

Studies in Hittite Vocabulary, Syntax, and Style: Hommage a M. Emmanuel Laroche



Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Journal of Cuneiform Studies, Vol. 29, No. 3. (Jul., 1977), pp. 151-156.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-0256%28197707%2929%3A3%3C151%3ASIHVSA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6>

Journal of Cuneiform Studies is currently published by The American Schools of Oriental Research.

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/asor.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.

STUDIES IN HITTITE VOCABULARY, SYNTAX, AND STYLE

Hommage à M. Emmanuel Laroche

HARRY A. HOFFNER, JR.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1. *le-e* in categorical denials

In preparing manuscript of the article on the negative *le* for the CHD¹ the writer found that the following example did not quite fit the normal usage: "In a meadow there stands a *šišiyama*-tree. Beneath it sit a blind man and a deaf man." *tašwanza aušzi le-e duddumiyanzama ištamašzi le-e ikniyanza piddai le-e* UH₄.H1.A-aš-ša [. . .]-teš EN.SISKUR QATAMMA *le-e uwanzi [ištamaššanzi . . .]* "Does a blind man see? By no means! Does a deaf man hear? By no means! Does a lame man run? By no means! In the same way let not [the practitioner]s of black magic see, [hear, or . . .] the man for whom this ritual is performed!" KUB 12.62 rev. 7-10 (rit., NH). The usual structure of *mahhan-QATAMMA* clauses (the *mahhan* is omissible) provides for a statement of observable fact in the opening clause followed by wish or command in the *QATAMMA* analogy. The prohibition of a blind man from seeing, a deaf man from hearing, and a lame man from running is meaningless in the ordinary sense. It is possible, however, that *le-e* stands alone as an independent clause with suppressed *ešzi/ešdu* "Let it not be so!" in the three places where it follows the verbs. Thus the highly unusual sequence of finite verb followed by *le-e* would suggest to us that a clause boundary intervenes and that *le-e* forms its own clause.² Other examples may be cited in which the verb "to be" following *le-e* has been suppressed, leaving the negative in final position: *İR-mi-iš le-e* (KBo 3.27 obv. 11, OH in NS); *tatranzayaššikan alhareš walahhanzašša anda le-e* (KUB 2.2+KUB 48.1 ii 55-56 (OH in NS); HUL-*uwašmaš* [LÚ.MEŠ].*haliyatalluš* LÚ.MEŠ.*para.uwatallušša le-e* (KBo 4.14 iii 17-18, NH); ANA DINGIR-LIM-*yaššan* HU[L-lu] *papratar* (dupl. + NÍ.TE-ši) *namma anda le-e* (KUB 30.38+ABoT 29+ i 36-37=quasi-edition in KBo 23.1, with dupl. or parallel KUB 30.38a, NH). It is doubtless true that, even when the verb is not suppressed, certain conditions call for the negative to follow. Such is the case when the verb opens the clause followed by enclitic *-ma* "but": *da-a-i-ma-a-an-za l[e-e ku-iš-ki]* (KUB 23.68+ABoT 58 obv. 16, MH in NS);

1. The Chicago Hittite Dictionary is a project undertaken in 1975 by the present writer and Prof. H. G. Güterbock, with the assistance of Dr. Howard Berman. It is currently supported in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Research Tools Division. The abbreviations OH, MH, and NH designate probable date of the text's composition in Old, Middle, or New (Empire) Hittite; OS, MS, and NS designate probable date of the copy based on characteristics of palaeography: Old, Middle, and New Hittite script.

2. The writer owes the initial suggestion for this line of interpretation to Prof. E. Laroche.

kuddaniezzima le-e (KBo 16.24 i 19, MH in MS); *dai-ma-z le-e* (KUB 13.20 i 2, MH in NS); *epši-ma-an [le-e]* (KUB 23.77:63, MH in MS). But unless the verb opens the clause with attached *-ma*, the sequence verb+*le-e* must be regarded as not tolerated within the same clause. For this reason the only apparent exception other than the passage which opened our discussion must be explained here. In the MH Bēl Madgalti Instructions the following passage occurs: [(BĀD-*ma*) . . .] *pu-ru-ut ti-ia-u-wa-an-zi x-x³-al-la-a[(-an⁴ nam-ma-at)] iṣ-tal-ga-an e-eṣ-du na-aṣ-ta [ṣ(u-uh-ha wa-ar-h)]u-i za-ap-pi-ia-at-ta-ri le-e [. . .]*⁵ “Let the fortification wall be scraped(?) for the applying of (fresh) mortar! Next let it be smoothed over! A roof (which is) rough⁶ will leak. Let (the roof) not (be rough)!” (KUB 31.86++ ii 15-18, MH in NS).⁷ A duplicate or parallel, KUB 31.89 ii 6-7, preserves another word order: [ṣ]uhha *le-e warhui zappiy[ttari]*, “Let the roof not be rough!⁶ It will leak.”

2. On the verb *tepnu-* with and without *-za*

Although the principal functions of the reflexive particle *-za* have been determined for years, new lexical nuances continue to emerge from the growing literature, showing the importance of continued close observation.⁸ It has been shown that in the case of the particle's employment in nominal sentences a distinction had to be made between the Old Hittite and early Middle Hittite period, during which it was not

3. From the copy in KUB 31.86 the second sign could be either *qa*, in which case a reading [i]ṣ-*qa-al-la-a[-(an)]* “scaled, scraped, stripped” is tempting, or *na*, in which case comparison with KUB 31.100 rev. 13 *wa-na-al-li-iṣ-kán-du iṣ-tal-ki-iṣ-kán-[du]* commends a reading *ú?/wa?-na-al-la-a[-(an)]*. If the first verb is *wanalla(i)-*, no translation is yet justified, except that it denotes an operation preparatory to the spreading of a smooth mud plaster base (*iṣtalk-*). It is the smooth plastered surface expressed by *iṣtalgan* which forms the contrast to the undesirable *warhui* (“rough, overgrown with weeds”) roof.

4. Duplicate KUB 31.89 ii 6' has [x -n]a-[a]l-la-an.

5. The break at the end of the line in KUB 31.86 was ignored by von Schuler, because he was convinced *le-e* went with the preceding verb. Word order considerations exclude the possibility that *le-e* negated the preceding verb. We cannot, therefore, absolutely discount the possibility that a short word followed *le-e*, for there is space for it. But no such additional word is required by our interpretation.

6. Prof. Güterbock has proposed to me what I consider to be the best explanation of *warhui-* in this passage. Proceeding from the well-known usage of *warhui-* to denote terrain covered by dense vegetation, he would envisage the *warhui* roof, which is here undesirable because it will leak, as one in which dormant vegetable remains (seeds?) embedded in the mud plaster sprout and break the watertight surface of the plaster. This inhibits free drainage and allows leaking.

7. Different translation in the edition by E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen* (AfO Beiheft 10, 1957) 43.

8. Bibliography of older studies in Friedrich, HWb (1952) 256. Among newer studies compare O. Carruba, *Die Satzeinleitenden Partikeln* (1969), H. A. Hoffner, “On the Use of Hittite *-za* in Nominal Sentences,” JNES 28 (1969) 225-30, “Studies of the Hittite Particles, I,” JAOS 93 (1973) 520-26.

employed, and the late Middle Hittite and New Hittite periods, when it served regularly to indicate a first or second person subject.⁹ It would seem that also in the lexical usage to be examined here one must recognize that the use of *-za* to mark one particular aspect began only in New Hittite, while in the few Middle Hittite examples isolatable to date it was not so employed.

In 1924, J. Friedrich first affirmed the connection of the verb *tepnu-* with the adjective *tepu-*,¹⁰ although Hrozný had entertained and finally rejected that conclusion in 1919.¹¹ It was Friedrich also who first offered the translations “gering machen, gering schätzen.”¹⁰ Both translations have been employed since that date without anyone noting that other elements such as particles usually decide which of the two was intended.

Be it noted here that the following discussion assumes the functional equivalence of *-za* and the dative-locative enclitic personal pronoun of same person and number as the grammatical subject of the clause.¹²

When a New Hittite text employs *tepnu-* without *-za*, the idea is a making small in deed, not a mere belittling in thought or word. *ammukmawa* ḪA.LA.ḪIA *tepnuir* “They curtailed the shares to me” (KUB 5.6+KUB 18.54 iii 69', NH liver oracle); speaking of Tawannanna, DAM-IA SAL.LUGAL *idalawahta kuitki nan tepnuttama kuitki nukan* f.*Tawannannaš* DAM-IA *kuendu* “Did my wife harm the queen in any way, or did she curtail (her) in any way, that the Tawannanna should have killed my wife?”¹³ (KUB 14.4 iii 21-22, NH prayer); “When my father died,” f.*Tawannannanma* m.*Arnuwan*[*daš* ŠEŠ-IA *ammuqqa*] *UL kuitki idalawahhwen tepnuminan* [*UL kuitki*] “[My brother] Arnuwanda [and I] harmed her in no way, demoted/curtailed her in no way” (KUB 14.4 i 5-6, NH prayer)¹⁴; [. . . *ku*] *wapi AŠŠUM SAL.AMA.DINGIR-LIM-TIM arha* [*tittanunun n*] *an tepnunun* “(After Tawannanna had killed my wife,) when [I removed her] from the office of high priestess, I demoted her/curtailed her power”; (KBo 4.8 iii 13-14, NH); *ABU-IA GIM-an* f.*Tawannannan* SAL.LUGAL *tepnut* “When/how my father demoted T., the queen” (KUB 21.19 i 22, NH prayer); Urḫitešub envied Hattušili and *numukan apeya humanda arha daš numu tepnut* “He took from me all these (lands, which I had governed), and he demoted me/curtailed my power” (Apology of Hatt., iii 58-59); [*nu*] *mu tepnumanzi šana[hta]* “(Urḫitešub) sough[t] to curtail my power” (KUB 21.15 i 14, Hattušili III); similarly KUB 21.37 obv. 20-21.

9. Hoffner, JNES 28 (1969) 225ff.

10. ZA 35 (1924) 16.

11. Boghazköi Studien 3 (1919) 146f. n. 4.

12. Cf. Friedrich, Heth.Elem. (2nd ed., 1960), §239; further examples in Hoffner, JNES 28 (1969) 227.

13. Recognition of interrogative nature of clauses by Forrer, Forschungen 2/1 1-2, and reading *ku-en-da* (against Götze copy *ku-en-da*); cf. also Sommer, AU 78.

14. Restorations follow Laroche in Ugaritica 3 102.

In a Hittite composition the presence of *-za* with *tepnu-* indicates the intended nuance “belittle, despise, underrate”: [DINGIR]IR-LUM-*za* SISKUR *te²-pa-nu-wa-an harti* “Have you despised the ritual, oh god?” (KUB 16.16 rev. 2; liver oracle query, NH); *nuza apenzan* GEŠPŪ *haštai walliškanzi šumašaza* DINGIR.MEŠ *tepnuir* “(The enemy lands) praise their own military power, but they belittled/despised you, oh gods!” (KUB 4.1 i 17-18, MH ritual and prayer in NS, therefore with NH modernizations); *nuza šumenzan ŠA* DINGIR.MEŠ *memiyanuš tepnuwanzi* “(The enemies) belittle/despise your words, oh gods!” (KUB 17.21+ iv 17-18, MH prayer in MS); *nuwamuza TUR-lan halzeššešta nuwamuza tepnuškit* “(The enemy) called me a child and kept on belittling me” (KBo 3.4 ii 12-13, AM 46). The Middle Hittite prayer KUB 24.4+30.12 rev. 9 has the line: “(Since now the enemy lands are constantly attacking Hittite lands,)” *nu-za tu-e-el¹⁵ ŠUM-KA te-ep-nu-[u]š-ki-ši* “You are belittling your own name.” The Muršili prayer to the sun-goddess of Arinna, which is modeled on this MH prayer, has at this spot: *nu-za* DINGIR-LUM *tu-el ŠUM-KA le-e te-ep-ša-nu-ši* “Do not belittle(?) your own name, oh goddess!” (KUB 24.3+ ii 52-53).¹⁶

Some Middle Hittite texts which show by ductus that they are also Middle Hittite copies fail to use *-za*, even when this second nuance is intended. This demonstrates that the development of the use of *-za* for this and other lexical distinctions came at the end of the Middle Hittite period.¹⁷ “When from the enemy land some city comes for peace/alliance (with Hatti), you must not make the land of Hatti distasteful/repugnant in his eyes, you must not turn his eyes to the mountain,” ANA KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-*ia piran* KUR.URU.Hatti [. . . *le-e te*]-*ep-nu-uš-ki-te-ni* “you must not belittle the land of Hatti before the (other) lands!” (KUB 23.72+ rev. 61-62, MH Mita text in MS); URU.Hattušanna PANI L[Ú.KÚR *le-e te-ep-nu-ut-t*]-*e-ni walluškittenan imma*, “You must not belittle the land of Hattuša before the enemy; rather you should praise it!” (KUB 23.77++ rev. 79, MH treaty with Kaska in MS).

15. On the tablet the second and third signs are transposed: *tu-el-e*.

16. On the verb *tepšanu-*, which to date only occurs here, see the discussion in Sommer, HAB (1938) 141f. n. 4. Since the MH text has *tepnuškiši*, replaced in Muršili II's time by *tepšanuškiši*, I would think this passage offers scant basis for Sommer's restoration of [a]*m-me-e-la la-a-am-ma-a-mi-it* [*te-ep-ša-nu-ut*] in HAB iii 13-14, unless the scribe of the empire period who made the copy of KUB 1.16 modernized OH *tepnut* here too to *tepšanu*! Gurney, in AAA 27 (1940) 107f., also discussed the verb, arriving at conclusions quite similar to those of Sommer. With Gurney and against Sommer I see no reason to assume an omitted *le-e* in KUB 24.4 on the basis of the later Muršili version. Sommer argues against interpreting KUB 24.4's version as a rhetorical question, but one can leave it as a bold statement. If the deity fails to protect Hatti against these enemies, she *de facto* allows her name to fall into disrepute.

17. It is also possible that MH examples without *-za* are archaisms, imitating OH style. However one may express it, the usage with *-za* did not establish itself without exception until NH. By any analysis one regards MH as a transition between OH and NH.

3. "My soul goes down to the dark netherworld"

From a passage in the Hittite letter KBo 13.62 (obv. 10-11) one can restore a difficult passage in Muršili's prayer about his discipline of the queen mother Tawannanna.¹⁸ The letter reads: "I punished her with this one thing: that I sent (her) down from the palace and removed her from (serving) the gods in the office of high priestess. This was my only punishment (of her). Oh gods, put this case before yourselves and investigate! Has her life now become miserable, because she is alive, beholds with her eyes the sun-god of heaven,¹⁹ and eats the bread of life? And has my punishment (i.e., that suffered by me)—my wife's death—gotten any better?"²⁰ *ku-en-ta-an-kán ku-it nu-za-kán TI-an-na-aš UD.ḪI.A-uš [ZI-IA da-an-k]u-i da-ga-an-zi-pí kat-ta-an-da [a-pád-da še-er pa-i]š-ki-iz-zi*²¹ *am-mu-uk-ma tal-wa-tal-la-it*²² [*x x x-ma-m*]u? *ku-ri-pa-ah-ta*²² *nu DINGIR.MEŠ Ū-UL [še-ek-te-e-ni k]u-e-el-la-aš dam-me-eš-ha-aš* "Because (Tawannanna) killed her, through (all) the days of my life [my soul] ever [goe]s down to the [dar]k netherworld [on her account]. Me she has . . . -ed, [m]e she has made a widower(?)." Do you not know, oh gods, whose is the (real) punishment?" (KBo 4.8 ii 14-22, iii 1-4).

18. The literature on this Tawannanna incident is quite large, including not only Forrer, *Forschungen* 2 1ff., Friedrich, *ZA* 37 (1927) 199, Laroche and Güterbock, *Ugaritica* 3 (1956) 101f., Kammenhuber, *ZA* 56 (1964) 176, Houwink ten Cate, *Numen* 16 (1969) 93, and Únal, *Hattüli* 1 (1974) 41f., but also S. R. Bin-Nun, *The Tawannanna in the Hittite Kingdom* (Heidelberg, 1975) 176f., 189f.

19. On this expression see Kümmel, *StBoT* 3 (1967) 35, who, however, confuses the antecedent and translates "und er sieht . . ."

20. Götze, *Hatt.* (1925) 63, renders: "... meiner Gemahlin Todkrankheit heilte (wurde gut)," interpreting the *ammel dammešhaš* in a footnote as "infolge meiner Massnahme," for which *dammešhaz* (ablative) would have been better. *dammešhaš* is in all likelihood a nominative and the subject of *SIG₅-yattat. hinkan* is in apposition to *dammešhaš*.

21. Because of the rarity of the active forms of *paš-ki* "go," which prompted Sommer's comments in *HAB* 64 and Friedrich's in *HWb* 155, it is important to support the present restoration [*pa-i*]š-ki-iz-zi with additional comment. Friedrich cites for the active only *paškiwen* (KUB 18.24:4'): "Akt. nur Prt. Pl. 1 . . ., sonst Med.," although Sommer had already cited [*p*]a-iš-kán-zi in *VBoT* 74:4'-5' as probable. One can add *pa-iš-ki-it-ten* in KUB 33.60 rev. 13. The middle forms are probably older, survivals of the so-called "dynamic middle" which elsewhere characterizes Old and Middle Hittite, but is supplanted by active forms in New Hittite.

22. These two verbs only occur here. The second, *kuripah-*, may (as suggested to me by Prof. Güterbock) be related to the substantive *kurimma-/kurimpa-* "orphaned, widowed person," in which case one could translate with Güterbock: "she made me a widower." A related verb *kuripai-*, occurring in an unpublished fragment in Izmir (Izmir 1277), was called to my attention by Dr. H. Berman. I gained access to a transliteration of Izmir 1277 through the courtesy of Güterbock, who had transliterated it in Ankara in the early 1930s, before the former Director-General of Antiquities, Hamit Koşay, sent it with a few others to the Izmir museum. Güterbock kindly allowed me to see his transliteration of the tiny fragment with the comment, "Now it seems that Izmir 1277 is a text similar to KBo 4.8." I was able to join it directly to KBo 4.8 at the top of the preserved portion of column ii and the bottom of column iii. A more formal treatment by me awaits correspondence with the proper authorities in

Although portions of the above required restoration without the aid of a proper duplicate, the essential elements of the phrase found in KBo 13.62 obv. 10-11 are present in the preserved portions, so that one may consider the occurrence of the same basic saying in the two texts established. To assert that one's soul descends to the dark netherworld seems to be an expression of deep sadness or regret, perhaps a conventional saying. Compare the Akkadian proverb: "In prosperity they speak of scaling heaven, under adversity they complain of going down to hell (*irkalla*)" (Ludlul II 46-47).

Turkey. I am authorized here, however, to give the lines which are germane to *kuripah-/kuripai-*. Lines 2'-3' of Izmir 1277, which joined to KBo 4.8 ii, are two lines above the present KBo 4.8 ii', are probably to be restored: [. . . DAM-IA-ma-m]u²-kán ku-en-ta [am-mu-uk-ma tal-wa-tal-la-it . . .]-ma-mu ku-ri-pa-it. In keeping with the generally repetitive character of the historical narrative portions of this somewhat argumentative prayer, these two lines expressed the same sentiment which was repeated in iii 2-3 below. Only, when the sentiment was repeated in column iii, the essentially synonymous form *kuripah-* was substituted for *kuripai-*.