

Hittite *nu-za* and Related Spellings

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When the Hittite reflexive particle *-za* is attached to the sentence connective *nu*, they are usually written *nu-za*. Although the sequence *nu-za* occurs in Old Hittite original manuscripts (KBo VI 2 i 15, KBo XXV 103 i 2; *nu-za-kán* KUB XXXI 143 ii 8, KUB XXXI 143 ii 15; *nu-za-pa* KBo XXV 54 i 15), it is not very numerous. Instead, Old Hittite has different spellings *nu-uz* (KBo XVII 36 iii 11 (OH), KBo III 40, 2 (OH++), KBo XX 22 i 10 (OH), KBo XVII 33, 4 (OH), ABoT 35, 8 (OH)) and *nu-uz-za* (KBo VI 2 i 6 (OH), KBo VI 2 i 47 (OH), KBo VI 2 ii 7 (OH), KBo VI 2 ii 32 (OH), KBo XXII 2 Vs. 12, 13, 17 (OH), KBo XX 8 i 11 (OH), KBo III 40, 13 (OH++), KBo XVII 32, 11 (OH+), KUB XXVIII 45 (OH++))¹.

There are a number of previous studies on the general distribution of *-Vz* and *-za*. Representative analyses are observed in Carruba, Souček and Sternemann 1965, Hoffner 1972, Hoffner 1983, Melchert 1980 and Kühne 1985. Carruba, Souček and Sternemann 1965 noted that the fluctuation between *-az* and *-(Vz)-za* in the manuscript A (that is, Old Hittite original manuscripts of law texts) is lost in later copies of the same texts, where *-za* is a normal form. Likewise, observing that the spelling *-az* is characteristic of Old and Middle Hittite with only a few exceptions (cf. Hoffner 1972: 32), Hoffner reached the same conclusion that the writing *-az* for the particle *-za* is unusual in Neo-Hittite². As far as Old Hittite is concerned, Melchert argued that there is a clear tendency to write the particle as *-Vz* after vowels, but *-za* after consonants following Neu's earlier observation³. He also pointed out that the vowel in *-za* is purely graphic because *-za* plus *šan* [-ts-san] is written *-za-an* [-tsan]. This fact was also noticed earlier by Neu 1968: 145. Kühne's study is probably the most exhaustive treatment of the problem of *-az* and *-za*⁴. His detailed survey confirmed that the earlier observations on the diachronic distribution of *-az* and *-za* are correct. He claimed that there was a general shift from *-az* to *-za* as time passed though *-az* is still observed in small numbers in Neo-Hittite and that the vowel in *-za* is a dummy.

¹ Cf. Carruba, Souček and Sternemann 1965: 8 ff., Melchert 1980: 91, Kühne 1988: 205 ff. and Otten 1973: 31⁵⁸.

² Hoffner 1983: 190.

³ Neu 1970: 93.

⁴ Kühne 1988: 203 ff.

It is occasionally said that the spelling of the reflexive particle in Old Hittite is quite parallel to that of the ablative ending. Historically the reflexive particle and ablative ending were homophonous Proto-Anatolian **-ti*, which became *-z(a)* in Hittite by assibilation and apocope. As for the ablative ending, we now have a clear understanding of its historical development thanks to Melchert's exhaustive study⁵. According to him, Old Hittite ablative endings are characterized by *-az* after vocalic stems and *-za* or *-az* after consonantal stems, whereas those in Neo-Hittite are *-az* or *-za* after vocalic stems and *-az* after consonantal stems. The original distribution was probably *-az* after vowels and *-za* after consonants. The presence of *-az* side by side with *-za* after consonants in Old Hittite and the lack of *-za* after consonants in Neo-Hittite suggest that thematization was in progress within the inner Hittite history and that it was completed by the end of Neo-Hittite.

The ablative endings of the Luvian languages, Cuneiform Luvian *-a(-a)-ti* [-adi], Hieroglyphic Luvian *-a/i-ti* [-adi] and *-a/i+ra/i*, *-a/i-ri+i* [-ari] with rhotacized *r*, and Lycian *-adi/-edi*, which all go back to Common Luvian **-adi*⁶, suggest that the thematization was completely carried through in the Luvian languages. In order to explain the lenited consonant of Common Luvian **-adi* and the unlenited consonant of Neo-Hittite *a-PÍ-e-IZ-zi-ia* "and on that side", etc., where the apocope of **i* was blocked due to the following enclitic *-ia* "and", we have to assume that both unlenited **-ti* and lenited **-di* coexisted in Proto-Anatolian⁷. Between these two variants, the Luvian languages generalized lenited **-di* as the above data show⁸. However, it is not easy to determine whether unlenited **-ti* (or its descendant) was generalized at a stage of Old Hittite. The Old Hittite spellings *(-V)-az*, *(-C)-za* and *(-C)-az* do not supply any evidence for unlenited or lenited quality of the affricates because the affricates do not stand between vowels. *ša-ra-ma-n[a-/zi-ia* "and from above" KBo XX 10 i 6, which is cited by Oettinger 1976: 23⁶ and according to him is attested in a manuscript with old ductus, is characterized by single *-z-* between vowels and could be evi-

⁵ Melchert 1977: 443 ff.

⁶ Although the inherited contrast of voiceless vs. voiced in stops must have been shifted to that of fortis vs. lenis in Cuneiform languages, I stick to the traditional symbols merely for convenience's sake.

⁷ The lenited **-di* was derived from **-ti* by the so-called lenition rules; cf. Eichner 1973: 53 ff. and Morpurgo Davies 1982/83: 245 ff. Lenition operated intervocalically after accented long vowels and between unaccented vowels.

⁸ Starke 1982: 415 ff. and 1990: 41 f. start from **-di* from the very beginning, but I cannot understand his reasoning.

dence that it is descendant from the lenited **-di*. But this form is written at the end of the line and therefore the sign *-az* might have been omitted before *-zi-ia* due to space limitation. Except this form, we do not have any examples of *-zi* followed by *-ia* in Old Hittite. Accordingly, the Hittite ablative ending does not seem to provide any positive evidence for the old lenited **-di* ending.

As we have seen above, in the case of the ablative ending the shift from *-za* to *-az* after consonants is accounted for by a linguistic factor, that is, thematization. At this point we may wonder what motivated the shift from *-Vz* to *-za* in the reflexive? This problem remains to be solved as is pointed out by Boley 1993: 10. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to this task. The following discussion will be limited to the case in which *-za/-z* is attached to *nu-* for a reason that will be clear later. The previous literature does not say much about the motivation for the shift from *-Vz* to *-za* and related phenomena. Two notable exceptions are Kühne 1988 and Melchert 1980. Kühne 1988: 211²⁸ suggested that *nu-uz-za* is a contamination of *nu-uz* and *nu-za*. This possibility was, however, earlier rejected by Melchert 1980: 91², who claimed that the instances of *nu-uz-za* in Old Hittite original manuscripts cannot be explained by this view. In fact, three examples of *nu-uz-za* attested in Old Hittite original manuscripts of law texts, which are shown below, are transformed into *nu-za* in their corresponding passages of later duplicates:

nu-uz-za KBo VI 2 i 6 (OH) → [*nu-*]*za* KBo VI 3 i 13 (OH+)

nu-uz-za KBo VI 2 i 47 (OH) → *nu-za* KBo VI 3 i 55 (OH+)

nu-uz-za KBo VI 2 ii 32 (OH) → *nu-za* KBo VI 5 iv 15 (OH+ +)

Thus, *nu-za* is undoubtedly younger than *nu-uz-za* and therefore *nu-uz-za* is not a conflation of *-Vz* and *-za* by any means. This will confirm the statement made by Otten 1973: 31⁵⁸ that the double *-zz-* of *nu-uz-za* is archaic. Actually Kühne 1988: 210²⁸ himself observed that the double *-zz-* of *nu-uz-za* is attested only in Old Hittite manuscripts and their later copies⁹.

Melchert, on the other hand, made an interesting observation on *nu-uz-za* in an article attempting to determine the phonetic shape of the Hittite word for "son, boy" (Melchert 1980: 92 ff). According to his survey, whenever *nu-uz-za* is attested and the following word is spelled phonetically, that word begins with a vowel. Following a suggestion by Kronasser 1956: 102 that the ablative ending *-az/za* [tsy] had a final glide, he argued

⁹ On the other hand, the ablative ending *-az-za*, which is not recorded in Old Hittite manuscripts, is probably a conflation of the spellings *-az* and *-za* as Melchert 1977: 447 pointed out.

that an extra *za* sign in *nu-uz-za* represents Hittite scribes' (though not wholly consistent) attempt to indicate the final glide [nutsy V-]. Although this is an ingenious explanation, it nevertheless presents difficulties. Kühne 1988: 211²⁸ gave the following three objections. First, ***nu-uz-zi* would be expected if the glide really exists after the affricate. Secondly, *nu-za* is not always followed by words beginning with a vowel. Thirdly, *ta-az* can be followed by words beginning with a vowel. Among these, the first one seems to me the most serious difficulty¹⁰.

Besides the spelling *nu-uz-za*, Old Hittite has another two spellings including a sentence connective, i.e., *nu-uz* and *ta-az*. As for *nu-uz*, the places of its occurrence are shown at the first paragraph of this paper. The other spelling *ta-az* is employed in the following places¹¹:

ta-az KBo VI 2 iii 8 (OH) → *ta-az* KBo VI 3 iii 10 (OH+) and *ta-za* KBo VI 6 i 13 (OH++)

ta-az KBo XXV 13 ii 10 (OH) → *ta-az* ABoT 9 i 12 (OH+) and *ta-az* KBo XVII 74 ii 32 (OH+)

ta-az StBot 25 Nr. 25 iv 4 (OH) → *ta-az* KBo XVII 74 iv 11 (OH+)

ta-az KBo XX 8 Vs. 20 (OH)

ta-az KBo XXV 34 Vs. 22 (OH?)

ta-az KBo XXV 37 Rs. 8 (OH)

ta-az KBo XXV 38, 7 (OH)

ta-az KBo XXV 40, 6 (OH)

ta-az KBo XXV 65, 10 (OH)

ta-az KBo XX 18 Rs. 1 (OH)

ta-az KBo XXV 84 I 10 (OH)

It should be noted that neither *nu-uz* nor *ta-az* is recorded in later texts. Interesting enough, there is a gap in the spelling when enclitics are attached to their hosts *nu-* and *ta-*. There are *ta-az*, *ta-aš*, *ta-an*, etc., corresponding to *nu-uz*, *na-aš*, *na-an*, etc., but no single example of ***ta-az-za* corresponding to *nu-uz-za* is attested anywhere. What does this asymmetry mean? The answer is not difficult to find. It is well known that the sentence connective *ta-* is more archaic than *nu-*. Because the extra *-za* is attached to the sequence including younger *nu-*, but not to the sequence including older *ta-*, its attachment must have been late and therefore *nu-uz* is considered more archaic a spelling than *nu-uz-za*.

At this point we may wonder why scribes of Old Hittite attached the extra sign *-za* to *nu-uz*. To put it in a different way, what is the difference

¹⁰ However, these objections do not invalidate Melchert's ultimate claim that the phonetic shape of the Hittite "son" word is *ayawala-*.

¹¹ The forms that stand to the right of the arrow are those found in later duplicates.

between single *-z-* and double *-zz-* observed in *nu-uz* and *nu-uz-za*? Now that the vowel *a* in *-za* is a dummy, no linguistic change can be conceivable here. In other words, their difference must be due to a graphic reason. In fact, there does not seem to be any other reason but to assume that the extra *-za* sign in *nu-uz-za* is used to indicate an unlenited quality of the final affricate.

On the other hand, the graphic shift from Old Hittite *nu-uz-za* to late Hittite *nu-za* is in all probability explained by the so-called "simplified spelling". Since the sign *uz* is relatively complicated, late Hittite scribes must have omitted it. There is good reason to believe this interpretation. A case completely parallel to simplified *nu-za* is observed in the verbal ending, i.e., 3 sg. present active ending of the *mi*-conjugation. I showed at the Third International Congress of Hittitology held in Çorum that the simplified spellings *-u_zi* and *-a_zi* with single *-z-* is a feature characteristic of late Hittite from a statistical point of view¹². The preference for the simplified spellings in late Hittite is also unambiguously borne out by the following examples:

ar-nu-uz-zi KBo VI 2 i 2 (OH) → *ar-nu-zi* KBo VI 3 i 9 (OH+)

ar-nu-uz-zi KBo VI 2 i 38 (OH) → *ar-nu-zi* KBo VI 3 i 47 (OH+)

pár-ku-nu-uz-zi KBo VI 2 iii 33 (OH) and KUB XXIX 16 iii 7 (OH)

→ *pár-ku-nu-zi* KBo VI 3 iii 37 (OH+) and KUB XXIX 17, 4 (OH-)

pár-ku-nu-uz-zi KBo VI 2 iii 35 (OH) and KUB XXIX 16 iii 9 (OH)

→ *pár-ku-nu-zi* KBo VI 3 iii 40 (OH+)

pár-ku-nu-uz-zi KUB XXIX 16 iii 12 (OH) → *pár-ku-nu-zi* KBo VI 3 iii 43 (OH+)

Note that forms with double *-zz-* in Old Hittite original manuscripts have changed into forms with single *-z-* in their corresponding later duplicates: *ar-nu-uz-zi* "brings" and *pár-ku-nu-uz-zi* "purifies" with double *-zz-* have been transformed into *ar-nu-zi* and *pár-ku-nu-zi* without the sign *uz* in later copies. On the basis of these facts I would like to propose that the omission of *uz* from *nu-uz-za* as well as the addition of *-za* to *nu-uz* is accounted for in graphic terms, although each of these two cases had a different motivation.

If I am right in assuming that the extra *-za* sign in *nu-uz-za* is used to represent the final unlenited affricate, an obvious inference to be next drawn is that there must have been a contrast between the unlenited and lenited affricates in Old Hittite. In general, scholars assume that there was no such contrast¹³, but this assumption is based on the lack of positive

¹² Cf. Yoshida 1998: 607.

¹³ See, for example, Melchert 1994: 23.

evidence for the contrast between intervocalic *-z-* and *-zz-*. At the last meeting of this conference, however, I attempted to show that not only unlenited **t*, but also lenited **d* underwent assibilation before **i* at a pre-Hittite stage (cf. Yoshida 1998). The evidence in support of this sound change is obtained from the following small number of verb forms in Old Hittite texts which show *-izi* or *-ezi*:

ú-e-mi-zi "finds" KBo VI 2 iv 12 (OH)

i-e-zi "does" KBo VI 2 i 60 (OH)

Pí-ḫu-te-zi "brings" KBo XX 10 i 4 (OH)

zi-in-ni-z[i] "finishes" KBo XX 10 i 5 (OH)

du-ua-ar-ni-zi "breaks" KBo VI 3 iii 70 (OH+)

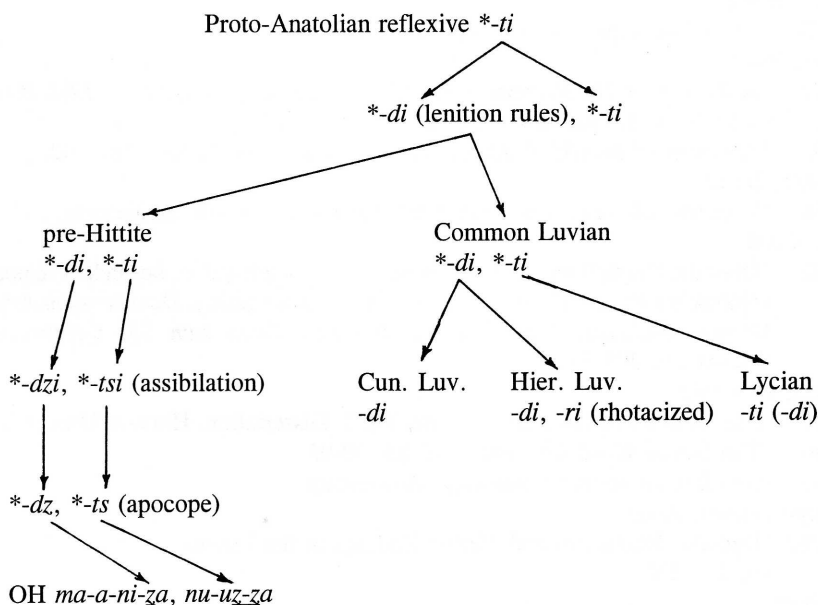
The single *-z-* in these examples cannot be ascribed to the simplified spelling for the fully spelled *-IZ-zi* because *IZ* is a simple three-stroke sign. Therefore the intervocalic single *-z-* is nothing other than linguistic and taken as representing a lenited affricate. It is remarkable that the above examples are all characterized by the preforms having lenited **-di* produced by Proto-Anatolian lenition rules¹⁴. This evidence speaks for assibilation of lenited **d* before **i* in Hittite. The outcome of this sound change was obviously a lenited affricate, which must have been phonologically distinct from its unlenited counterpart at the Old Hittite stage¹⁵.

¹⁴ *ú-e-mi-zi* goes back to **au-ém-je-ti* with an unaccented suffix **-je-* and accordingly **t* of the ending **-ti* got lenited between unaccented vowels. *i-e-zi* and *Pí-ḫu-te-zi* are root class verbs, the proto-forms of which are **iéh₁-ti* and **(pé)-h₂(e)u-dhéh₁-ti*, respectively. In both cases **é* was lengthened by the following laryngeal, so that the ending **-ti* got lenited. Note that Lycian *adi*, *edi*, Cuneiform Luvian *a-ti* and Hieroglyphic Luvian *á-à + ra/i*, which are cognate to Hittite *i-e-zi*, and Lycian *tadi* cognate to Hittite *Pí-ḫu-te-zi* (with preverbs) all show lenited consonants in the endings. *zi-in-ni-z[i]* is derived from **tinéh₁-ti* (nasal infix present); here too **-ti* is preceded by **éh₁-*. The double *-nn-* of *zi-in-ni-z[i]* is secondary from 3 pl. *zinnanzi* (< **tinéh₁énti* with assimilation of *-nh₁-*). *du-ua-ar-ni-zi* is best explained as a denominative **dhuerné-je-ti* influenced by causatives in **-éje-*, which would become a form in **-di* because **-ti* is preceded by an unaccented vowel.

¹⁵ The distinction observed here between the lenited and unlenited affricates was probably lost in later Hittite because the ending *-Izi* was analogically taken over by *-Izzi*. Assibilation of **d* before **i* is also observed in the prehistory of Hittite *šiu-* "god" and *šiuatt-* (Old Hittite *šiiuatt-* illustrated by gen. sg. ^D*Ši-i-ua-at-ta-aš* KBo XVII 15 Vs. 10, etc.) "day". Pace Starke 1990: 143 and 150 and Melchert 1994: 118 f. who derive the initial *š-* by a single rule, these forms are probably explained by the following ordered changes: **diēu-* > **dzīū-* > **ziū-* > **siū-* > *šiu-* /syū/ and **diēu-ot-m̄/* **diu-t-és* → **diēu-ot-m̄/* **diēu-ot-és* > **diēuod-/* **diēuot-*, among which Hittite generalized the weak stem and hence **dzīiūat-* > **ziūat-* > **siūat-* > *šiiuatt-* /syiwat/ (cf. Yoshida 2000).

Coming back to the sequence *nu-uz-za*, it certainly goes back to Proto-Anatolian **nú-ti* where the reflexive **-ti* was preceded by an accented short vowel¹⁶ and therefore the lenition rules did not apply to this sequence. On the other hand, there is an instance in an Old Hittite original manuscript of law texts where single *-z-* between vowels is observed. It is the sequence *ma-a-ni-za* "when-they-(reflexive)" KBo VI 2 i 6, and here again the single *-z-* cannot be due to the simplified spelling because *IZ* is a simple three-stroke sign. This *ma-a-ni-za* probably goes back to Proto-Anatolian **mān-oi-ti*¹⁷. In this case, **t* stood between unaccented vowels and therefore got lenited. Accordingly, the double *-zz-* in *nu-uz-za* and single *-z-* in *ma-a-ni-za* are considered to reflect the contrast of unlenited **t* and lenited **d*.

We may summarize the above discussions by showing the prehistory of the reflexive particle schematically:



At the Proto-Anatolian stage there were two variants of reflexive particle, **-ti* and **-di*, the latter of which was created by lenition rules. They were both inherited to the Common Luvian stage. Among the Luvian languages, **-di* was generalized in Cuneiform Luvian and Hieroglyphic Luvian

¹⁶ Cf. Sanskrit *nú*, Greek *vv*, etc.

¹⁷ The enclitic **-oi* is equated with Sanskrit *te*, Greek *oi*, etc.

whereas **-ti* was favored in Lycian¹⁸. In the case of Hittite, it is argued that both **-ti* and **-di* still existed in its individual prehistory and that the Old Hittite *ma-a-ni-za* (with single *-z-*) and *nu-uz-za* (with double *-zz-*) faithfully reflect the phonological outcomes of assibilation (followed by later apocope) applied to **-di* and **-ti*, respectively¹⁹.

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¹⁸ Besides *-ti*, *-di* is observed after the particle *-se/si* in Lycian; cf. Morpurgo Davies 1982/83: 255²⁸.

¹⁹ In a forthcoming paper (Yoshida forthcoming), I will argue that the reflexive particle **-ti* which escaped the assibilation after **-s* came to be attached to the preterite middle endings so that they might be systematically distinguished from their corresponding present middle endings.

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