

- 273 Ull. 1st tablet III 16 f. *ku-it-wa-aš-ši-kán ŠUM-an [te-eh-ḫi]* ^DGUL-šu-uš-wa-mu ^DMAḪ.ḪI.A-uš *ku-in* DUMU SUM-ir 'What name shall I put on him—on the son whom the Fategoddesses and the Mother-goddesses gave me?'
- 274 KBo V 8 II 18 ff.²⁶ ^IHu-u-tu-pi-an-za-an-ma DUMU.LUGAL DUMU ^IZi-da-a GAL ^{LŪ}ME-ŠE-DI ^IZi-da-a-aš *ku-iš* A-NA A-BI-IA ŠEŠ-ŠU *e-eš-ta nu* A-BU-IA *u-ni* ^IHu-tu-pi-ia-an-za-an DUMU ^IZi-da-a GAL ME-ŠE-DI I-NA KUR ^{URU}Pa-la-a *wa-tar-na-aḫ-ta* 'But Ḫutupiyanzaš, the prince, the son of Zidaš, the great MEŠEDI—the Zidaš who was my father's brother—my father ordered this Ḫutupiyanzaš, son of Zidaš, the great MEŠEDI, into the Pala land.'
- 275 KBo V 13 III 22 ff.²⁷ *ma-a-an-na* ḪUL-lu-un *me-mi-an ku-in-ki* ŠA BAL *pi-ra-an pa-ra-a iš-ta-ma-aš-ti na-aš-šu* LŪ ^{URU}Ḫa-at-ti *ku-iš-ki na-aš-ma* LŪ ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa *ku-iš-ki* BAL *e-eš-ša-i ki-nu-un-ta ku-i-e-eš ku-u-uš* ^{LŪ}MEŠ*ku-ir-wa-na-aš me-mi-an-ma* A-NA ^DUTU-ŠI *pi-ra-an pa-ra-a ḫu-u-da-ak Ū-UL ḫa-at-ra-a-ši ...* 'And if you hear some evil talk of an uprising, that either some Ḫatti man or some Arzawa man has made an uprising—these men who are now allied to you—but you do not write at once to my majesty, ...'
- 276 KUB XXXI 127 I 42 ff.²⁸ *nu* UR.ZÍZ-aš ŠAḪ-aš-ša *ḫa-[(an-ne-eš-šar zi-ik)] ḫa-an-na-at-ta-ri šu-up-pa-la-an-na ḫa-an-ni-eš-[(šar iš-ši-it)] ku-i-e-eš Ū-UL me-mi-iš-kán-zi a-pa-a-at-[(ta ḫa-an-na-at-ta-ri)]* 'You judge the trial of the dog and pig, and the judgment of domesticated animals—those which do not speak with the mouth—that, too, you judge.'
- 277 KUB XIV 3 IV 47 ff.²⁹ *nu-ut-[ta a-pu-u-un me-mi-an ku-iš] ú-da-aš a-pa-a-aš* INIM-aš *ḫar-kán-na ku-iš na-an-kán ka-a ḫa-an-ti [ti-ia-mi nu-kán a-pu-u-un UKŪ-an]* SAG.DU-an *ku-ra-an-du-pít* 'And that one who brought you that word—that word which is for destruction—I will bring him here to court and let them cut the head off of that man.' (The parenthetical expression in this case is actually an insert, written in between the lines.)³⁰
- 278 KBo VI 3 III 7 f.³¹ ERUM É.NA₄ ERUM DUMU.LUGAL BE-EL *šu-up-pa-ti ku-i-e-[(eš LŪ.MEŠ ^{G15}TUKUL iš-tar-na)]* A.ŠAG.ḪI.A-an *ḫar-kán-zi lu-uz-zi ka[(r-pí-an-zi)]* 'The slave of the stone house, the slave of a prince, the lord of a ... —any (persons) who hold a field among craftsmen—they render services.'

²⁶ AM p. 152.

²⁷ Stvt. Kup. p. 128. Similar passage KUB XXI 1 II 75 ff. (Stvt. Alak. p. 64).

²⁸ Dup. text KUB XXX 11 + XXXI 135.

²⁹ AU p. 18.

³⁰ Cf. 236.

³¹ Laws Sec. 52; ANET p. 191. Dup. text KBo VI 6 I 9 ff.